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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXX.

1885.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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NO. CLIX.

ART I.—THE THÂRUS AND BOGSHAS OF UPPER INDIA.

THE Thârus inhabit the long strip of swamp and forest called the Tarai, lying between the plains of Hindustan and the foot of the Himalaya mountains. To the east they extend about as far as the river Kûsi, where they come into contact with the Mechas, a tribe similar to themselves in habits and feature, and inhabiting that portion of the Tarai which separates the plains of Bengal from the hills of Sikhim.* To the west they extend as far as the river, Sârda, which flows between Kumaon and Nepal. At this point they dovetail with another forest-tribe similar to themselves in appearance and culture, the Bogshas, whom we shall describe more fully hereafter. The strictly Bogsha region commences from the Gola (or Kicha) river, about 30 miles to the west of the Sârda, and extends westward as far as the Ganges, while a few straggling villages are to be found still further west as far as the Jumna. Between the Sârda and the Gola rivers, there is a debateable tract (about 30 miles wide as we have said,) in which both tribes occasionally reside. In one village, at least, and probably in more, the inhabitants are the progeny of mixed parentage, although intermarriage between the tribes is not openly allowed by either.†

* This is stated on the authority of Dr. Hooker, the great Himalayan botanist. But is questioned (apparently without much reason) by Dr. Stewart, in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXIV, 1865, Part II., p. 148.

† The boundaries here given are the result of a compromise between the somewhat conflicting accounts given in the *North-West Provinces Census Report*, 1867, Vol. I, App. B, p. 61, and *Elliot's Supplemental Glossary*, Vol. I., p. 20, Edit. 1869.

2. *The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India*

By the Census of 1881 (North-West Provinces and Oudh,) the total number of Tharus in the united provinces, (exclusive, of course, of those in Behar,) was 27,172; while that of Bogshas was only 5,664. The larger number is, therefore, well proportioned to the larger area.

Each tribe affects superiority over the other, and emphatically disowns anything like a common origin or an equal status. But the grounds on which respective superiority is claimed are either insignificant or false. The Bogshas charge the Tharus with rearing fowls, which they do; the former tribe having learnt from Hindus to consider this bird as unclean. The Tharus charge the Bogshas with selling flesh and fish, which they indignantly deny, disdaining to be placed on a level with the low Hindu castes of butchers and fishermen. The Bogshas charge them back with eating frogs and lizards, which is certainly untrue.* "It is a circumstance worth remarking," says Mr. Colvin, writing in 1866, "that two tribes, under such similar circumstances, should have kept so distinct while living in such close proximity." But this is the rule amongst savages. In such communities a sense of mutual respect or friendship is the last thing that is thought of or desired. The closer the neighbourhood, the greater the provocation to jealousy, hostility, or contempt. Even within the Tharu and Bogsha tribes themselves, there is a constantly repeated process of sub-division into minute clans, many of whom regard each other with contempt and always on the most frivolous grounds.

THARUS.

Absurd etymologies have been given for the name *Tharu*, some deriving it from *tahre*, "they halted" (after their alleged flight into the forest), others from *tar lua*, "wet," in allusion to the swampy nature of the tract they live in. One writer derives it from *âthwâru*, "an eighth day-serf."† But this implies what is not true. The Tharus are remarkable for their indolence, aversion to service, and incapacity for sustained field labour; and they have never been in the position of serfs to any landlords. Had this been the case they would have sunk long ago into the ranks of Arakhs, Pâsis, Chamârs, Koris, and other Hindu castes of the lowest rank, who serve as field labourers or bond slaves to

* North-West Provinces Census Report, 1867, vol. I, App. B, p. 62. See also Journal A. S. B., Vol. XXXIV, part II, p. 149.

† The first etymology is alluded to in Oudh Gazetteer, 1877, vol. II, p. 126. The second in North-West Census Report, 1867, vol. I, p. 61. The third (the author of which is Raja Siva Prasad, C.S.I.) in North-West Provinces Gazetteer, 1881, vol. VI, p. 358.

•The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 3

landlords in the open plain, and have lost the free life of the forest, which Tharus still enjoy. Another etymology suggested is from *thar*, which in the colloquial dialect of the lowest classes, but not in the language of books, signifies forest; and thus *tharu* would mean "man of the forest," a name which correctly describes the status of the tribe.* On the whole, however, it is safer not to seek for any Hindi etymology; but to consider the name as sprung from the language of the tribe itself, which is now for the most part obsolete. An aboriginal name, underived from any Sanskrit or neo-Sanskrit source, is the fit appellation to an aboriginal, casteless, and un-Brahmanized tribe, whose customs have been only slightly modified by contact with those of the Aryan invader.

The means by which Tharus maintain a livelihood, consist partly in hunting and fishing, partly in gathering forest fruits and vegetables, partly in grazing cows and buffaloes, and keeping pigs, fowls and goats, and partly in a rude kind of agriculture.

- As hunters they despise and shun such vermin as jackals, snakes, and lizards, with which many of the hunting tribes in the treeless plains of Hindustan are now compelled to be content. The animals which they chiefly hunt are the wild boar, the deer, the antelope, and other large game, in which their forests still abound, and which were once very numerous in Hindustan, before the forest had disappeared. They also lay snares for the porcupine (*sâhi*), and eat its flesh, which is considered to bear some likeness to that of the pig. Sometimes, but only when they are pressed for food, they will eat field rats. They are fond of hares, when they can catch them; and they are not averse to the flesh of the river tortoise. When the stock of meat happens to have become larger than they can consume at once, their mode of preserving it is by cutting it into strips and drying it in the sun,—the same method as that practised by the savages of Australia, and imitated in the same continent by the English colonists and settlers, who call it by the name of jerking.

As fishermen, they make no distinction between the clean and the unclean, but consume scaled and scaleless

* I have not heard the word *thar* myself; but I give it on the authority of a native, who has paid some attention to colloquial dialects. The word *tharu* is pronounced with the hard *t*, and the *h* is not pronounced as if it were part of the *t*, as in the English *that*, but is separately sounded immediately after the *t*. Mr. Colvin in North-West Census Report, 1869, Appendix B, p. 61, says that the "word "*Taru*, by which the tribe is commonly known, has no sound of the "*h*." This is not my own experience, nor that of any one whom I have consulted.

The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India

fish alike. Their chief implements are the hook and line, the net, and the funnel-shaped basket, the same appliances as those used by their kinsfolk, the Chains, Gaunds, Meors, and other fishing castes of Hindustan. Another method, which is probably peculiar to themselves, consists in mixing some poisonous substance with baits, and throwing the baits into the water, having first dammed up the brook. The fish die after eating this bait, and their bodies are picked up as they float on the surface of the stream.

The forest supplies them not only with pasture for their cattle, but with many kinds of roots and fruits which they collect for food to themselves. Their favourite root is a plant of the yam species, which grows very plentifully at the foot of the mountains. Wild rice, the flower of the mahwa tree, and the fruit of the wild fig-tree, are gathered in their several seasons.

As agriculturists they are still for the most part in the migratory stage, cultivating the land on which they have put up their temporary houses, till it has given proof of exhaustion, and then moving off to fresh grounds to make a new clearance. Formerly it was their custom not to crop the same land for more than two years together. But this is now no longer the case. The government conservancy laws, which have come into force of late, have interfered very seriously with their freedom in the selection of new sites, and hence the present tendency of the tribe is either to move up into Naipal territory, or to remain below for a longer period in the same place. The crop in which Tharus chiefly delight is rice,—the grain best suited to the swampy nature of their fields and to the heavy rainfall of the months between June and October. The coarse red rice called sâthi is the quality preferred. In the rainless months they chiefly grow peas, a small black grain called kodo, and the pulse called arhar. Such crops require occasional irrigation; and this is effected, not by drawing water from wells or from tanks and marshes, and conveying it into the fields through artificial channels, as is the custom of Hindu cultivators; but by the rough and ready process of damming up the nearest rivulet and thus inundating the crop. As an eye-witness relates, “they are utterly reckless with water with which they inundate their fields, and utterly careless of the swamps they may be forming. Indeed, most of the worst swamps could easily be proved to owe their origin to the rude irrigating means used by these people.”* It is interesting to observe that the diversion or obstruction of the natural courses of streams is a practice strongly condemned

* North West Census Report, 1869, vol. I, Appendix B, p. 61, para. 8.

The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. 3

by the author of Manu's Code ; which proves that the Thârus are only now practising a custom, which was common among the lower tribes or castes of Hindustan some 2,000 years ago.*

Those Thârus who live on the edge rather than in the centre of the forest are still the pioneers of agriculture to the denizens of the open plain,—a function which they share with Doms, Bhars, and other semi-savage tribes, whose stage of culture is about on a level with their own. Squatting on the outskirts of the forest, they cut down and burn the trees and undergrowth, and prepare the land for its first rough coating of tillage, leaving it, after the first two or three crops have been gathered, to the steadier industry of the Kurmi or Lodh, who rapidly succeed to their places.

The women do the largest share of the sowing, weeding, and harvesting, while the men engage in hunting, fishing, &c., which they consider the proper calling of their sex. Such has been the invariable instinct of savage tribes both in India and elsewhere. The men have an intense repugnance to regular manual labour, and nothing will induce them to hire themselves out as labourers to Hindu landlords. The only kind of service which a Thâru will undertake is that of elephant-driver to some neighbouring princelet or râja. Their skill as elephant-drivers is admitted everywhere ; and latterly they have acquired the art of catching wild elephants from the forest, and taming them for the prince who employs them.†

The typical picture of a Thâru village is that of a line of huts situated in the middle of a forest clearance. At the back of this line lie the cattle-pens, in which the cows and buffaloes are stalled for the night. During the night the crops and the cattle are kept constantly under watch to prevent the inroads of wild animals ; while the forest, which forms the hunting ground in the day time, bounds the horizon on all sides.

The number of inhabitants to a village varies from 30 to 150 ; but the higher of these figures is not often reached. Large village communities are never seen : for in the simple mode of life which Thârus are accustomed to lead, there is no such variety or inter-dependence of interests and pursuits as could hold a large community together. Cattle grazing, hunting, and the growing of crops within a narrow area, demand the isolation of a few rather than the aggregation of many ; and this is one of the causes of the minute subdivision into

* *Institutes of Manu*, chap. III, Sloka 163.

† This is true for example in the case of the Balrampur estates, in the Gonda district, Oudh. The raja of these estates has a very large stock of elephants, which are almost entirely kept and driven by a band of Thârus employed for the purpose.

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clans to which we have already alluded as characteristic of the more backward races.

The houses are not built with clay, nor made to stand on the earth, as is the custom in Hindu villages. They are fixed upon piles, which raise the flooring some six or eight feet into the air. The flooring is made of bamboo poles laid against each other in parallel lines. The door or entrance to the house is connected with the earth by a ladder. The walls are made of wattle, inlaid with layers of the strong *baukas* grass, and smeared over externally with mud and cow dung. The roofing is of thatch. A dwelling raised into the air, as these are, affords a double protection,—from the beasts of prey which infest these solitary jungles at night, and from the inundations to which the land is subject during the prevalence of the monsoon. Sometimes, during this season, the ground on which the village stands is entirely covered with water; and hence the plan of building on piles is the best that could be devised for health and comfort. Houses of a similar description may be seen in the lowland districts of Burma, in the corresponding parts of Siam, and in many other tropical or sub-tropical countries where similar conditions exist. Probably at one time they were common in the central plains of Hindustan, especially in the lowlands which lie between the convergence of rivers and are subject to occasional floods. But even here such dwellings are now no longer to be seen. The disappearance of the primeval forest, caused by the inevitable spread of cultivation, has compelled the substitution of clay for poles, reeds and thatch; and the durable earth-built dwellings which are now universally used are, on the whole, better suited to the settled agricultural life of Hindu villagers than temporary reed-built huts such as were probably used by their hunting or nomad ancestors.

Every village community provides itself with a well, to ensure a regular supply of drinking water during the rainless months; but these wells are never used for irrigating fields. At the time of digging a well, every able-bodied man and woman in the village lends a helping hand to secure this common benefit. The subsoil in these tracts is often sandy and shifting; and to prevent the sides of the well from falling in, two methods are employed. One consists in inserting the hollowed trunk of a *sâl* tree—the same material as that which is still largely used in Northern India for making single-logged canoes; the other is by lining the sides of the well with planks or poles, and dovetailing the ends into each other.* As the water-level in these

* The first method is described in the North-West Provinces Census Report, 1867, vol. I., App. B. p. 62. The second in Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 502.

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forest tracts is not as low as it usually is in the open plains, the wells are seldom more than 14 or 16 feet deep.

In these shallow and rudely constructed wells, we may detect the first models of the deep masonry wells, which are now thickly scattered over the vast arid plains of Upper India, and which alone prevent them from relapsing annually into a desert during the 8 rainless months of the year. The first wells in this plain must have been dug near the river banks, where the first townships were formed; and these wells were probably of the same description as those still made by Thârus. But as cultivation extended into the uplands, and the forest receded further and further away from the river banks, it was necessary to extend the supply of water at an equal pace, both for the sustenance of men and cattle, and for the irrigation of crops. In this way men learnt by degrees to dig for water to a depth, at which its existence could never have been suspected without this previous preparation.

Every little village is a self-governing community. Disputes are decided by a council of elders; and this is sometimes presided over by a headman, who in the Thâru language was formerly called *barwark*, but who is now dubbed even by themselves with the ordinary Hindi title of *chaudhari*. The office of headman is not hereditary. The man selected is one, whose age, experience, and knowledge of the magical and medicinal arts entitle him to more respect than the rest; and he acquires the status of headman by tacit consent, and not by formal election. The decisions of the council or the headman are obeyed unreservedly; and there is no such thing known as a Thâru taking a fellow tribesman before a tribunal outside his own community. Litigation between Thârus and Hindus is equally unknown. Among themselves, the Thârus are for the most part, a peaceful and good natured race, following without question, as if by a law of nature, the customs and maxims of their ancestors.

Sometimes, however, questions of guilt or innocence arise, which can only be decided by an appeal to oath or ordeal. The strongest form of oath, which a Thâru man or woman can take, (and this is evidently unborrowed from any Hindu or other outside source), is by placing the hand on the lingam of Mahadev or on the shrine of Kâlikâ, (the two great deities of the tribe, to be described hereafter), and with this act making a declaration of innocence. A less potent oath, and one evidently borrowed from Hindus, is by holding water in the palm of the hand,—the water being supposed to have come from the Ganges. When two persons accuse each other of some fault, and it is known that one or other must be guilty,

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resort is had to the floating test. The two disputants are flung simultaneously into deep water, and the one who rises first is declared guilty ;—the same kind of ordeal as that practiced at this day by the Kangars of Upper India, by several un-Brahmanized tribes in Central India, by the hunting and fishing tribes of Berar, and, seven or eight centuries ago, by the people of England. * Another kind of ordeal practised by the Thâru tribe consists in throwing a coin into a bowl of boiling oil or boiling water, and thrusting in the arm to take it out. If the arm comes out unblistered, the person is declared innocent. The very same test prevailed among the ancient Norse. † The analogies in both cases must be ascribed to the apparently universal instinct, that water is too pure to retain the guilty, and fire too pure to harm the innocent.

From the simple organization of a Thâru village community, we may gather what an aboriginal village was like in ancient India in pre-Aryan times ; and observe how wide a contrast exists between this primitive type and the more complex constitution of the modern "Hindu Township," which has grown up out of it under the influence of Brahmans. Before the Aryas had come, and while India was still uninhabited by races alien to her own soil, every village community was a compact, homogeneous whole, made up entirely of members belonging to one and the same tribe ; and this tribe allowed of no admixture with families taken from tribes other than itself. Every village or group provided for its own wants, made its own tools and weapons, and was in all respects a self-sufficing body. But after the Aryas had come, bringing with them new tools, new arts, new views of life, and new types of industry, the indigenous tribes, amongst whom they were forced to settle, and by whom they were eventually absorbed, crumbled away by degrees into new combinations, the basis of each of which was some acquired speciality of function. These combinations are what in India are called castes. Now the modern Hindu township is made up of families taken from a great variety of these castes,—the priest and astrologer (Brahman), the landlord (Chattri), the shopkeeper (Baniya), the accountant (Patwâri), the barber (Nâpit), the carpenter (Barhai), the blacksmith (Lohar), the potter (Kumhar), the watchman (Chaukidar), the scavenger (Chuhra), and so forth ; and as none of these functionaries can intermarry or take food with any other, there is no homogeneity of stock within the same community, and no unity of feeling or tradition, such as prevailed

* *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. IV, ch. 27. *Berar Census Report*, 1881, p. 135. *Asiatic Studies* by Sir A. Lyall, edit. 1882, chap. IV, p. 83.

† Thorpe's Translation of the Edda. Part II, p. 106., edit. 1866, Trubner and Co., London. Vide *Third Lay of Gudrun*.

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in the old aboriginal village, and such as still prevails in the villages of Thârus, and in those of any other casteless and un-Brahmanized tribe which may have survived the general wreck. The caste system of the Hindus has broken up the primitive unity of the village, as it has that of the nation at large. Instead of the various classes forming one organic brotherhood, they are divided from each other by inorganic sections, like geological strata.

Rice, which (as we have shewn already) is the staple crop grown by Thârus, is used not only for food, but for distilling an alcoholic drink, in which they indulge very freely on occasions. This drink is used at religious feasts and marriage banquets; and men, who sit out on watch at night to guard their fields from wild buffaloes, wild boars, &c, say that it preserves them from the effects of cold and damp. It is a fact worth noticing, that there is scarcely a savage tribe in any part of the world, which has not discovered some way of brewing fermented liquor. The art is certainly known to every casteless tribe in Upper India and to every Hindu caste of the lowest rank; and all of these tribes and castes are addicted to habits of drunkenness.

In the domestication of wild animals and birds, the Thârus may justly claim a large share of credit. They are among the tribes who have tamed the hog, the wild cow, the buffalo, and the elephant.* But what they are most famous for is the domestication of the wild jungle fowl, which is still abundant in the sub-Himalayan forests. The fowl is their favourite food, preferred even to pork or fish. They are noted for the skill with which they rear fine poultry, and especially fine capons. In this respect they are the equals, if not the instructors, of Khatiks,—a caste of Hindus, which stands very low in the social scale, and is only a few degrees removed from the savage state. The flesh of cows or buffaloes is never eaten by Thârus, as these animals are considered sacred, or at least too sacred to be killed.

Another kind of achievement at which Thârus excel is the destruction of tigers and other ferocious beasts. Two methods are employed for accomplishing this. One is that of the booby trap. The carcass of a cow is placed in a trench dug deep and wide enough to keep it fast in the earth,—cow's flesh being lawful food for tigers, but unlawful for men. Attached

* The art of taming wild animals, (elephants, bulls, horses, camels, birds, &c.), was practised by the Indian tribes in the time of Manu, who alludes to it in chap. III, Sloka 162. The men who practised such arts must have been much in the same stage of culture as Thârus now are; for he couples them with certain other men, "who are to be avoided with great care" by Brahmans. Sloka 166.

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to this carcass is a rope, the other end of which is fastened to a plank laid across the trench. On this plank heavy blocks of rock or wood are placed, which falling on the tiger's head, as he attempts to pull away the cow, half stun him for the moment. Before he has had time to recover, the men on watch run up and despatch him with clubs. * The other method consists in digging a much deeper hole, and covering it lightly over with poles, sticks, and earth. On the centre of this covering a baited trap is laid. When the beast is caught, a man inside the hole prods its belly with a spear, while another above batters its skull with a club till it dies. Usually, however, the tiger is the friend rather than the enemy of Thâru villagers; for he protects their fields at night against the raids of wild boars, buffaloes, &c. It is only when he has conceived a taste for human flesh, that plots are laid for his destruction.

For hunting the wild boar or antelope, one method consists in tracking it secretly into its cover, and then hurling the spear into its side, (after the fashion of the Homeric heroes), as it attempts to flee. Another method consists in making a net, (which in the Thâru language is known as *Khâbhar*), and suspending it lightly in the air by means of ropes. When the animal touches it, the net suddenly descends, and the beast becomes entangled in the meshes, when it is at once despatched. Even tigers are sometimes destroyed by this method.

The tools and weapons used by Tharus are not made by themselves. The share of the plough, the point of the spear, the blade of the axe or hatchet, and the blade of the hoe with which they dig the yam and other tubers out of the earth, are procured from Lohars, the iron-smiths of the Indian plains. Since iron tools and weapons can be so easily procured, and are so much more effective and durable than those, of stone, the manufacture of the latter has long ceased; and no recollection of it has survived even in Thâru tradition. The *kûkari*, or large curved knife, which forms such an indispensable part of a Thâru's outfit, and without which he is seldom seen abroad, is procured from hillsmen of Naipal. The handles of all the above tools, excepting the last, are still made by Tharus themselves. Their plough is of the same design as that used by Hindus, but more simple; for the *jâughâ*, or upright pole to which the oxen are attached, is in the same piece of wood with the *kopi*, or curved part to which the iron share is fastened.

* This method is described in Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol III, p. 503, by Mr. Benett, late Assistant Commissioner of Gonda, who adds, however, that "the bravery of the Tharus is proved by their love of the chase, though it does not appear in their singular contrivance for killing tigers." It appears to me that there are very few men in the world who would shew equal courage in coping with a tiger, armed with nothing but a club.

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The only kinds of art or manufacture which Tharus can be said to possess are the manipulation of leaves, reeds, and fibres, and a rude kind of carpentry. The latter is exemplified, as we have already shewn, in making the wooden part of the plough, in shaping the handles of tools, dovetailing the corners of wells, and in fixing up the sides and roofs and floors of their houses. The former is an accomplishment common to backward races in every part of the world, wherever the materials exist; and here in India it is practised by all the low castes of Hindus (Bhars, Pâsis, Bhangis, Bâris, Dharkars, &c.) whose stage of culture is scarcely, if at all, raised above that of the castless tribes. The Tharus make strong and durable mats out of the fine *bankas* grass, which they gather in large quantities from the lower ranges of the hills in the first quarter of the year. Excellent twine and rope are made from the same material; and such twine is used for the manufacture of fishing nets, nooses and snares, for drawing water from the well, for tethering cattle, and many other purposes. Not less skilled are they in making the funnel-shaped baskets in which fish are caught, or in thatching the roofs of their houses. They have even invented a kind of umbrella made of cane and mat work; so great is their aversion to the sun and to the open plains. For plates and drinking cups they skewer large leaves together to the shape required for either purpose; and for drawing and keeping water they use a hollowed gourd or tomri. Some who are better off than others use vessels made of clay or brass; but these can only be obtained from Kumhârs (potters) and Thateras (braziers), both of whom are Hindus castes; for there is no such thing as home-made pottery or brass work amongst the Tharu tribe.

Their dance is national and peculiar, and is invariably performed by boys or men, never by girls or women. It has been thus described by an eye witness. "A boy of fifteen or sixteen is dressed as a woman, and his partner beats a small drum suspended from the neck. The pair advance and retreat with a gliding motion, and represent with coarse fidelity the advances of the lover and the coyness of the maid. As they proceed, they warm to the work; and I shall never forget the extatic but somewhat ludicrous rapture, which shone in the face and spoke in every limb of the drummer after two hours of the exercise and the infusion of a large amount of raw spirits. Every now and then the dancing gives place to a dramatic interlude, in which a dullard is made the butt of the rough and occasionally obscene wit of the leading actor. These scenes were invariably the vehicle of satire; and the Brahmans of the plains, and Sir Jung Bahadur of Naipal, were visited with unsparing ridicule."

* Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 504, article by Mr. Benett.

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Dancing and acting of this nature may take place at any time of the year, for the mere sake of amusement. But the occasions on which feasts and dances are chiefly celebrated, are at the time of leading a bride away from her own to her husband's village, at the birth of a son, and at the two great religious festivals of the year, the Kâlikâ and the Holi, which we shall describe hereafter.

Though their songs and dances are national and peculiar, their musical instruments are borrowed and made by others. The most important of these is the drum, the instrument which has exercised such a strange fascination over savage races in every part of the world. The Thâru drum (*madrâ*) is not quite the same as the Hindu, and is manufactured by hillsmen of Naipal.* The instrument valued next to the drum is the brass cymbal.

We now come to the subject of marriages, births, and burials. In regard to marriage, the first thing to be noticed is, that until the nuptial ceremony has been completed, and the woman has become the recognized property of some individual man, she is regarded as the common property of her clan, and is treated accordingly. Till then there is no restriction of intercourse between the sexes,—a custom which has come down undiminished by the lapse of thousands of years, from that primeval state of society, which preceded the institution of marriage, and which science has now fully proved to have been the original condition of man. Even when the marriage knot has been tied, it is not very difficult to get it unloosed; for the contract is not binding for life, or invested with anything like a sacred character, as it is with Hindus; and men can, and do, exchange their wives in a spirit of mutual accommodation, as is still the case among the Burmese. It should be added, however, that so long as the contract between the man and the woman lasts, the latter is as chaste and faithful as any wife could be.

The usual age for marriage on the woman's part is about 17 or 18, which, allowing for difference of climate, corresponds with 20 or 22 in Europe. A man usually makes his first marriage at about the same age. After what has just been said of the status of a girl before marriage, it is needless to add that there is no custom amongst Thârus of betrothing a girl at the age of 6 and getting her married at 10 or 11, such as prevails amongst Hindus. The marriage contract is arranged not by the parties themselves, but by the fathers on either side; and the pair for whom the negotiation is made have no power either to choose or refuse. The father of the youth goes over to the village or clan in which the father of the young

* There are two kinds of Hindu drums, the smaller called *mridung*, and the larger called *dhol*. These are sometimes used by Thârus; but the *madrâ* is preferred.

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woman resides, and after making his proposals about the price to be paid for her, offers him a drink of wine, and if the present is accepted, the bargain is closed. The contract once made is faithfully kept by both parties. The price paid for the woman may be in cash or in kind, and its value depends upon the means of the purchaser or the attractiveness of the woman.

The choice of a bride is limited by the rule of exogamy. In other words, she must not be a blood relation to the husband chosen for her, nor of the same village, nor of the same clan, but of some outside village and clan. This rule of exogamy has prevailed (as is well known) very widely, if not universally, in the primitive types of society; and I regard it as the historical sequel to the still older custom of marriage by capture. As we have shewn already, a woman, until she became the property of some individual man, was the property of her clan; and hence the only way in which the man could establish a right to individual ownership was to steal or capture a woman from some other clan. What was at first done by force or stealth was transformed by degrees into a peaceful and openly recognized custom; and hence the rule of exogamy, or the procuring of a wife from some clan other than that to which the man himself belonged, but within the same tribal union, became a widely established custom among primitive races. The custom certainly holds good to this day among the *Gotras* or clans of every Indian caste; and has been borrowed (as I think) from the aboriginal and casteless tribes, out of the fragments of which the caste system itself was gradually formed.

Even now wife-capture is secretly practised to some extent amongst the Tharus. They have been known to carry off girls by stealth from the Bogsha tribe conterminous with their own borders on the Sarda river, and from the Naipalese tribes living on the outer spurs of the Himâlaya mountains: and this practice of getting wives from Naipal will explain the slightly Mongolian caste of face, which has now become rather common, though not universal, among the Tharu tribe.* But though the *fact* of wife-capture has become almost obsolete, the *form* is still preserved in the manner in which the bride is conducted to her new home. The father of the bridegroom never goes to take her away from her own clan or village, unless he is accompanied by a select guard of fellow tribesmen. They enter the bride's house in the evening, eat and drink all that they can get there in the way of pig, goat, wine, rice, and ghi, and then carry her off on the following morning, led by a band of men-dancers, men-singers, and men-musicians, while the bride herself screams and cries as if she was being led off by violence. All this implies

* Another type of elopement is alluded to in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. II, p. 501.

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a demonstration of force, though no such thing as force is really anticipated or intended. To complete the analogy to the old custom of wife-capture, there is no celebration of nuptial ceremonies after the bride and bridegroom have come to their journey's end. As soon as they enter the house appointed for them, they are *ipso facto* man and wife; and nothing more is required to make them so. The marriage ritual, if we may call it so, consists simply in the fact of his having brought her away from her own clan with some ceremonial display of force, just as in the earliest times, when wife-capture was a reality, and not merely a form; it was simply the seizing and bringing away of the woman which made her the wife and property of her captor. Some of the forms of marriage by capture, such as the shrieking of the maid, and the *barât* or procession of men by which she is carried off, have survived to the present day in the nuptial ceremonies of Hindus.

We see, then, from the ancient customs of mankind, as still partially exemplified amongst the Tharus, that in the oldest type of society a woman was exposed to a double evil,—the stain of communism within her own clan so long as she remained there, and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan, where she became the wife-slave of the man who captured her. And herein, I think, lies the secret of the seemingly irrational and certainly unnatural customs of Hindus, by which a girl is betrothed at 6 or 8 and married at 10 or 11. The betrothal ceremony is considered by all classes of the Hindu community to be of immense importance. The force of public opinion has made it as binding as marriage itself. If the boy dies before the marriage is performed, the child who has been betrothed remains a widow for life. A father is publicly disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen, if he neglects to get his daughter finally married before she has completed the age of 12. There are few points in which the social customs of the Hindus have been more severely condemned. But though it may be granted that the time has long passed, when any good could be gained from their retention, it may yet be contended that they have been of some use in their day, and that customs so opposed to the plain dictates of nature could not have been accepted by a rational people without some rational purpose. It must be remembered that the natives of Hindustan, at the time when they first appear in history as antagonists to the invading Aryans, were in the savage stage, and that they have owed their subsequent reclamation, imperfect as it is, to the subtle and ever widening influence of Hinduism,—a composite and very elastic creed, made up of the fusion of Aryan with native or aboriginal elements. I conceive, then, that the customs, to which so much exception has been taken, were the restraints imposed by this creed upon

the rough matrimonial usages of the races amongst whom its lot was cast,—some of which usages were formerly countenanced even by Hinduism itself as a concession to the prevailing savagery. Marriage by stealth, marriage by capture, and marriage by the simple act of voluntary reciprocal intercourse, were all recognized by the ancient Hindu lawgivers as permissible to certain castes ; and even Brahmans, the holy priests and teachers of Hinduism, were allowed to indulge in the kind last named.* It is no wonder, then, that a religion, which was forced to concede so much to existing custom, should have sought to provide safeguards for the protection of the weaker sex through some counter-teaching of its own. By ruling, as it did, that a girl must be betrothed and married at a tender age to a youth of some outside clan, and by making this rule binding for life on pain of the severest penalties, it protected her both from the stain of communism within her own clan, and from the risk of forcible abduction into another. This explains, too, how it has come to pass that amongst Hindus, and Hindus only, the larger price is paid for the youth, and the smaller one for the maid,—an exact inversion of the rule which prevails everywhere else. The Hindi word for betrothal is *māngni*, that is, “ begging ” for a boy : for until the boy had been secured, the girl was not safe. It is well known, too, to every one who has lived in India, that the greatest insult which one Hindu can utter against another is to call him by a name which implies that he has polluted a girl of his own clan ; for all such girls are in the eye of Hindu law regarded as sisters, that is, as daughters of the same father, and therefore such pollution wears the character of incest. This term of abuse so offensive to a Hindu conveys no meaning at all to a Thâru.

The month in which most, if not all, marriage ceremonies are performed is March, this being, for religious reasons which will be explained below, the most festive and conjugal month in

* Manu mentions 8 kinds of marriage, see chap. III, Slokas 20-34. The last 4 of these are (1) Asura, as when the damsel is bought or paid for by the would-be bridegroom. This is *now* the custom of Thârus. It prevailed and prevails very widely among the backward races ; and is the form of contract which superseded the rougher method of seizing a girl by force. (2) Gandharva, by which man and woman became united as husband and wife by the mere act of voluntary connection. This dates from a time when marriage did not exist in any form, but intercourse was free and unrestrained. (3) Râkshasa, or marriage by capture in open fight. (4) Pisâcha, or marriage by stealth. Brahmans were allowed all but the two last, see Sloka 23 ; and Kshatriyas all but the last, Sloka 26. The following line in *Shighrâboah*, by Kâshipâthi, has been brought to my notice : “ He who gives away his daughter at 8, goes to Brahma’s heaven (the “ highest) ; at 9, to Vishnu’s heaven (not so high) ; at 10, to the Serpent world ; “ at an age after 10, to hell. ” This shews what stress is laid by Hinduism on early betrothal and marriage.

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the year. Brahmans are not consulted, as amongst Hindus for the selection of auspicious days. In fact, as we have shewn already in connection with the national dances and interludes of this tribe, the priests of Hinduism are made the subject of ridicule and satire rather than of respect. At present they have no place or status whatever in the social system of this primitive and isolated tribe ; but as almost every other tribe has been absorbed into the gulf of Hinduism, it must be expected that the Tharus will some day follow.

After the birth of a child, the mother is not allowed to taste food or water for two days. On the third day she is allowed to drink as much wine as she desires, and wine is rubbed over her body. Tharu women assist each other at the time of childbirth. They are said to be very skilful in midwifery ; and Chamâr women are not employed for such purposes, as amongst Hindus.

Like every other primitive tribe or race, whose customs and creeds have been brought to light, the Tharus have a kind of baptism or lustral ceremony for the benefit of new-born babes. On the day of its birth, the child is immersed in water, while the oldest man in the family pronounces over it certain auspicious words. After the immersion ceremony is over, the child is fumigated with fire and smoke : for fire, like water, has in all parts of the world been regarded as one of the great elements of physical and moral purity. A tuft of dry kans or kusha grass is dug out by the roots. After placing the head of a snake and the sting of a scorpion inside the tuft, they set it on fire, holding the flame as near as possible to the place where the child is lying. The ingredients taken from the snake and scorpion are intended to render the child proof for the remainder of his life against the attacks of secret enemies of all kinds. An iron tool is kept in the room where the child sleeps to avert the evil eye. When the child is four or five months old, a name is selected for it, and this is bestowed before an assembly of friends by the oldest man in the household.

The burial rites of Tharus are of various kinds. Sepulture or earth-burial seems to have been the original custom ; but the Hindu rite of cremation has now become common in many clans, except in the case of persons who have died of cholera or small-pox ; and these are invariably buried in the earth. After cremation the ashes are scattered on the nearest river. Before, however, the corpse has been disposed of by either rite, it is usual to paint it with vermilion and expose it for one night on a mound outside the house. From this mound, as from a stronghold, the spirit of the dead is supposed to scare away wild animals from the crops. Whether the body is buried or burnt, the ceremony is always performed on the southern

side of the village,—a notion probably borrowed from Hindus, who consider that the north is the region commonly frequented by divine spirits and the south by human souls.* The man who puts the first fire to the funeral pyre is considered to be unclean, from having brought himself within dangerous reach of the contagion of death. He is therefore kept at a distance for ten days after cremation, and compelled to live entirely alone. The same abhorrence to igniting the funeral pyre is felt by Hindus, but they get over the difficulty by transferring the task to a man of the degraded tribe of Doms, who are employed all over Upper India not only for burning the dead but for hanging the living.

On the expiry of the tenth day, (or the thirteenth, as some Tharus relate), the friends of the deceased meet at the house where he died, and after undergoing the ceremony of shaving, they hold “a feast of the dead.” The banquet prepared for this purpose consists of cooked flesh and wine, the scent and smoke of which are intended to refresh the departed soul; the solid parts, that is the flesh and wine themselves, are consumed by the living. Considering that customs analogous to this have prevailed in every part of the world, we can scarcely doubt that the Tharu funeral feast, or something closely resembling it, prevailed amongst the native tribes of Hindustan in ancient times, before they had become Brahmanized. Even to this day a feast to the dead is held by all castes of Hindus; but the men who eat it are not so much the friends or relatives of the deceased as Brahmans. This curious inversion of a custom so natural to the mind of man, is one amongst the many other facts which distinguish Hinduism from every other creed in the world. But the anomaly can be explained without much difficulty. An old and very influential code of Hindu law, (the Institutes of Manu), taught that offerings to the dead should, (as in all other countries), be made through fire; but the same code taught that “there is no difference between fire and a “Brahman,” and that an oblation of food to such a holy man is “an offering in the fire of a sacerdotal mouth.”† A code still older than Manu’s spoke even more distinctly on this point:—“The food eaten (at a funeral feast) by persons related to the “giver, is indeed a gift offered to devils. It reaches neither the “souls of the dead nor the gods. Losing its efficacy, it wanders “about over the earth, as a cow bereaved of her calf runs at “random into a strange stall.”‡ The same code says: “The

* *Institutes of Manu*, chap III, Shloka 206.

† *Institutes of Manu*, chap. III, 212, 91 168.

‡ *‘Apastamba Sutrās*, II, 7, 17, 8 and II, 7, 16, 3. See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II p. 142, and 139. According to the translator (George Bühler) the author of the above Sutrās was domiciled among degraded and

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"Brahmans (who are fed on this occasion) represent the Ahavan-
"îya fire (the fire of the burnt offering.)" We see, then, how even at this very early age the caste of priests had begun to graft their own system upon the savage customs which they found everywhere in vogue around them, and how cleverly they managed to turn these customs to the furtherance of the interests of their own order.

In certain rare cases the burial rite is performed in a manner distinct from either of those already described. A man noted above his fellows for wisdom in counsel, bravery in the chase or knowledge of the magical and medicinal arts, is buried under the floor of the house in which he was living before his spirit departed. The house thenceforth becomes a temple, and ceases to be used as a dwelling place for man. The soul of the dead becomes its occupant, and it lives there to bless those whom it has left behind. At periods of three or six months after the death, the friends and neighbours of the deceased assemble around his grave or temple, and make an effigy in clay, parts of which are painted in various colours, intended to reproduce the appearance of resuscitated life. His worshippers fall down weeping and wailing before the image, and place offerings of cooked flesh and wine at its feet. Presently, at a given signal, as soon as the soul of the dead is believed to have been propitiated by the scent of roast meat and the fumes of wine, they commence to dance and sing with every demonstration of joy; and the proceedings of the day are closed with consuming the solid parts of the offerings.

This brings us to the subject of religion. The religion of Thârus is based on the belief in ghosts, and consists of little else. Amongst this, as amongst all other primitive tribes, the soul is believed to survive the body, wandering forth into space, and frequenting the haunts of the living sometimes with malignant, sometimes with friendly, intentions. It would be needless to allude to the immense mass of instances collected by Mr. Tylor in proof of the universality of this belief. The Thâru tribe was too little known to be used as evidence in his great work on Primitive Culture. But even the Thâru custom of burying distinguished men under the floor of the house in which they lived and died, and worshipping them at stated seasons, finds its analogue on the banks of the Tiber, where the greatest nation of antiquity followed at one time the simple custom of house-burial, but afterwards developed it into the more complex process of first burning the body outside the house, and then preserving the ashes in an urn and enshrining the said urn within the family dwelling, where the souls of the departed

barbarous tribes at the time of their composition; see *Introd.* xxxv. This confirms the explanation which I have given in the text.

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received daily worship as the Lares, Penates, or household gods. One Thâru, on being questioned what became of the soul after death, gave an answer which verifies with remarkable closeness the explanation of the ghost-theory given by Mr. Tylor. He said that at the time of sleep his soul or second self leaves him and wanders about at will; and as he was not able to say where his soul goes to or what it does during the intervals of sleep, so he could not pretend to say what became of it after the final sleep of death had set in. This comes very near the case, supposed by Mr. Tylor, of the thoughtful savage asking himself such questions as these: "What is it, that makes the difference between a living body and a dead one? What causes waking, sleep, trance, disease, death?" *

In the lower levels of culture, evil-minded or persecuting spirits are more numerous than benignant ones, and hence the lowest creeds of man have been commonly stigmatized by the name of demonolatry or devil-worship. It is chiefly in the higher stages of feeling and thought that the souls of great and good men are invested with the attributes of divinity and invoked as the patron deities of the nation. A large part of the Greek and Roman religions in classical times consisted in the worship of great or pious men like Hercules, Cecrops, Romulus, Numa, &c., and even Zeus, the highest god of Olympus and the impersonation of the wide-arching sky, was brought down to the earth and seated at the domestic hearth by the side of the household gods.† A large part of the Greek and Roman rituals at the present day consists in the adoration of saints, the souls of just men made perfect. Savage tribes, too, have made deities of their typical men, though the ideal on which their piety is centred is very different from that of the saints or heroes of a more civilized age. The Thârus, like the rest, have their patron saint, and in some legends he is said to have been the great ancestor by whom the tribe was founded. The name by which he is known is Raksha or (as he is called in some places) Rikheswar. Both

* *Primitive Culture*, vol. I. p. 387: edit. 1871.

† The following extract from Mr. Barker's English edition of *La Cité Antique*, by M. De Coulanges, will illustrate this point. "As fast as a family had personified a physical agent and made it a god, it gave him a place beside the hearth fire, and counting him among its Penates added some words in his honor to the general form of prayer. Hence the expressions found in ancient authors; such as *the gods who sit beside my fire, the Jupiter of my hearth, the Apollo of my fathers*. So in Sophocles, Teknessa beseeches Ajax by the name of *the Jupiter who sits at his hearth*; and in Euripides, the enchantress Medea swears by Hecate *her goddess mistress whom she adores and who inhabits the sanctuary of her hearth*. Also when Virgil wishes to put before us the very commencement of the Roman religion, he describes Hercules as one of Evander's household gods, sharing adoration with the Penates," p. 71.

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names are evidently corruptions of some obsolete Thâru word, which has been toned down to suit the Hindi accent.* According to the legend in vogue among the Thârus of Kheri, this deified founder was a son of the renowned aboriginal king, Raja Ben, whose fame is still rife in many of the oldest cities of Upper India and Behar as one who held the rank and title of *Chakravarti* or universal emperor in the olden time.† Rikheswar or Raksha was banished, it is said, from his father's court, and ordered with his band of male followers to seek for a new home in the north, from which they were never to return. Setting out on their wanderings, they took as wives any women whom they could steal or capture on the road, and in this way the Thâru tribe was founded. It was not till they had reached the sub-Himalayan forest in which they still dwell, that they decided to rest and settle. The soul of Raksha is still believed to hover among the people of his tribe. Just as in ancient days he led them safely through the wide wilderness into a new and distant settlement, so in the present day he is said to be the guardian and guide of men travelling on a distant journey. No Thâru ever sets out from his village for such a purpose without first propitiating him with gifts, and promising him a sumptuous feast of flesh, milk, and wine on his return. His presence is represented by a mound of mud, with a stone fixed in the middle; and he delights in seeing the head of a live capon dashed against this stone, and to feel its blood trickling down the side. One peculiarity of this god is that he is deaf,—an emblem of his antiquity; and hence vows and prayers are addressed to him in a stentorian tone of voice.

The title *guruḍ*, which is generally prefixed to his name, implies that during his residence on earth he was famous as a wizard or medicine-man, and acquired through this means the kingship or leadership of his tribe. His career, then, (supposing that it rests on a substratum of fact,) exemplifies one

* *Raksha*, as a Hindi word, is from the root *raksh*, to protect. *Rikheswar* would mean the lord of sages or magicians.

† An account of this king is given in North West Provinces Gazetteer, vol. v, p. 341. His name is remembered in Bijnor, Moradabad, Badaun, Eta, Mirzapur, Bareilly, Champaran, Shâhabad (in Behar.) He figures as Raja Vena in the Mahâ Bhârata and the Vishnu Purana; and the Brahman compilers of these books love to blacken his memory. In Manu's Institutes, (see Book IX, Sloka 66,) he is stigmatized as the first king who allowed a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. According to Manu he died from the effect of his unbridled lusts. According to the Vishnu Puran, he was beaten to death by a gang of saintly men armed with blades of holy grass, all of which had been consecrated by magical words. Benbans is still a title of several aboriginal tribes dwelling on the northern slopes of the Vinḍhya mountains, within the area of the North-West Provinces. e

of the processes to which Mr. Herbert Spencer has ascribed the origin of the institution of kingship among tribes, whose original condition was one of unrestrained equality:—"Until the ghost-theory takes shape, there is no origin for the influence possessed by the medicine-man. But when belief in the spirits of the dead becomes current, the medicine-man professing ability to control them, and inspiring faith in his pretensions, is regarded with a fear which prompts obedience. When we read of the Thlinkets, that the supreme feat of a conjuror's power is to throw one of his liege spirits into the body of any one who refuses to believe in his power, upon which the person possessed is taken with swooning and fits, we may imagine the dread he excites and the sway he consequently gains. . . . The doctor-wizard among the Fuegians is the most cunning and deceitful of his tribe, and has great influence over his compatriots. Though the Tasmanians were free from the despotism of rulers, they were swayed by the counsels, governed by the arts, or terrified by the fears, of certain wise men or doctors, who could not only mitigate suffering, but inflict it. Among the Dacotahs, the Chief, who leads the party to war, is always one of these medicine-men; and he is believed to have the power to guide the party to success or save it from defeat. . . . Among the Amazuli, one chief practises magic on another chief before fighting with him; and hence the sway acquired by Langalilabalee, who, as Bishop Colenzo says, knows well the composition of *intelezi* (the weather medicine,) and that of the war-medicine, being himself a doctor. . . . Of Huitzilopochtli, the founder of the Mexican power, we read that he had been a great wizard and a sorcerer; and every Mexican king on ascending the throne, had to swear to make the sun go his course, to make the clouds pour down rain, to make the rivers run, and all fruits to ripen. . . . Thothmes III, (one of the old kings of Egypt,) after being deified, was considered the luck-bringing god of the country, and a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and magicians. . . . Rabbinical writings are never weary of enlarging upon the magical power and knowledge of Solomon. . . . The Scandinavian ruler, Odin, was a medicine-man, as also were Niort and Frey, his successors.* To this list it may be added that in China to this day the mandarins profess *ex officio* to have the power of expelling the demons who cause the eclipse, and perform a regular state ceremony for the purpose.† Even in England, up to a comparatively recent period, the touch of a king was believed to

* *Political Institutions*, by Mr. Herbert Spencer, edit. 1882, pp. 339—340.

† See Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, p. 248, edit. London, 1868.

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cure the disease, which is still every where known by the name of "king's evil." The union of the office of ruler with the skill of the magician has been popularized in our own literature in the *Tempest*, where Prospero is not merely "the rightful duke of Milan," but a wizard, who "puts the wild waves in a roar," and has a host of unseen spirits at his command.

Within the last century and more, the Thârus have had no king or chieftain of their own. They have paid tribute to foreigners—either to some petty prince in Naipal, or to some Hindu raja in the plains or (as in one notable instance) to both at once. Yet if local, but independent, traditions are to be trusted, they were a ruling race not many centuries back, in several places of note lying between Barcilly and Gorakhpur. It is not possible that they could have established a dominion of their own at such important places as Gonda or Ayodhya, if they had not been led, organized, and united by kings or chieftains of their own tribe. The legend of "Rakshâ, the magician," shews how this could have been done, and what was the nature of the influence by which he, and those who reigned after him, secured the obedience of the people.

Rakshâ does not appear to have been known outside the Thâru tribe; and as the beliefs and customs peculiar to this people have not had much influence upon the Indian community generally, no niche has been found for him in the vast gallery of wizards, miracle-workers, saints, heroes, and demigods, who make up the popular creed of Hinduism. Had he been, like Krishna, a hero of some widely spread nomad race, such as the Yâdus, or like Râma, a prince of some great warrior horde claiming descent from the Sun, he would no doubt have been transformed into a pious Brahmanical personage, and perhaps raised to the rank of an Incarnation of Vishnu.

The chief element, as we have said, in the religion of Thârus is the fear of evil spirits,—the souls of the dead who harass the bodies of the living. It is to the action of these spirits that fever, ague, cough, dysentery, fainting, headache, madness, bad dreams, and pain of all kinds are ascribed. In fact, the Thârus have no conception of natural disease, and no belief in natural death except what is faintly conceived to be the result of natural decay. Their state, therefore, would be one of utter helplessness, were it not for the reputed skill of medicine-men or sorcerers, who profess to have the power to control the spirits of the air, or to interpret their grievances and wants. In the Thâru language these men are called *baravarar*; but the titles of Guru, Gurua, Bhagat, Nyotya, Ojhait, all of which are borrowed from Hindi, are now in common use; though even of these, the last two are probably of aboriginal

or non-Sanskrit origin. The power of the medicine-man is tremendous. He has a host of liege spirits at his command. Not only can he expel a fiend from the body of the sufferer, but he can produce suffering or death by driving a malignant spirit into the body of his foe. In order to exorcise an evil spirit, he holds in his left hand some ashes of cowdung, or grains of mustard seed, or wild nuts, and after breathing some mystical virtue into them by the utterance of a spell, he causes the patient to eat them or has them attached to his arm. One of the spells uttered at such times, is as follows : It is addressed to Kâlikâ, the Thâru goddess of death, and patroness of the magical art—

Gur hai gur sair Gur tantra mantra Gur : Lakhai niranjan ; toka sohai phulka bhâr ; Hamka sohai gun mayâ kai bhâr : Yahân kar vidyâ nahin, Kamru Kâm kai vidyâ. Jaise vidyâ Kamru Kâmkai lâgai, waise vidyâ lâgai mor.

The language is that of bad and scarcely intelligible Hindi, and might be rendered thus :—

“The Guru (Kâlikâ) is great, she is everything, she is *tantra* (magic by deeds), she is *mantra* (magic by words). She points out the way to relief. “Thou (oh Kâlikâ) deservest to be heaped with flowers. I too deserve to be heaped with secret wisdom,—the wisdom of Kamru Kâm, not the wisdom of this country. Whatever effects the knowledge of Kamru Kâm produces, such effects let my knowledge produce also?”

But the function of the medicine-man is not limited to magic. He administers medicines in a literal sense ; and his knowledge of the remedial or other properties of herbs is wonderful. We have shewn already how the commonest Thâru can destroy fish and cause them to float lifeless on the top of the water, by throwing a medicated bait into the pool. The herbs and plants of the sub-Himalayan forest have always had a high reputation in India for their medical properties ; for Hanumân, the flying monkey-god, who aided Râma against the demon-king of Lankâ, is said to have flown from Lankâ (Ceylon) to the foot of the Himalaya mountains to procure the medicinal herbs, with which he restored the wounded warriors in Râma's army. The success, with which a Thâru medicine-man administers natural remedies to his patient, cannot but tend to make and sustain his reputation as a wizard ; for like his brethren in other parts of the world, he never administers these remedies without the adjunct of magic. Probably he is no better able than his patient to discriminate between the natural and the supernatural elements employed in his own craft. Provided the

* Kâmrup is the old name of Assam, the great centre of the worship of Kâli, where she is called Kâlikâ, and sometimes Kâmâkshi, the Eye of Lust. The priestesses in the Assam temple are celebrated for their fanaticism and lewdness. The spell quoted in the text belongs to the class of mantras called Sâbari, all of which are addressed to Kâli to enable the votary to acquire power over the spirits of the air.

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evil spirit is expelled, (for this is what is meant by removing a disease,) the reputation of the magician-doctor is increased. If the patient dies, the calamity is ascribed to the will of Kâlikâ, the death goddess, against which the arts of the savage Esculapius are not expected to prevail.

These medicine-men possess such a high reputation for wisdom, that, like the kings described by Mr. Herbert Spencer, they are supposed to have power over the elements, to see things at a distance, and to be able to advise men on all kinds of questions unconnected with disease or demoniacal possession. They receive, in fact, as much deference as is paid by Hindus to the professional Brahman. Nor do I feel any doubt that a large number of the men who are now enrolled as Brahmans, and whom writers have so confidently set down as being of pure Aryan or Indo-European blood, are descended from aboriginal or non-Aryan priests, who crept into the ranks of Brahmanhood at a time when they and their tribe were becoming Hinduized, and whom Brahmans of established reputation found it convenient to recognise as men of their own fraternity.

The office of Guruâ or medicine-man is not hereditary, as that of Brahman has long been amongst Hindus, though the latter was not so originally. But even amongst the Tharus it is not uncommon for the son to inherit the secrets of his father's craft,—the same tendency, as that which has made the status of Brahman hereditary throughout Hindu society. A man, who has a turn for devilry and aspires to become a Guruâ, must go through a severe and rather costly period of probation before the public will accept his demoniacal pretensions. Wine and blood must flow freely on the altar of Kâlikâ. He must learn the mantras or magical words by which she is propitiated, and repeat them daily before her shrine immediately after his morning bath. He must keep odorous herbs smoking as he repeats, and a lighted lamp fed with ghee. Nor is he in a fit state for the goddess to make him one of her own, till he has undergone a long abstinence from food and drink. Her entrance into his body is at last indicated by a violent tremor seizing him, which sometimes throws him on the ground in a fit of muscular contortions.*

* The trembling fit, as an indication of spiritual possession, is by no means confined to India. In America the medicine-man undergoes a similar preparation of fasting, and the entrance of the spirit into his body is indicated by similar signs. (See *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Domenech, vol. II, p. 415ff.)

In China, when a man is at the point of death, a ceremony is performed for attempting to arrest the flight of his soul into space. The soul is transferred into his coat, which is suspended over his bed. When the coat begins to turn or tremble, the soul is believed to have entered. (Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese*, chap. v, p. 110, edit. 1868). The convulsions

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The souls of the dead, with whom these wizards have to deal, are capricious beings. Even those whose disposition is friendly will become hostile for a time, if they are not fed when they are hungry : and as it is difficult to predict when their next hungry fit will come on, it is surprising that the Tharus have not hit upon the well-known Hindu expedient; by which the souls of ancestors, female as well as male, are appeased regularly once a year with an offering of cake and water in the ceremony called Pitri-bisarjan, which means " sending the ancestors back", with an offering. Souls of a less friendly turn exact reparation for wrongs which were inflicted on them in the body. But the souls most to be dreaded are those of women who have died in childbirth, and those of men or women who have died a violent death from man or beast, or a painful and sudden death from cholera or small-pox, or who have died in some solitary or polluted place. Such spirits are certain to be malignant. The state of suffering in which they left the body follows them to the life beyond, and provokes them to destroy not only men and women, but cattle and even crops. It is scarcely necessary to add that such notions are not confined to Tharus. Hindus and Mahommedans of all castes and degrees, even the highest and most cultivated, fear the malignity of the spirits of the air, and ascribe their hostility to similar causes. Hindus call them by the name of *bhût* ; Mahommedans by that of *saiyad*, a corruption of *shahid* or " martyr." After years of propitiation, the souls of distinguished martyrs cease to persecute, and become the saints or deities of the place, and pilgrimages are made to their shrines.* In all parts of Europe there is a deeply rooted conviction, that the ghost of a murdered man or woman haunts the house or place in which the deed was committed. A well-known example of this in our own literature is the ghost of Hamlet's father, who thus discourses of the crime by which his life was destroyed :—

Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand,
Of crown, of life, of queen at once despatched ;
Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
Unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled.

Hamlet. Act I. Sc. V.

The Tharu women are especially credited with the power of the evil eye : and the dread thus excited is probably one of the and contortions of limb, to which ignorant and excitable persons are exposed at the so-called revivalist meetings in Great Britain, are ascribed by preachers and fanatics to the Holy Ghost having entered the body of the converted sinner.

* A much fuller and better account of the belief in ghosts, as it exists amongst Hindus and Mahommedans, is given in Mr. Denzil Ibbetson's *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography*, 1883, chap. iv, para. 220—228. An excellent account of *Demon-worship in Northern India* is given by General Cunningham, in *Archeological Survey*, vol. xvii, p. 139—166.

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causes which have maintained the isolation of this tribe for so many centuries. The theory of the evil eye is, as I take it, a sequel to the theory of ghosts. Bewitchment by the eye is only a special form of demoniacal possession. The expression of life is centred in the eye. The Macusis of Guiana say that although the body will decay, "the man in our eyes," (that is, the bystander's image, which is taken to be an image of the person's own soul) will not die, but wander abroad. It is believed in Scotland to this day, that if you cannot see the mannikin in the lustreless eye of the sick man, this is a certain sign that his soul or ghost is departing. In Germany the disappearance of the mannikin from the eye of a healthy man is a sign that the person has been bewitched, that is, that his own soul has been superseded by an alien one. Pliny tells us that a magician may be detected from the fact, that there is a double image in one of his eyes, and the image of a horse in the other.* The evil eye, then, is the soul or ghost which the magician projects from his own eye into the body of another, causing the mother's milk to dry, the babe to pine, the cattle to sicken, the crop to fade, and the man or woman to die :—

Nes io quis teneros oculus mihi fecerat ignos.

Vergil Eccl. III, 103.

Amongst Tharus and their victims, the power of the evil eye displays itself in two different forms or degrees. "The stronger" of the two is known as *lohna* which commences with a violent wasting away, and results invariably in a rapid death. From the lesser known as *huj* recovery may be expected. It displays itself in a low fever accompanied with diarrhoea. The fever and dysentery of the Terai keep the superstition alive. Both men and animals are supposed to be subject to this malignant influence; but a handsome bachelor is considered the most likely victim,—a belief in which we see something of the

* Another explanation of the evil eye is given in Mr. Denzil Ibbetson's *Punjab Ethnography*, 1883, para 229. I question, however, whether this explanation is sufficiently wide to cover the wide extent of the belief. The allusion to the Macusis of Guiana is taken from Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, vol. I, p. 389, edit. 1871. The Scotch notion is alluded to in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, edit. 1883 (by James Steven Stallybrass), vol. III, p. 1,181. The German notion, in vol. III, p. 1,074. Pliny's doctrine is mentioned in *Nat. Hist.* 7, 2. The word for the mannikin in the eye in A.-Saxon is *manlica*, in Latin *pupa* or *pupilla*, in Greek *kore*. None of the authors quoted above are responsible for the explanation of the evil eye suggested in the text. I have merely used the facts which they have furnished as the basis of my own suggestion. The explanation quoted by Mr. Denzil Ibbetson is taken from Mr. Channing :—"When a child is born, "an invisible spirit is sometimes born with it; and unless the mother "keeps one breast tied for 40 days while she feeds the child from the other, "in which case the spirit dies of hunger, the child grows up with the "endowment of the evil eye," &c.

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love magic of the Thracian witches." * In the neighbourhood of Tulsipur, (Gonda district), where Thârus are numerous and their Hindu victims many, there is a celebrated Hindu exorciser of the carpenter caste, who professes to have discovered the antidote to this species of witchcraft, and whose method appears to be a kind of mesmerism. Crowds of patients wait upon him to be unbewitched at the appointed dates.

A woman gifted with the evil eye and credited with having slain many victims becomes, after her death, a *blukchim*, that is, a malignant demoness, commanding the whole troop of souls whom she conquered by her enchantments.

The goddess, who presides over life and death, and whom the Thârus believe to be the supreme power in the universe, is Kâlîka,—one of the numerous forms of Devi, Durgâ or Kâlî, at whose name all India trembles, especially the low castes and the casteless tribes, amongst whom she originally sprung. † Medicine-men look to Kâlîkâ as the special patroness of their art. To the fair sex she is the goddess of parturition, and her aid is especially invoked by women who have had no children. All classes combine to give her a periodical ovation, accompanied with much dancing, banqueting, and drinking of wine at about the middle of October. Thârus also takes part in the huge animal sacrifice performed at her celebrated altar in Devi Patan (Gonda district.) Such is her thirst for blood, that at this time 20 buffaloes, 250 goats, and 250 pigs, are slaughtered daily for ten days continuously. The sacrifice is vicarious, the blood of buffaloes, &c., being intended as a substitute for that of human victims. This loathsome festival is thronged with visitors from the plains of India, and from the hills of Naipal, Sikkim and Bhootan.

It may be remarked in passing that the Kâlîkâ, whom Thârus delight to honor, was borrowed from Assam, or at least that the Thâru and Assam goddesses sprang from some common indigenous source. There are two facts which point irresistibly to this conclusion. In the first place, the spell of the medicine-man, which we have translated in a previous page, claims to have come from Kanrûp, the old name for

* Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 503, article by Mr. Benett.

† In Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 504, Mr. Benett, speaking of Kâlîka, gives her the prefix *Sonmat*, but without explaining what *Sonmat* means. If I may be allowed to spell it as *Sommat*, it signifies "crescent-headed;" and Kâlîkâ is so called out of compliment to Shiva, whose wife she is, and who is described as wearing a crescent on his head. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that Chandika Devi, a goddess of the Bhar tribe, who resembles the Kâlîkâ of the Thârus, means also the "crescent-headed." For Chandra, like Soma, is one of the names of the moon. In some parts, the Thârus call their goddess by the name of Mari, the patron goddess of Kanjars.

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Assam, where there is a celebrated temple in honour of the goddess named. In his account of the *Kâlikâ Purâna* (the sacred book devoted to the praises of this deity), Professor Wilson remarks—"It is a singular, but uninvestigated circumstance, that Assam, or at least the North-East of Bengal, seems to have been in a great degree the source from which the Tantrika and Sâkta corruptions of the Vedas and Puranas proceeded." In Assam the goddess is mostly worshipped under the name of *Kâlikâ* or *Kâmâkshi*, the Eye of Lust : in Bengal proper, under that of *Kâli* or *Durgâ*, the Unapproachable. Secondly, the *Thârus*, as we have just shewn, keep the annual festival of *Kâli* or *Durgâ*, which falls due at about the middle of October ; but they do not keep that of the *Dashara* which occurs at the same season. Now the latter is the festival observed by the natives of Upper India, the near neighbours of *Thârus* ; but the former is that kept by Bengalis, from whom they (the *Thârus*) are separated by a vast intervening space. The two festivals, though they occur in the same month, are as distinct as possible : for the *Dashara* is in honour of the hero *Râma*, the illustrious incarnation of *Vishnu* ; while the *Durga Pujâ*, as the name implies, is in honour of *Durgâ*, *Kâli*, or *Kâlikâ*, the wife of *Shiva*. The coincidence of date in the observance of those festivals is merely accidental and can be easily explained by the fact that in Hindustan, no less than in Bengal, the monsoon rains have ceased and the summer crop has been harvested by the middle of October, and hence this season is the most suitable that could be selected for observing a great periodical feast.* It certainly takes one by surprise to find that the *Durgâ Pujâ* (the anniversary of the worship of *Kali*), which was believed to be confined to the people of Assam and Bengal, is observed in Upper India by an isolated tribe like the *Thârus*, and by no other tribe or caste.

Another deity revered by *Thârus*, and like *Kâlikâ* of indigenous or non-Aryan origin, is her consort *Shiva*,—known chiefly amongst *Thârus* by the name of *Bhairava*, the Terrible, or *Thakur*, the Lord, and amongst Hindus by that of *Mahadev*, the great god. He like his spouse is a god of destruction, and thirsts for blood. But he is chiefly worshipped by *Thârus* as the author of reproduction, of which a stone lingam, as amongst Hindus, is sometimes made the symbol. It is more usual, however, for a *Thâru* to erect a mud mound in front of his house, and fix an upright pole in its centre, to represent the presence of this phallic divinity. The use of a pole was equally common

* So, too, in ancient Egypt, the period when the inundation of the Nile subsided, and when the annual fruit and harvest were gathered, was the time of a great national festival. The Nile is to Egypt what the monsoon rains are to India.

among the ancient inhabitants of Italy, who used it to express the phallic character of their god Priapus.*

There are two other deities of some importance, to whom Thârus address their vows. One is Madadeo, the god of intoxicating liquor, especially of the rice-wine made by themselves; the other is Dharchandi, the patroness of cattle, though her name would imply that she was at first intended to impersonate the Earth. Her shrine, like those of the other deities already named, is a mound of clay. The mound dedicated to Dharchandi is studded with short wooden crosses, on which rice, pulse, and other produce of the fields are offered, and always on plates of leaf. Her shrine is so placed that all the cattle of the village, together with the swine, sheep, and goats, pass it on going out to graze, and repass it on their return. When the cattle sicken or die, larger and more valuable offerings are made. Neither of these deities is known or worshipped by other natives of Upper India.†

There are three animals which Tharus hold sacred above all others, and which they would deem it sacrilege to destroy,—the cow, the serpent, and the monkey. The first is venerated for its docility and usefulness; the second for its subtle and mysterious motion and for its supposed connection with the pregnancy of women; the third for its likeness to man. Among the savage and castless tribes these animals are revered without any specific rites or illustrative fables. But as soon as Brahmans decided to admit them within the pale of Hinduism, snake-worship was developed into the great annual festival of Nag-panchami, and into the myth of the world-snake, Ananta, on whose endless coils Vishnu reposes with his wife Lakshmi at the bottom of the milky sea. Monkey-worship was developed into the legend of the great flying ape, Hanumân, who led an army of monkeys against the demon-king of Lankâ in aid of the hero or demi-god, Râma. Cow-worship fell under the special patronage of Brahmans, and the bull became the beast-vehicle of Shiva. These animals are foreign to the early Hindu scriptures, and there can be no doubt as to the source from which their worship was borrowed. Hinduism has associated them (as we have just shewn) with the two most popular gods of her

* See Horace's description of Priapus in Satires, I, 8, 5: *Obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus.*

† Dharchandi is derived from *Dhara* or *dhari* the earth, and *Chandi*, ruler or queen. *Mada deo* simply means "the God of drunkenness." Mr. Benett, in *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. III, p. 504, makes no mention of the worship of Madadeo, nor of that of Bhairava. But he makes mention of a Thâru god,—Garur Bir,—whom I have thought proper to omit. I learn from local enquiry, that Garur Bir is a god of the Naipalese and not one whom Thârus regularly worship. Thârus, however, will throw an offering on his shrine as they pass, while they are travelling in the Naipal hills.

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triad, but it was the indigenous tribes, and not the earliest teachers of Hinduism, who demanded their incorporation. *

In about the middle of March, after the winter crop has been cut, and the harvest has been stacked for the year, the Thârus hold their great annual festival of fire,—an observance resembling in many respects the Holi of the Hindus, and known to the Thârus themselves by this and no other name. A mound of earth is prepared, in the centre of which a pole is fixed in a vertical position,—the phallic emblem of reproductive energy. This is the season, too, at which the youthful bachelor brings away his affianced bride into his own village and home. † Offerings of turmeric, hemp, dhatura, and other pungent or odorous herbs are placed upon the pole and mound by the assembled people. Straw and stubble and sticks are then piled around the pole; and the oldest or most respected man in the assembly puts fire to it. After the bonfire has burnt itself out, they amuse themselves with dancing, playing the drum and cymbals, pelting each other with coloured powder, singing amorous songs, and cracking lascivious jokes. The evening is spent in feasting on roast meats and rice and drinking wine. The only difference between this and the Hindu form of the Holi is, that the same gods or demigods are not honored in the one as in the other, and that the Thârus have retained the old phallic emblem, which amongst Hindus has entirely gone out of use. There can be scarcely any doubt that the festival is of a purely indigenous or non-Aryan origin, and that it found its way into the Hindu system at a time, when the fusion of the two races, the Indigenous and the Aryan, was complete, and when the priests and doctors of the Hindu religion were too much in sympathy with the aboriginal rites and customs by which they were surrounded to desire to discard a festival so ancient and popular. In proof of the indigenous origin of this observance it should be noticed, that the Holi is preeminently the festival of the lower castes, (who make up about 80 per cent of the total population), though it is now kept by the higher ones

* Even so late as the *Amastamba Sûtras*, it seems that beef was eaten by Brahmins. For in II. 6, 26, it is said that beef offered to the souls of ancestors will satisfy them for a year, (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II, p. 141.)

† In the account given above, of the marriage customs of the Thârus, I find that I omitted to mention one important fact as helping to shew that the now obsolete custom of marriage by capture is the type on which their marriage ceremonies are based. I have learned from two different quarters (Bahraich and Bhinga), that when the bridegroom's party of males first arrives at the bride's house for the purpose of taking her away, every attempt is made by the friends of the bride to prevent them from entering the house, and that there is some show of resistance on both sides.

also,*—that its very name is aboriginal, being underivable from any known, Sanskrit source,—and that it is observed to this day by certain tribes in Central India, who are still outside the pale of Hinduism, and in honor of a hero or demi-god who is totally unknown to Hindus in any part of India. † The Brahman priests and legend-mongers, who have made the Hindu calendar what it

* To the reader who is not intimately acquainted with the history of Hindu rites, it may be pointed out that there are four great annual festivals recognized by Hinduism, corresponding to the forefold mythical division of castes into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras. (1) Rakshabandhan : held on about 15th August, sacred to Brahmans. On this day they renew their sacred thread for the incoming year, and send snips of it about to their various constituents, receiving presents in return. (2) Dashara : held about 15th October, sacred to Kshatriyas, or as they are now called Chattris. The deeds and adventures of Râma, the great Chattri hero, are celebrated at this season in mimic show. All castes, low as well as high, take part in the amusements. (3) Diwâli : held about 5th November, sacred to Vaisvas, the caste of merchants. On this occasion they make up their account books for the year, white wash their houses, light new fires on the hearth, illuminate the walls with oil burners and worship their hoard and all the valuables that they possess, using them as the emblem or material sign of the presence of Lakshmi, the goddess of good luck. Peasants have learnt to imitate the illuminations of Vaisvas, by lighting a number of little bonfires in their fields. Thieves think that if they can make a lucky hit on this day, it will give them good luck for the rest of the year. (4) Holi : held on about 15th March, especially sacred to Sûdras or low castes. The Hindus light large bonfires, but without placing a pole or phallus in the middle, yet keeping up the old phallic significance of the event, by singing indecent songs and making lascivious jokes at each other. They honor on this day Prahlâd, the Brahman-loving son of a Brahman-hating fiend. The Tharus on the other hand honor their tutelâr gods.—Kâlikâ, Bhairava, and Mada Deo. They also honor a minor deity of their own called Pâlhu, who is probably the original of the Brahmanized Prahlâd honored by Hindus. The word *Prahlâd* signifies "joy," and it is very likely that the Brahmans coined this word out of the aboriginal Pâlhu to explain the general rejoicing with which the Holi is celebrated.

† I learnt this fact from Mr. Scanlan, Private Secretary of the Raja of Bhinga, (Baraich district, Oudh) and formerly of the Survey of India, (Topl. Dept.) who, in one of his reports, wrote an interesting account of the observance of the Holi, by un-Brahmanized tribes living in the Satpûra range.

The following extracts are taken from a condensed version of Mr. Scanlan's paper, published in Surveyor-General's Report for 1868-69, p. 46. Speaking of the Gonds and Korkus of the Central Provinces, he says that "during the Holi festival, the women throw off all reserve, &c Both men and women assemble around the village fires and enjoy their time by discoursing music. . . . The god called Khandar Rao plays a prominent part in the Holi festival. He is to be seen in almost every village represented by a *long red-coloured pole*, which is driven vertically into the ground." &c. The red-coloured pole shews the phallic significance of the Holi, and is an exact translation of Horace's *ruber palus*, (see Satires, i, 8 5). The priests employed on the occasion are not Brahmans, but a class of aboriginal priests called *Bhumkas*.

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is, have overlaid the Holi with a mass of legends about the demon Harinakshyapa and his pious son Prahlâd, and about another demon who was slain by Krishna, so that its real origin and significance do not now appear on the surface. But the fire-festival of spring tide, by whatever name we may call it, has been known and observed in many distant lands, of whose existence the Hindu doctors were not aware. The public lighting of large bonfires,—the element common to all forms of this festival in India and elsewhere,—and the general rejoicing and feast-making that mark the anniversary, shew that its original meaning was that of a New Year's festival, 'associated with the worship of the sun. In ancient times the opening of the new year was considered in many countries to date from the vernal equinox, and not, as now, from the winter solstice.* From that date the days begin to be longer than the nights and the sun has gained at last, without any fear of a reverse, his hard fought battle over the rival powers of cold and darkness. The mode of signaling this victory was by lighting huge bonfires or by performing the rite of the New Fire. "The Easter bonfires" says Mr. Tylor, "with which the North German hills used to be seen ablaze mile after mile are not altogether given up by local custom. On Easter morning in Saxony and Brandenburg, the peasants still climb the hill tops before dawn, to see the rising sun give his three joyful leaps." In Asia Minor, as an eye witness relates, "we were suddenly awakened (on Easter morning) by the blaze and crackling of a large bonfire, with singing and shouting, in honour of the resurrection."† The heathen rite of the New Fire, which symbolized the renewed energy of the physical sun, has been incorporated into the Christian ritual of Easter, which celebrates the rising again of the Sun of Righteousness. In the Western Church all the old fires of the "perpetual lamps" are extinguished, and a new holy fire is struck from a flint

* Until the time of Julius Casar, who completely remodelled the calendar, March was the first month of the year. This is plain from the names, September, October, November, December, and from Quintilis and Sextilis the old names for July and August. The Jewish Nisan or Abid coincided with March, and to the Israelites this was ordained by Moses to be "the first month of the year," in commemoration of the Passover; see *Exodus*, XII, 2.

† Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, edit, 1877 p. 92. The quotation is from Chandler's *French in Asia Minor*. The extract quoted from Mr. Tylor occurs in *Primitive Culture*, vol. II, p. 269. As regards the sun's three leaps, witnessed, or believed to be witnessed, by the German peasant, we might compare the remarks by Sir Thomas Brown in *Vulgar Errors*:—"We shall not, I hope, disparage the resurrection of our Redeemer, if we say that the sun doth not dance in Easter day."

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by the priest, from which the lamps are relighted for the year. In the east a miraculous fire is said to descend from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, at the bidding of the patriarch of Jerusalem. "Among the Persians," says Gebelin, "the new year is looked upon as the renewal of all things, and is noted for the triumph of the sun of nature, as Easter is with Christians for that of the Sun of Justice." * Among the Natchez of the New World, March was the first of the 13 moons or months into which the year was divided; and the opening of the new year was signalized by dancing round an immense bonfire, on which cauldrons of meat were placed for the intended banquet. The "Sun dance" is still observed at springtide by most of the native tribes of North America. † In India to this day the fire-festival of the Holi, which falls in the same month as the Christian Easter and the Jewish Nisan, is considered by the great mass of the people to mark the first day of the year.

This finishes what we had to say about the industries, village communities, marriage customs, and religious observances of the Thârus. We must now, in conclusion, attempt to recapitulate such evidence as we have been able to collect respecting their origin, migrations, and recent history.

The only account of their origin that has been given by English writers, but not by any means universally given by Thârus themselves, is that their first ancestors were Rajputs of Chittore, but were banished thence into their present sub-Himalayan home after the sack of their native city by the Mahommedans. Some Thârus know nothing about this tradition, and those who do are not able to tell you whether it was the sack by Alaudin (A. D. 1303), or that by Bahâdur Shah (A. D. 1533), or that by Akbar, (A. D. 1567). The story is absurd on the face of it. Not the slightest allusion to Thârus, in connection with any of these events, is made by the Mahomedan historians. The fiction of having come from Rajputâna was invented by some of the clans, merely to raise themselves in their own and their neighbours' estimation. There is scarcely any hunting tribe or caste in Upper India which has not set up a similar claim.

The other tradition current amongst the Thârus themselves respecting the origin of their tribe is that which centres round

* Quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 90. In Sweeden, where the spring tide opens a month or two later, the fire-festival is held early in May.

† *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, vol. II, pp. 214-15. A recent traveller in Amorgos, one of the Greek Cyclades, observes that the firing off of guns was one of the easter ceremonies. See Macmillan's Magazine, July 1884.

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the name of Rakshâ, the magician, whose story has been already told. This is *prima facie* much the more probable of the two; and it is confirmed incidentally by a large number of local traditions scattered about in various places, where Thârus themselves are no longer to be found, but where the memory of their former dominion is still alive. According to these legends the line of country formerly inhabited by the tribe was about a hundred miles further south than where we now find them. They are said to have been once the ruling race at Maraûri in the Bareilly district, at Gonda in northern Oudh, at Ayodhyâ after the expulsion of the Solar dynasty, in several places of the Gorakhpur district which are now marked with mounds and ruined forts, at Amorha, Basti, Maghar, and other old places of note in the Basti district.* Each of these legends is independent of every other; and their unborrowed consistency constitutes rather a strong cumulative argument for their truth. Local kingdoms of this kind could not have been founded without the leadership of local chieftains; and Raksha, the magician, may be taken as the type of what such leaders were.

The legend of his having been expelled from Bareilly by Râja Ben and ordered to go northwards may be taken to represent the gradual migrations of the tribe farther and farther towards the northern or sub-Himalayan forest, as fast as the primeval forest disappeared from the south; and this migration is still going on. The area of cultivation keeps constantly extending northwards; while the tribe is constantly retreating with the retreating forest closer and closer to the hills of Naipal. There is abundant evidence to shew that the more southerly tract in which the Thârus formerly dwelt was as thickly covered with forest a few centuries ago, as that in which they now live. Only 330 years ago, the western part of the Kheri district, together with the adjoining portion of Shahjahanpur, was called Barwâr Anjâna, or "the unknown Barwar land," having been so named by contemporary historians on account of the wild nature of the country. The whole of the northern half

* For the Thâru settlement at Maraûri in the Bareilly district, see North West Gazetteer 1879 vol. V. p. 645. For that at Gonda, see Oudh Gazetteer 1877, vol. I, p. 111. For that of Ayudhya, see North West Gazetteer, 1881, vol. VI. 429—431; and Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I, Introd. p. xxxiv. For the traces of Thâru occupation in Gorakhpur and Basti, see North West Gazetteer, vol. VI. pp. 431, 718, 720, 737, 751, 772, 776. The Hardoi district, Oudh, is full of legends about aboriginal kingdoms founded by Thathêras; (see Oudh Gazetteer, vol. II, under the name *Kachandan*, *Kalyamal* and *Mallânwan*). As it is quite impossible that the brazier caste (Thathera) could even have existed in such times, much less founded kingdoms, I conclude that *Thathera* is a modern corruption of *Thâru*.

of the Hardoi district, Oudh, was a jungle in the time of Akbar (A. D. 1556), impenetrable to the imperial troops. The great Duab between the Goomti and the Sarju, extending further south than Fyzabad, was called Banaudha, or the Oudh forest. Another large tract east of the Sarju was called Gandharp Ban, or the forest of Gandharp. In 1810 A. D., when the troops of the late East India Company were first quartered at Gorakhpur, there was no open space for them to encamp on. "It required a very odious exertion of power," writes Buchanan, a contemporary witness, "to clear so much ground as was sufficient to form a parade, and a kind of breathing hole for the European officers of Government." The first Collector of Gorakhpur pitched his tent on the margin of a lake, whose edges had been cleared of jungle; and a cordon of elephants was drawn round his camp to keep off the tigers.* *Bankata*, *Banphur*, *Banchati*, are not uncommon names in Upper India for villages which now stand in a vast treeless plain; and each of these words signifies "forest clearance." The whole line of country, then, from Bareilly to Gorakhpur, was covered with forest up to a comparatively recent period. As such, it must have possessed every characteristic that a hunting and nomad tribe like the Tharus could have desired; and this is well in keeping with the Tharu traditions, to which we have referred.

The migration of the Tharus towards the Naipal hills from the sub-division now known as Balrampur, in the Gonda district, commenced only about a century ago. The country was then much more thickly wooded than it now is. In this tract they had established, from about the 15th century A. D., a circle of eight well-defined settlements, governed by hereditary headmen, called in the Tharu language *barwaik*, separated from each other by as many hill streams, and defended

* The Kheri forest (Barwar Anjāna) is alluded to in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. II, 1877, p. 242.

For the Hardoi forest, see also vol. II, p. 56. For the forests of Gandharp and Avadh, see vol. I, p. 108. The quotation from Buchanan's *Eastern India*, and the allusions to the forests of Gorakhpur, occur in *North-Western Gazetteer*, vol. VI, p. 498. In the *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. I. Introd., p. xxxiv. Mr. Benett writes as follows: "It was the Tharus, if local tradition is to be trusted, who first descended from the hills, and "in the 8th or 9th century A. D., cleared the jungles as far as Ayudhya," &c. I have not met with any traditions as to Tharus having descended from the hills; and the concurrent testimony of the traditions quoted in the text is against this. Moreover, the Tharus are not addicted to the practice of clearing jungles except for the temporary purpose of clearing a patch here and there for cultivation. In his very interesting remarks under the name *Tulsipur*, in vol. III of this Gazetteer, Mr. Benett shews how Tharus are perpetually moving northwards as fast as the forest recedes.

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against aggression by strong mud forts.* Here under their own laws and leaders, they preserved for some 300 years a semi-independence by paying a double tribute, the one to the southern prince, the Raja of Balrampur, and the other to a northern, the Raja of Dang, in Naipal. But about a hundred years ago, when the Raja of Balrampur died, the rightful heir, having been ousted by his cousin, took refuge with the Raja of Dang and solicited his aid for the recovery of his kingdom. The Tharus, being forced to join first one claimant, and then another, were crushed, as it were, between two millstones, and their old settlements fell into ruin and were deserted. Since the advent of British rule, the forest has been disappearing with surprising rapidity, and the Tharus have retired closer than ever to the foot of the Naipal mountains.† "There can be little doubt," writes Mr. Bennett, "that this interesting and peculiar race will soon disappear from this side of the hills. Their number in Gonda has already been reduced to barely 3,000, and it yearly decreases through migration to Naipal."‡ Some few, however, have remained in the open plains, and small communities or groups may at this day be found in the Fyzabad, Moradabad, Cawnpore, and Badaun districts, where their chief, if not only, means of living is by the tillage of the soil. Some few have migrated still further south, into the less cultivated tracts of Banda and Allahabad, where the still surviving forest affords them better scope for retaining the customs of their ancestors.

* In Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, vol. I, p. 58, edited by Mr. Beames, 1869, the editor says that "Barwaik is the name of a tribe of Tharus." This is not borne out by what other writers have said. *Barwaik* is simply the Tharu synonym for the Hindi *Chaudhari*. Perhaps, however, some families have kept up the name of Barwaik as an hereditary title; and such families would naturally constitute a distinct clan. I have since learnt that there is a clan in the Kumaon tract, which calls itself Barwaik; but this is the only instance.

† The following extract from the North-West Gazetteer, vol. VI, p. 472 (1881), will serve to illustrate the rapidity with which the forests disappear under English rule:—"Institutes of Akbar, (1596) return Bhaināpāra as a parganah of the Gorakhpur division, with a state rental of Rs. 3,897. How greatly cultivation has since then extended is shown by the revenues imposed in modern British settlements. These were at the first Rs. 15,430; at the second Rs. 14,721; at the third Rs. 14,750; at the fourth Rs. 17,253; and at the fifth Rs. 40,904." The sixth and present Government demand amounts to Rs. 58,477: (see page 470).

‡ A fuller history of the Tharu settlements in Gonda, from which my own account has been condensed, can be seen in Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, pp. 504-6, by Mr. Bennett. It is still popularly believed by the Hindus of Balrampur and Utranla, that there are vast treasures lying concealed in the earth at the sites of the old Tharu forts, and that the Tharus come down occasionally by night to remove them.

Owing to the intermarriages which have taken place within the last two or three centuries, between Thâru men and Naipalese women, the physiognomy of the Thâru tribe has acquired in some instances a slightly Mongolian cast, which shews itself chiefly, but not to a striking degree, in slanting eyes and high cheek bones. In other respects their physical characteristics are of the strictly Indian type. They have long wavy hair, a dark, almost a black, complexion, and as much hair on the face and body as is usual with other natives of India. In stature, build, and gait, they are distinctly Indian and not Mongolian; nor have they any traditions whatever which connect their origin with Naipal. A century's intercourse with the people of the hills is more than sufficient to account for the slight Mongolian cast, which some members of the tribe have acquired. A much shorter period has been sufficient to produce a similar mixture of type in British Burma, where Indian labourers imported from the Madras and Bengal coasts have formed alliances with Burmese women, whose semi-Malay features and yellow complexion indicate a close ethnical affinity with the natives of Naipal. An Indo-Burmese child, if he were transported suddenly from Rangoon to the Terai forests of Upper India, could be easily taken for a Thâru child in every thing, except his language and dress.

The question as to whether the tribe is of Aryan or non-Aryan blood has been raised respecting Thârus, as it has been about every other tribe or caste in India. The discussion has been vague and unprofitable, and the differences in the opinions expressed shew how loosely, and on what very imperfect data, such distinctions of race have been drawn. A writer in the Oudh Gazetteer considers them a cross between "a Chattri horde" and the Naipalese; that is, between Aryans so-called and Mongolians. Yet in another place he couples them with Bhars, Doms, and other backward tribes as "aboriginal," that is, as indigenous to India, and therefore, neither Aryan nor Mongolian. A writer in the North-West Provinces Gazetteer accepts the Tharus' own assertion that they are Chattris, that is, Aryans: yet the same writer afterwards speaks of them as "Mongol-faced," which, as he gives no explanation of this fact, would leave the reader to infer that they are Mongolian rather than Aryan.* The opinion held by myself

* Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 502. Yet in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I, Intro., p. XXXV, the same author writing of the Bhars, says: "Their short stature and black skins, their features and their habits, their passion for the chase and inability to settle down as tenants, stamp them as *ethnical brothers* of the Doms, the Thârus, the Kewafs, and the Gonds, and the numerous other *aboriginal* tribes." There seems to be a confusion here between culture and physical type. As regards the account given in North-West Gazetteer, compare vol. VI, p. 430, with p. 474.

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is that among the present inhabitants of India no clear distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan can be drawn,—that the Aryan blood, such as it was, has for some 30 centuries past been absorbed into the Indigenous,—and that in point of race no essential difference has been left between the highest castes of Hindus and the lowest of the casteless tribes.* The difference in point of culture is of course immense. But if the ancestor of Shakspeare was a savage, (and this he certainly was,) there is a much longer distance between Shakspeare and his ancestor than there is between a Brahman and a Thâru. Our position is, that the Indian race from the highest caste to the lowest savage is ethnically one, but socially diverse,—that the graduated scale of castes, into which the Brahmanized portion of the race has been divided, represents not variations of blood, but gradations of culture,—and that the several stages of culture, to which the corresponding castes are allied, have succeeded each other in the same order and by the same law of progress in this country, that they have done in every other part of the world.†

It is not easy to ascertain the extent to which the language now spoken by Thârus differs from the rustic Hindi, or whether they still retain a distinct language of their own. At Khairigarh, in the Kheri district, I was informed by two Thâru boys, whose parents had settled in the village and who attended the primary school, that their parents were acquainted with a language which no other resident in the village could understand. If this is to be trusted, it implies that the more isolated clans still have a separate language of their

* It is not denied that in isolated tracts, (such as Rajputana for example,) where exceptional circumstances have prevented the fusion of races, there is still a marked difference in colour and expression between a Rajput and a Bhil or a Bauriya. Nor is it denied that in Upper India there are cases of survival, in which the fair skin and handsome features of the original Aryan come prominently to the front in individual Brahmans or Chattris. But cases of survival appear sometimes in Chamars and Sweepers also, and such cases are not very uncommon. What is meant is, that in Upper India and Bengal, the two stocks, the Aryan and the Indigenous, have become so completely amalgamated, that it is absurd to talk of one caste being Aryan and another non-Aryan. The Aryan blood, except in the cases of survival noted, has been absorbed and lost in the Indigenous, the less yielding to the greater.

† The reader need scarcely be reminded that the above is not intended to be a complete explanation of the origin of Hindu caste, but only so much of it as bears on the question of race. I am of course aware that the Aryan stranger helped materially to the formation of caste by impressing a new element from above on the indigenous tribes below. But I hold that the Aryan blood became itself absorbed into the Indigenous before the process was completed, and that no difference between Aryan and non-Aryan now remains.

own ; and this is not inconsistent with the fact that those who have settled in the open plains speak a bad Hindi. That they once spoke a purely aboriginal tongue, possessing no affinity with Hindi or Sanscrit, is clear from the names which they still give to their children, and from the strange words, such as *bar-waik* (headman), *bararat* (sorcerer), which continually crop up in their present speech. This is confirmed, too, by Mr. Beames, who writing of the Thârus in northern Gorakhpur and Champâran says, "that those who occupy villages in the plains now speak Hindi, but that those of the tribe, who still remain in the submontane districts of Naipal, continue to use their own original speech, which, like Magar and Gurung, is Thibetan at its base."* The Hindi language, like the Brahmanical creed which kept pace with its extension, has now overspread the whole area of the plains of Hindustan. But it still contains a large stock of words which can be traced to no Sanskrit source ; and the names by which many of the towns and villages are called betray the non-Aryan origin of the bulk of the population.

I have abandoned as hopeless the attempt to describe the details of the clan system prevailing in this tribe. It is found that in Gorakhpur the Thârus divide themselves into two great sections, the Pachhami or western, and the Pirabi or eastern. But what or where the dividing line is to be found, has not been stated. The westerns, it is said, call themselves Chattris, and refuse to eat with the easterns. The easterns again divide themselves into the Upper Eastern (Barkha) and the Lower (Chutka). Among each of these again there is a large number of smaller clans, some of the names of which are given in the note.† A different account of the divisions and sub-divisions of the tribe is given in the Gonda district. Here the tribe divides itself into two great sections, the Dangaria, and the Katharia, the first of which indulges in pork, and the second (according to their own statement) abstains from it. Other witnesses, however, deny that the Katharias abstain from swine's flesh. As to the smaller sub-divisions into which both sections are divided, there are such diversities of statement, that it is impossible to get at the truth.‡ The Thârus themselves do not seem

* Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, vol. I, p. 58, under name *Bar-waik*. Edited by Mr. J. Beames, London, 1869

† North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, vol. VI, p. 358. The names given are Dagwaria, Nawalpuria, Marchaha, Kupaliha, Jogithâru, Kosithâru, Kawasia, and Garhwaria.

‡ The two-fold division into Dangaria and Katharia is given by Mr. Benett, in Oudh Gazetteer, vol. III, p. 502, and is confirmed by a witness who was consulted in the Gonda district, who does not however admit that this Katharias abstain from pork. The names of sub-sections given in the

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to know what their clan system is. The probability is that no clearly defined system exists, and that clans are constantly changing their landmarks. As we remarked at the outset of this essay, dissociability, and not union, is the rule among savage nations. This dissociable temper has, in India at least, survived the institution of caste, and frustrated one of the chief benefits which the caste system might have produced. If the caste theory had been consistently carried out, that is, if all men practising the same hereditary craft or function, after which the caste was named and formed, had agreed to consider each other as brethren and to act unreservedly up to this profession, we should not have witnessed, as we now do, the breaking up of every caste into an endless number of clans and sub-clans; and we should probably have heard little or nothing about the Indian castes being "fissiparous," like those animals and plants in the natural world, which are continually dividing themselves into parts, each part acquiring a separate individual life, and dividing itself in its turn into other parts, each of which acquires an independent life like its predecessors. When we find, for example, that in a single district (Muttra) there are more than 25 sub-classes of the Gujar caste, and in the same district more than 22 sub-classes of Jâts, and in the Shâhjahânpur district more than 43 sub-classes of Ahirs, we can appreciate the extent to which the savage instinct of disunion has nullified the main benefit, which the caste system could have produced.*

The only Indian caste with whom the Thârus can be said to live on terms of intimacy are the Banjâras,—a caste of migratory merchants and cattle-grazers, who sometimes advance them money for their rice sowings, and are repaid in unhusked rice at rates much below the market-price. The Banjâras whom I have seen in the Bahraich district, Oudh, have the same Mongolian cast of feature that Thârus have, and, probably, from

Gonda district by another witness, are Purbîya, Dangaria, Kathariya, Amarâ, Tharjogi, Khunua, Dingar. The names given by a witness in the Kheri district, are Garhwâlia, Pachihan, Malwaria Dangaria, Suhniya, Raji.

In the Gorakhpur district, besides the list quoted already from the North-West Gazetteer, another list was furnished, which consists of 13 different names, *viz.*, Pachmahâ, Bârka, Chutka, Kathariya, Dangaria, Khon, Khusia, Marchahâ, Kachlâ, Kânphuta, Sarkohar, Nawâlpariha, and one more. The Thârus of Kumaon gave another list which contains only five names, *viz.*, Thâr, Batta, Mahtam, Râwat, and Barwaik. The Thârus of Bhinga, on the edge of the Bahraich district, gave another list consisting of seven names, *viz.*, Dangaria, Kathariya, Khond, Dakhar, Râji, Musahar, Bôt. In another part of the Bahraich district, the names given out by the Thâru consulted were:—Kusmaha, Kathariya, Bantar, Dakhar, Dundwar, Kachlâ, Rotâr, Jogi. Here, then, we have two lists from Gorakhpur, one from Gonda, one from Kheri, one from Kumaon, and two from Bahraich,—all differing considerably from each other.

* North-West Provinces Gazetteer, vol. VIII, 78, 79, and vol. IX 82.

the same cause,—intermarriage with women of the Naipal hills. Both tribes are equally noted for their skill in tracking their way through the pathless jungle, and for their love of forest seclusion. But Thârus are entirely free from the thievish and robbing propensities for which the Banjâras are notorious. Their honesty is vouched for by a hundred stories. It is said, that when a family flies into the hills, they will always leave any arrears of rent that may be due tied up in a rag to the lintel of their deserted house.*

They are less advanced, it is true, in the arts, industries, and inventions with which their Hindu kinsfolk have long been familiar, and which have made India famous. But in the qualities which constitute the better side of humanity, in truthfulness, bravery, and simplicity, they present, for the most part, a pleasing contrast. Such at least is the character of the Thâru, so long as he remains in the safe seclusion of his solitary wilds, and before he has become a drudge and labourer, as some are now becoming, in the open plains. We may say of them, what Washington Irving has said of the native tribes in his own continent:—"Such were the Indians, whilst in the pride and energy of their primitive notions. They resemble those wild plants, which thrive best in the shades of the forest, but shrink from the hand of cultivation and perish beneath the influence of the sun." †

BOGSHAS.

- Few words will suffice for a description of this tribe. As has been shewn already, they make up only 5,664 souls; and from the account published by a close observer, nearly 20 years ago, it does not seem likely that they will increase. Ethnically they are one with the Thârus; and might have been classed as a Thâru clan, had they not managed somehow to establish a title to be considered a separate tribe.

The tribe in 1865 was divided into three main sections,—the Pûrabi (eastern) which lies east of the Ramganga, and as far west as the Gola or Sârda where the Thârus begin,—the Pachhami (western) which inhabits the Bijnaur forest and the Patli Doon between the Ramganga and the Ganges,—and a section reaching still farther west from the Ganges to the Jumna. The last consisted of merely a few scattered hamlets interspersed with those of other and more numerous tribes. As no mention is made of Bogshas living within the tract last named in the Census Report of 1881, it may be presumed that they no longer

* North-West Gazetteer, 1879, vol. V, p. 630. Oudh Gazetteer, 1878, vol. III, p. 503.

† *Sketch Book*, by Washington Irving. The quotation is from his essay called *Traits of Indian Character*.

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and dwell there, or that they have been absorbed into other communities, and have ceased to call themselves by the name of Bogsha. Between the western and eastern sections there is no such thing as *barâdari* or friendly tribal intercourse. Each shuns the other, and the usual fictions are repeated about eating frogs and lizards.

The *eastern* section, or that which dovetails with the Thârus near the Sârda river, live much in the same way as the Thârus do, as is clear from the sketch written by Mr. Colvin in 1866. "Both tribes," he says, "are superstitious, and, as a rule, truthful, much given to intoxicating drink, and not very chaste; both more or less migratory, only continuing to cultivate the land until it is exhausted, and then moving off to fresh grounds; both utterly reckless with water, with which they inundate their fields. . . . Both tribes are supposed to be adepts in magical arts. . . . They attribute their general immunity from marauders during the disturbances caused by the Mutiny, to the general belief in their superhuman powers, which the Desis, or plains-people, entertained. At the same time they have the greatest confidence in their *bararars*, or medicine-men, who are consulted on every occasion, and who mulct them heavily for their services. As a general rule the Thâru is more intelligent than the Bogsha. . . . To this day neither the Boghas nor Thârus build even earthen walls for their houses; which are made of posts driven into the ground with beams resting on them. . . . They employ hill or plains-men as *lohars* (blacksmiths); all which tends to prove that they never possessed knowledge sufficient to admit of their erecting the buildings, or sinking the masonry wells, ruins of which still exist in the Tarai." * All this tallies with what we have said about Thârus; and therefore no farther account need be given.

The manners of the *western* section are, however, somewhat different, and have been described in some detail by Dr. J. L. Stewart, 1865, (in Vol. XXXIV. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society,) whose paper has been made the basis of the following remarks.

Eleven of the Bogsha villages were examined by Dr. Stewart in the Bijnour district. "All are built on the same plan, of one straight street generally of considerable width, (in some cases as much as 40 or 50 feet) and kept very clean,—in both respects differing remarkably from the ordinary villages of the plains. The huts are placed end to end, with intervals after every group of three or four; and the walls are for the most part built of wattle and dab, but sometimes of *chappar* (thatch), of which latter the roofs also are constructed. The houses are windowless,

* North-West Census Report, 1867, vol. P, appendix B, p. 61.

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but each has a door in front, and another behind, the latter affording access to the sheds for cattle, &c. The doorways and roofs are very low, and the floors of beaten earth are considerably raised above the general level of the ground. . . . These western Bogshas do not at any time live in houses built on poles, as is stated to be the case with those opposite Kumaon." (p. 150).

As regards the physical characteristics of the tribe, Dr. Stewart commences with drawing rather a strong picture of their Mongolian or Thibetan features. "The eyes are small, the opening of the eyelids being narrow, linear, and horizontal. The face is very broad across the cheekbones, and the nose is depressed, thus increasing the apparent flatness of the face. The jaw is prognathous, and the lower lip thick, and the moustache and beard very scanty." It would appear from this that the Mongolian features are more marked among the Bogshas seen by Dr. Stewart than among the Tharus whom I have seen in the Kheri and Gonda districts. But the author observes further on, that "some of these peculiarities are much more marked in certain individuals than in others;" and again in another place, "that some lads were remarked in whose features could be discovered no difference from those of the ordinary peasant of the district," and that in looking back into his diary he found the words "features hardly so marked here" noted more than once. He adds, too, that some Bogshas told him "they could not detect a fellow tribesman until he *spoke*." These qualifications—coupled with the assertion made by the author in another place, that "in general build and in complexion they do not differ much from the ordinary Hindu peasant of the district"—tally with the picture drawn by ourselves of the physiognomy of the Tharus, and do not conflict with our hypothesis, that the Bogshas, like the Tharus, are an Indian tribe, which has acquired more or less a Mongolian caste of face through marriage with hill women.

In any case the traditions of the Bogshas, like those of the Tharus, point unmistakeably to India, and not to Naipal or Kumaon, as the original habitat of the tribe. Some of the clans, like some of those of the Tharu tribe, claim a Rajput origin, and have given out "that they are Powar Rajputs, descended from Uday Jit, who in the 12th century A. D. left their native place in Rajputana on account of family quarrels, and came either mediately or directly to settle here." The author adds, however, that it was difficult to find any two spokesmen agreeing. Some said "that they had come from the Dekkhan, but even in this they were not unanimous." One stated "that they came from Delhi," and another that "they had been driven from their original home in the Dekkhan by the Marhattas." What most

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agreed in was, that they were Rajputs,—a fiction suggested by the same instinct of vanity as that which has prompted the Tharus to set up a similar claim. (pp. 152-3).

In one important respect, the Bogshas of the Bijnour district differ from their brethren to the east and from the Tharus of the forest beyond. They have become Brahmanized. They must now, therefore, be ranked as Hindus, but only as Hindus of the same imperfect and degraded type, as that to which all the low caste villagers of Hindustan must be said to belong. "They conform," says our author, "to the Hindu religion in an ignorant, unmeaning way, and the usual rites of that faith are performed on the occasion of births, marriages, and deaths. Marriage, as among the Hindus, takes place at from 8 to 10 years, and at this ceremony the purohit (Brahman family priest) receives a fee of about 4 annas. The bodies of the dead are burned at Ramganga or other neighbouring large stream, and the ashes are carried to Hardwar, there to be consigned to Gangaji by a Brahman, who gets a rupee or two for his trouble. Besides his special fees, each purohit receives a general contribution from every village in his beat, apparently amounting to about 5 maunds of grain each crop, which is allocated among families according to their means. In small matters also, the Bogshas adhere to Hindu customs. Thus, they do not wear their shoes, (supposing they have any to wear,) during cooking, and they kill animals to be used as food by a blow or cut on the back of the neck, (jhatka,) and not by the throat cutting process (halal karna) of the Mussalmans." (pp. 155-6)

The clan of Brahmans which has succeeded in winning these new sheep to the Hindu fold is of the Gaur (or Gaund) tribe. They do not live among their flock, but remain safely outside the forest track, except when they pay a visit to their constituents. Each man has a select number of families in his charge, and none of their body is allowed to intrude into another's preserves. It might be supposed that these Brahmans would be men of superior intelligence to those whose consciences they profess to guide. But the very sight of a Brahman, supposing his credentials to Brahmanhood to be sound, is often enough to conquer an Indian savage. *Veni, vidi, vici*, might be written as the motto of most of the victories they have gained. Of the three purohits with whom Dr. Stewart conversed, two "were apparently most ignorant and stupid, while the third was fairly intelligent, sensible, and communicative." (p. 157.)

But while the Bogshas have thus allowed themselves to be placed under the tutelage of Brahmans, they have not by any means discarded their own indigenous magicians or

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medicine-men. They call them by the honorific title of *pudhân*, a corruption probably from the high Brahmanical name of Upâdhay or spiritual guide. These men expel devils in the name of their goddess or her consort, adjudicate disputes which the council of elders find too intricate to be solved, and—exact fees.

As amongst Thârus, and in fact among all the tribes on Upper India, whether Brahmanized or not, special devotion is paid by these Bogshas to the death goddess, the spouse of Shiva. By the Bogshas she is generally called Bhawâni, or Devi, *the* goddess: but her attributes are essentially the same as those of the Thâru Kâlikâ. They have also two local saints, Surwar Lakhi and Kalu Saiyad. Of the former Dr. Stewart could learn nothing. The latter has a shrine at the entrance to the main pass through the Siwâlik hills into the Patli Doon, and all wayfarers as they pass, of whatever tribe, race, or creed, make offerings to his shrine, (p. 156). His name *saiyad* (but this is not stated by Dr. Stewart,) is evidently a corruption of *shahîd*, "martyr,"—some Mussalman, who met with a violent death from wild beast or man, and whose soul therefore harassed the neighbourhood, till it at last became comforted and flattered by the endless offerings and supplications paid to it. Now, he is the genius of the pass, and men invoke him "when entering upon an undertaking, or when engaged in severe exertion, such as heaving up a load." (p. 156.)

A considerable proportion of the tribe follow Nânak Mathâ, that is, they have adopted the guru (or spiritual guide) of the Sikhs as their own. Indeed they are called Sikh by their brethren, and not Nânak Shâhi, as the followers of Nânak are called in Hindustan generally. (p. 157).

In many, if not most, of the villages, families of the Sikh persuasion are intermingled with those who have adhered to Hinduism proper. And thus the unity of sentiment, which is the most pleasing feature of a Thâru village, distinguishing it more than any thing else from an ordinary Hindu village in the plains, has been broken up. The same disunion exists in their agriculture. A class of men called Sânis has come up from the plains and settled, always in a separate cluster by themselves, within the area of the Bogsha villages, where they raise crops of tobacco. Between Sânis and Bogshas there is no intercourse but what cannot be avoided. (p. 162).

Notwithstanding the intermixtures of creed and race, the Bogshas are in character still very like Thârus,—simple, open-hearted, truthful, brave, and not without a sense of humour, but lazy, ignorant, intemperate, and uninquisitive. "Any disputes that occur are referred to the village elders. For three years at least, not one of the tribe has been a party in either a civil or criminal suit in the district courts," (p. 157). They have no

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arts or manufactures whatever, except that of mat making, thatching, the plaiting of osiers, &c. "There only amusement," continues our author, "seems to be the pursuit of game, terrestrial and aquatic, and they complained bitterly that the recent carrying out of the Disarming Act had deprived them of a chief means of livelihood. They are excessively greedy after animal food: and Mr. Batten informs me, Bogshas have told him, that without wild pig a Bogsha would die," (p. 159). There is one industry however, in which Bogshas engage, but from which Tharus have, for obvious reasons, been debarred,—gold washing. They have learnt this art from hillsmen and others, to whom it has long been a profitable pursuit. But such is the simplicity of their notions, that they imagine gold dust to be the product of sâl leaves, when burnt by forest fires, acting on any grains of iron or copper which the sand or soil of their country may contain, and converting them into gold. (p. 161).

Dr. Stewart concludes his paper with a long professional enquiry into the diseases to which the tribe is subject. He finds that their alleged immunity from the malarious fevers, dysenteries, chest diseases, and other ailments of the jungle has been vastly exaggerated. The same must also be said of the Tharus, whom a writer in the Oudh Gazetteer, following in this respect the generally repeated notion, has described as "the only "people whom a constitution impervious to fever enables to "contend with the malaria of the jungles and to become the "pioneers of cultivation." * The truth is that both tribes are subject, though to a less degree than the ordinary peasant of the plains would be, to all the ailments of the jungle, and it is to this fact, that their intense belief in the agency of evil spirits, and in the importance of the medicine-man, must be ascribed. In the case of the Bogshas, the effect of the unhealthiness of the climate has been intensified by the miserable diet on which most of the tribe subsist. For under British rule the hunting grounds in the Kumaon valleys have been curtailed by settlements from outsiders to a much greater degree than those of the Tharus, who can easily cross over the border from British into Naipal territory, where a freer use of weapons is allowed, and where the forest has been less cleared for cultivation or the sale of timber.

Dr. Stewart has recorded his impression that "these western Bogshas are surely and not slowly, dying out," and he ascribes it to the two causes already named. To these we may perhaps add a third, namely, that their conversion to Brahmanism has laid a new tax upon their crops, has put new restraints on their freedom in the consumption of flesh and wine, and imposed the debilitating custom of child-marriage.

JOHN C. NESFIELD.

* Oudh Gazetteer, vol. I. Introd., p. xxxiv.

ART. II.—“THE GAROS :”
THEIR CUSTOMS AND MYTHOLOGY.”

MY first introduction to the Garos was a curious one, and at the time, rather an alarming one.

It was at the close of a gloriously fine October day in 18—, that G. and I approached a large village at the foot of the Garo Hills. We were on our way to the head-quarters of the district, where a Station had been formed about three years previously, and where we expected to spend some few years. I was eager to find out what our home was like, and to make the acquaintance of the tribe amongst whom we were to live ; but I had no idea that my introduction to them would be such a sudden and startling one. As we drew near the village, G. was enticed away by the promising look of some swampy ground on our right, where he hoped to get a few snipe. Being tired with a long day's ride over such roads as are seldom seen anywhere out of Assam, I retired to the depths of a palkee and fell asleep. A confused sound of many voices awoke me, and I started up to find myself surrounded by a crowd of savages, laughing, chattering, gesticulating, and making a great noise.

The palkee-bearers had carried me right into the Hát or market, and as this is the largest weekly Hát in that part of the country, there were hundreds of Garos assembled in it. I could not tell my palkee-bearers to take me away, as I did not know the language, and neither could I get out and walk away, for the Garos crowded up to the palkee, so I sat still and looked at them. The scene was a very picturesque one, but it was fortunate for me that my nerves were tolerably strong, for it was rather alarming to find myself alone in the midst of such a noisy crowd of savages, nearly all of whom carried spears and shields, and whose appearance was far from peaceful in the red light of a number of large torches.

However, the light showed me that they were all laughing and talking excitedly, and the sight of the broad grins on their good-humoured faces was reassuring. There were many women amongst them, and it was evident that I was an object of great curiosity to them. They crowded round me, laughing and talking, and pointing to my hat, dress, &c. I had heard of savages rubbing the skin of a white person, to see if the color would come off, but now I had ocular demonstration of it, for one woman's curiosity so far overcame her politeness, that she suddenly reached forward and gave my hand, which

was on the edge of the palkee, a quick rub. Whatever her motive was, she was greatly abashed at the shouts of laughter that her act caused.

My surprise at the sight of all these savages was as great as their's was at seeing me, and my curiosity equalled their's. They had most of them never seen a lady before, as only one lady had ever passed through to Tura before. As the Garos that I then saw were a very fair specimen of their race, and were the same as all that I have since seen, I will endeavour to describe them. The men were, as a rule, of a good height, and well made, strong and active, but not good-looking. They wore only a long strip of cloth, about 5 inches broad, girt round their waists like a waist band, and then passed between the legs, and caught into the waist portion, and the end arranged as a small apron. This cloth is of native manufacture, and is generally red and dark blue, and the front piece that forms the apron is frequently ornamented with rows of white beads.

Every man carried a spear made of bamboo, with a sharp iron head. Many had shields made of cane-work, and swords. Men and women alike wore earrings, but the women had the larger number, and only plain round ones made of brass, while the men wore smaller and much more fanciful ones. Some of them were three inches long and covered with colored stones, and were worn in the upper part of the ear, while others were simply small brass rings half an inch in diameter: ten or a dozen were forced through the lobe of the ear. Many of the men wore a small piece of cloth wrapped round their heads, and I noticed that the men also had a greater variety of necklaces, the favourite ones being made of cornelian beads of various shapes and sizes.

The Garo women wear enormous bunches of earrings; some that were weighed for curiosity, were found to be over 16 pounds weight. The rings are thick plain brass ones, like curtain rings, and are forced through the lobe of the ear, which become very large in consequence. A string is passed through the rings and over the head to support the great weight, but even that does not save the lobes of the ears from frequently breaking right through. Even little babies have a large ring forced into each ear, and as every additional ring is considered a sign of additional wealth and beauty, the more the parents can force into their daughter's ears, the better they are pleased. It is almost impossible for the women to turn their heads on account of the large bunches of rings on each side of their faces; the hair on the top of their heads is quite worn away by the friction of the string that supports the rings, and they are quite innocent of the art of hair-dressing.

If they have an abundance of ornaments, they have very little else to boast of. Their clothing consist of a strip of dark red and blue cloth, about a foot wide, and long enough to reach round the loins: a sort of diminutive petticoat that they fasten below the hip bone on the left side. Those who had babies—and I noticed that there were very few who had not—had them slung in a cloth across their shoulders, so arranged that they could swing them round from the back to the front at pleasure, and with as little concern as if they were bundles of cotton. The men and women struck me as being far from good-looking. They have broad, good-tempered faces, but most of the women are very plain, and the absence of hair on the faces of the men is almost universal amongst them; it is very unusual to see a Garo with any hair on his face. Their curiosity is, like that of most savages, excessive, and on the occasion I am speaking of, was so undisguised, that I was glad when G. came up, and had me carried off from their astonished gaze.

We stayed the night in the guard-house, which was occupied by a few constables of the Frontier Police. It was a mud hut, with a long *machan*, (a bamboo platform) at one end, on which our bedding was spread.

The next morning we rode off through a crowd of Garos, all of whom were in a state of excitement at seeing us. The fact of my riding a pony seemed to astonish them more than anything. They were accustomed to see European gentlemen occasionally, but not a lady. Many of them recognised G. (who had been in the hills for two years before taking furlough) and gave him a welcome in Garo, of which, of course, I could not understand a word, but there was no mistaking the meaning of the broad smiles on their faces when they recognised him.*

We saw the last of the plains that day, and gradually ascended towards the hills. Some parts of the road being through forest, was very pretty, especially where it followed the windings of a river. The air was fresh, and although the sun was intensely hot, the breeze prevented our being greatly distressed by it.

There was very little of the country to be seen from the road, for the jungle was thick on each side of it. The recent heavy rains had made the road, which was merely a pathway which had been cut through the jungle, very difficult to travel over, and our ponies had hard work to wade through the thick mud. As on the previous day, I found that sitting for many hours on animals that could not move out of a walk, and had to labor along over such a bad road, was almost as tiring as walking, and I was obliged to retire once more into my palkee, and, of course, soon fell asleep.

My awakening was even more unpleasant than on the previous

evening, for I was put down with a sudden drop and jar that made me think the palkee had fallen from the bearers' hands. But it was only their mode of expressing their relief at a pause in their journey, and I was politely invited in an unknown language to alight. I did so, and found myself close to the banks of a river, the breadth of which was considerable, and the depth of which I could not judge, but which was evidently swollen from the rain. G. was nowhere to be seen, but one of his orderlies was there, and also one of the elephants. This man made signs to me that the *Sahib* had crossed the river, and motioning to the elephant, and placing a small chair about 18 inches high, by the side of the huge beast which was made to kneel down, he gave me to understand that I was to mount on its back to cross the river. Obedience is heaven's first law, and when I heard the words "Sahib" and "hukum," I felt bound to obey, and having unbounded faith in G.'s arrangements, I never doubted but that it was really his order that I was to cross the river on the elephant, and only feared that something had happened to prevent his being there himself, as it was the first time he had left me.

I had never seen any one riding on an elephant, and was perfectly ignorant of what the riding gear should be; the fact, therefore, of there being no pad on the animal, but only a small piece of sacking fastened on by a stout rope, conveyed no warning to me. It was no easy matter to scramble up; many a huge slippery rock have I climbed up with less trepidation than I did that living lump of flesh. Obeying the motions of the Mahout I seated myself well between the shoulders close behind him, and managed with the greatest difficulty to keep my seat when the animal rose to its feet; but the descent down the steep bank to the river was too much for me, and as the elephant slipped one of its legs down the bank, and then the other, thus suddenly lowering its shoulders, I too slipped. The Mahout turned just in time to catch me by one arm, and I held on to the rope for dear life with the other, and crossed the river hanging on in this manner.

Had it been dry land, I must have dropped and taken my chance of a kick from the elephant and some broken bones, but the river was beneath me, and I knew that if I fell I should be washed away by the current before I could recover my footing, although I saw that the water was not deep enough to drown me could I have been sure of dropping on my feet, but the current was strong, and I dared not risk it. The pain in my arms and wrists was intense; every step the elephant took shook my whole body, hanging as I was right over its fore leg, and it was with the greatest difficulty I could keep my hold on the rope. The minutes that elapsed before the opposite bank was

reached seemed to be hours. When at last we were on dry ground, I dropped, and was caught and carried into the guard house by one of the men, where G. was busy having the place prepared for me, and some soup warmed.

It was fortunate for the orderley and the Mahout that I fainted and so required G.'s attention for some time, and they were wise enough to be missing for the rest of the evening, and to keep out of the way for the rest of the journey. It must have been a piece of pure wickedness on their part, putting me on the elephant as they did, for G. who had gone on to get things ready for me at the guard house, had crossed the river leaving the constable (who was on orderley duty at that time, but not, I noticed, the next day) with orders to make the palkee-bearers lift my palkee on their heads, as they had done several times before, and carry me over. It was over twelve months before I got on an elephant again.

The next morning we had only nine miles to ride, and I was charmed with the scenery, and the first appearance of the Station that was to be our home for eight years. The road wound through the hills, which were covered with magnificent trees and masses of jungle, which objectionable as it may be upon closer inspection, is often graceful to a degree, especially the climbing jungle that hangs in masses from the trees and forms the most graceful and delicate of foliage. The sides of the hills were covered with a thousand varieties of trees, shrubs, creepers and undergrowth, the luxuriance of which surpassed anything I had ever imagined. The want of enthusiasm on G's part was, I considered, most inexplicable; such trees, such richness of foliage, such lights and shades, and such flowers and ferns, how could any one see them without admiring them? I saw them for the first time, and for eight years I saw little else but those endless jungles, and although my eye told me to the very last that they were as beautiful as when I first went into raptures over them, there were times when the sight of them sickened me, and I loathed their beauty. The graceful and delicate creepers became as strong cords binding us to that wilderness; the tall and stately trees were as sentinels set to guard us, lest we should escape and be free; and the vast stretch of evergreen jungle, was as an impenetrable barrier, shutting us off from home, friends, and even from our fellow creatures. In times of perfect health, when the body and mind are alike active, and ready to appreciate the beauties of nature, the jungles of Assam, or at least of the hills of Assam, afford an endless source of amusement and instruction, and wear a smiling face. But in times of sickness and depression, when the moist breath of those same jungles has entered, laden with malaria into the system, and the weary days drag on

varied only by a greater or lesser amount of fever, the beauty of color, the gracefulness of foliage, the rareness of the ferns, and the thousand and one wonders of jungle life fade away, and leave only an aggrieved sense of their falseness—so fair and yet so deadly—and a hopeless longing to be away from them.

The station itself was visible long before we reached it, and appeared to be merely a small brown spot at the foot of a very high hill. By degrees I could make out a few huts, and a small whitewashed Bungalow some little distance above them. That Bungalow was to be our home, and very pretty it looked and picturesque, with the hills rising behind it, and the compact little station lying below it. A hill stream ran down the side of the spur on which it was built, and supplied the station with clear, pure water, and a small water course had been made to conduct the water right through the station.

The buildings were very few and very rough when first we arrived at Tura, but as years went by, many improvements were made. New Bungalows were built by Chinese carpenters, fruit trees were planted, fine grass was brought up from the plains and carefully planted out, and a bazar was formed, where most articles of native consumption were obtainable.

At first the life was rather rough, as nothing could be obtained in the place, except rice, ghee, and salt, and sometimes oil. Our servants were inclined to grumble at first, but they soon became accustomed to their scanty fare, and were content to wait for the good days that we assured them were coming, when the roads to the plains should be opened out. It was fortunate that G. had been at Tura for two years before we were married and settled there, as he knew the barrenness of the land, and had provided accordingly. There was no fish, flesh or fowl to be bought in the place, neither was there any milk or vegetables. Before leaving on furlough G. had bought two mules, and we found them at Tura when we arrived, and kept them for some years to bring up provisions from the plains. Fowls, ducks, potatoes, and vegetables were to be obtained at the Hât at Pootcemaree, and once or twice we had milk brought up, but that could only be done in the cold weather, and as it was buffaloe milk, it was not particularly good, except for making cream of. For some months after we arrived at Tura, the Garos brought nothing into the station for sale, but by degrees they began to do so, as they found that they could sell the things well, and after a time they brought in fowls and eggs—(the latter were almost always bad) but as they never keep cows, we were as badly off for milk as ever, until we sent to the plains and bought cows. The Garos and

the Nagas also, have a prejudice against milk, and never make any use of it even for young children; they take great care of young bulls, which they purchase at the Hâts, and fatten up for fighting, or for killing and eating on their great Pujah days. When the Garos found that there was a good market for the few vegetables, &c., that they grew, and that they generally received a little salt, or a bottle as a present, they came into the station in greater numbers, and curiosity brought in those who had nothing to sell. They would frequently bring me a present of two or three bad eggs, and expect in return to be allowed to see everything in the Bungalow, and to be given a glass of rum or brandy and some salt and empty bottles.

Our first little girl was born a few months after our arrival, and it was amusing to see the number of Garos who came to inspect her; being the first white child they had ever seen, they thought her a great curiosity. One old man, a Luskur, (head man over several villages) came to see her, and brought the funniest little old woman with him. She was very small, and had snow white hair, which was more plentiful than is usual with the women, as she had discarded her cumbersome earrings, and consequently the string that supported them, and her hair, had grown all over her head. She must have been very old, but was upright and active. The Luskur wore an old scarlet hunting coat, a present he had been given some years before, and which was none the better for having been worn in all weathers, day and night, even since he had it. I might almost say that a tall poled hat which had also seen service, completed his attire, for the usual Garo strip of cloth that he wore was not visible below the coat, and the effect of such a coat and hat, with his thin and withered legs appearing from under them, was ludicrous, and was made still more so, by his having a number of fanciful earrings hanging from the edges of his ears like fringes, while the lobes were split right through, and had been pulled down by the weight of earrings that he must have sported in his younger days, until they touched his shoulders.

This curious couple had a dozen or more followers who crowded into the verandah, and peeped in at the doors. Some white rabbits that we had, attracted their attention, until the white baby was brought out. Then they crowded round her, pointing to her hands feet and ears, and going off into little chuckles of laughter at the whitish fluff that went by the name of hair: they were anxious to know why her ears were not decorated with rings. Having been duly inspected and admired she was carried off into the inner room, and placed in her cot, and I thought my visitors would take the hint and retire, but the little old women had followed the child and stood looking at her, clasping and unclasping her withered hands, and whispering

to herself. She could not be induced to leave the child until a glass of rum was held out to her, then she followed the rum, which was presented to her lord and master, who having poured a considerable portion down his throat, presented the glass to her. She enjoyed the potent draught, and left but little to be divided amongst the followers, who were not backward in asking for more. The way in which these people swallow raw spirits, or liquor of any sort, is very curious; they do not *drink* it in the usual sense of the word; they open their mouths and pour the liquor down their throats. They swallow it, without finding it necessary to close their mouths; it seems simply to run down their throats.

Men and women, boys and girls, are all alike fond of spirits; no present is so acceptable to them as rum, and they rarely fail to ask for it. They do not care for beer, and mistrust the froth of it. They make a liquor themselves from rice, and although it looks poor and thin, it is often very potent. They drink great quantities of it, especially when they have a feast, but it rarely makes them quarrelsome, or causes disturbances; they merely fall asleep, and when they awake, are none the worse for it, but as bright and active as before they took it.

When travelling in the district we found it a great convenience to have one or more of the Garo constables with us to act as interpreters, but they had to be carefully watched, to see that they did not go off to the nearest village and indulge in Garo liquor. I remember on one occasion there was a marriage festival in a village close to our camp. The noise was overpowering, even outside the village; how those who were inside could listen to it hour after hour and keep their senses I really do not know? The discordant blowing of horns and beating of drums, seemed to cause an immense amount of satisfaction to the villagers; as it was very cold, perhaps they kept themselves warm by their violent exertions.

I enjoyed the camping in the cold weather; the camping grounds were generally very pretty, with a clear stream or small river close by. It was very cold at that season, and a large camp fire was a very acceptable luxury in the mornings and evenings, although the sun was warm in the day time. On one occasion we were in camp at one place for nearly a month, as G. had to look after the making of a new road, and although the life was necessarily rough, it was very pleasant. Upon leaving the tent in the morning, it was a pretty and a busy scene that met our eyes. A small river, as clear as a moorland stream, ran almost round three sides of the camping ground, which was small. The bright and varied tints of the dense foliage on the further side of the stream formed

a good contrast to the reddish-brown of a large cultivation that stretched away on the left and to the blue hills in the distance, while a still pleasanter view was afforded to us in the foreground, where the table was laid for Chota Hazree (or small breakfast) close to a splendid fire of dry logs, that was blazing away right cheerfully. The dogs appreciated the warmth as much as we did, and were always to be seen sitting sedately by the fire until the arrival of the tea-pot warned them that they had better leave the cosy nook and be on the look out for stray bits of biscuits, &c. The poor servants presented a dismal appearance, as they do not like the cold, and crept about shivering and covering themselves up in their warm cloths. The Ayah, warmly wrapped up, but still shivering and miserable, was a fair example of an Asiatic in cold weather, while the baby dancing in her arms, and crowing with delight at everything around her, with bright eyes and rosy cheeks, showed plainly enough how she appreciated the the keen, fresh atmosphere.

After Chota Hazree the ponies were brought, and we started off with dogs and guns for the morning's work. Sometimes we had to struggle through freshly cut jungle for G. to mark out the line of road, and as the ponies could not be taken over it, we had to walk. The trunk of a tree often served me for a seat while G. went on pegging out the line or directing the coolies. There was always something new and wonderful to be seen in the heart of the jungle, and I found many lovely flowers and ferns and strange insects to occupy my attention, but alas! the strange insects were strangely unpleasant ones, and to enjoy all the beauties of nature, seated on a tree trunk in the midst of dense jungle, one's skin should be like that of an elephant.

Ants of many and various kinds and degrees of viciousness, centipedes, spiders, and wood lice, swarm round one, not to mention flies and mosquitoes and leeches, and last but not least, ticks. These latter are a very bloodthirsty tribe, and vary in size from a pin's head to a haricot bean; small or large they are all alike objectionable and troublesome. They are, or at least the smaller ones, flat-backed, and are armed with a strong pair of nippers, which they insert into the flesh, and by which they attach themselves to it so firmly, that if pulled off forcibly, they take a piece of the skin away with them: the bite often remains sore for days and even weeks. The best and least painful way to remove them, is to cut them in two and leave the nipppers in the skin for a few minutes, when they can be easily drawn out with the portion of the tick that they are attached to.

These insects were so troublesome that we frequently, after

a walk over the newly cut jungle, had to have all our clothes put into the river to get rid of them, and kept there until we could be sure they had found a watery grave: the dogs suffered a great deal from them. Leeches are also very unpleasant and very numerous, and their bite also takes some time to heal. It may be very entertaining to a naturalist like Ernst Hackel to see these creatures in their natural state, but to the ordinary traveller it conveys far other feelings to see their long black bodies, varying in length and thickness from one to two inches, and from a stout black thread to a piece of pipe liquorice, moving in the air like so many small black flags, with one end attached to a leaf or a blade of grass, on either side of the pathway, under one's feet and over one's head; and the sensation when one of them succeeds in attaching itself firmly to the nape of one's neck or one's ankle, is very far from pleasant. They manage to get inside one's clothes; and although G. wore woollen stockings with the breeches or trowsers well tucked inside them and leathern gaiters, he generally found one or more leeches inside his stockings when he took them off.

The ponies suffered more from the leeches than the dogs their hair being shorter, but the latter used frequently to get them up their noses, and we had great difficulty in getting them down. I never saw a horse-leech in the Garo Hills, but in the Naga hills, I saw two that had been taken out of the nostrils of a cow, and that, when put into a large salt bottle, (Crosse and Blackwell's table salt 2 lb. bottle) curled round it from the bottom to the stopper, and were as thick as an ordinary office ruler.

When G's road work was done, if it was not too late, we generally went over some of the cultivations that were near our camping ground; this was always a source of pleasure to me. G. walked ahead on the look-out for game, and I learnt to follow him everywhere, on my sure-footed little pony. Sometimes, if we went to a greater distance than usual, G. would mount his pony too, until suddenly the dogs would put up the game—a jungle fowl, or a black pheasant, a partridge or a quail, or we came across some pea-fowl—then G's rein was thrown to me, and I held his pony, while he followed the game and brought it down.

The ground was often very rough and there were no roads, but our ponies were wonderfully clever in picking their way up or down the narrow paths, which were often nothing more than a dried up water-course. Some of them were so steep that we could not ride up them, and when that was the case, we usually got off, and following the example of the men and boys on the sea-shore who drive their horses up the cliffs with their loads of seaweed, and catch hold of their tails, we caught hold of the

ponies tails and were pulled up. It was rather breathless work, as my pony was always in a hurry and scrambled up like a cat, while I had to hold on tight and follow him over the big boulders as best I could. The scenery from the top of these miniature ascents, was often quite reward enough for the exertion in getting up, and if we were further rewarded by the sight of some game, I was perfectly content.

There is no pleasure in wandering about over such rough ground, over paths that were never intended even for bridle-paths, unless the ponies are sure footed and tractable: a clever little hill pony will find his way over places that would bring a horse to grief in no time. They learn to extricate themselves from difficulties very cleverly, and to remain quiet under the most trying circumstances. Only once or twice during the whole time that I rode him did "Hercules" give me any trouble on the hills tracts, although he was lively enough on a good piece of road. On one occasion I was leading the way down to a stream the path of which was very narrow, cut out of the side of the hill, which rose above us from a steep bank, while the khud on the other side was just as steep. The stream ran at the bottom of the khud, and the tree ferns grew in magnificent profusion in the deep glen. There was such richness of verdure, such variety of vegetation, so many new leaves and plants to be found in that cool quiet glen, that I was more occupied with looking after these new objects of interest than in watching my pony's movements, and was lost in admiration of a splendid specimen of the climbing Begonia, when "Hercules" nearly sent me over his head by coming to a dead stop. We had come to the end of the pathway which stopped abruptly on the top of a bank, that was nearly as high as "Hercules" himself, but which he had always slipped down cleverly enough before. Now he refused to go down; nothing would induce him to put his fore feet over the edge as usual. G's pony began to be restive too, and as there was no room for any very lively movements, I jumped off intending to lead "Hercules" down, and if possible jump up again before he was in the stream, which ran a couple of feet from the bank. But when I was off, a slight breeze came across the stream, and brought an odour with it that was far too strong to be pleasant, and looking across I saw a large python that had been hung by the neck from a tree, in such a manner, that the whole of its huge carcase floated in the water. It had been killed by some Garos, but I never could find out why they had tied it in the stream exactly at the place where the ford was; it was no wonder the ponies objected to go any nearer the stream. We could not tell how

long this python was, as the constant motion of the water prevented our seeing it properly, but it could not have been less than two feet in circumference at the neck where it was tied. I wonder the Garos had not eaten it, as they do not generally object to flesh of any description except that of tigers or leopards, and if they cannot get a fowl, or a duck, are content with a good big rat.

Their cooking, like everything else about them, is very simple, and one evening I witnessed the curious but not very appetising manner in which one of them prepared his supper. He caught a duck that had been tied up by the leg near him and killed it. He immediately plucked out the larger feathers, leaving all the small ones. He then took it by one wing and one leg, and turned it slowly round as close to the fire as he could hold it, until the feathers were burnt off, by which time he considered it was sufficiently cooked. He then tore it to pieces and consumed it, with a large quantity of rice that he had previously boiled in a piece of green bamboo. Although the Garos never use milk, the girls and boys that entered our service soon learnt to do so, and became very fond of it. Not being troubled with any caste prejudices they make very good under-servants.

A bright, intelligent Garo girl is a great acquisition ; they learn quickly, and are much more tractable and straightforward than any other class of native women that it has been my lot to have to deal with. My only trouble with them was, that after being in service long enough to show the advantage of good living and light work, and to grow plump and well-favored, they were very desirable matches, and often left my service to marry men who would have nothing to do with them when they were thin and weakly. Personal good looks have no value in their eyes, and a wife is valued not for her charms, but her ability to do her share of the work.

The women are very hard workers, always doing their share of the field work, and carrying large baskets of cotton to the Hât. When travelling for pleasure, they are rather fond of visiting their friends and relations who live in other villages ; the men carry only their spears, while the women carry all the baggage. This custom arose when it was unsafe for them to travel from village to village unarmed, and armed men always accompanied a party to protect them from their enemies.

•The women always run away at first on the approach of strangers, except those who, from visiting the station, are accustomed to see Europeans. I have often been amused to see a string of Garo women (they always walk in one after the other and never side by side) drop their baskets and skuttle off in most

ungraceful haste, when upon turning a corner, they have come suddenly upon us. In their own cultivations or villages they do just the same, although they will come out readily from their houses, and crowd round any visitors who halt at their villages; and they are not at all shy when they visit the station. It seems to be an instinct of fear, such as wild animals must feel at the approach of anything new and strange, and not the absurd false modesty of the Nepaulese coolie women (or Goorkahs) who turn their backs to you as you pass, and cover their heads and faces, but who have no hesitation in rushing to the presence of the very people that they have so carefully concealed their faces from on the road, and indulging in a storm of words and abuse against anyone who has offended them, that would put any fish-woman to shame.

When first we lived in the hills, the men always walked about armed, except in the station; and there a very wise rule was enforced, that all spears should be left at the guard house and not brought into the station. As time passed and the Garos learnt to bring their disputes to the cutcherry to be settled, instead of settling them by the spear and sword, they began to move about more freely and to leave their spears at home.

An expedition that was sent in 1873 to the inner hills, had a most beneficial effect on the country. Before then, although the whole of the hills were supposed to be annexed, only some portions acknowledged the authority of, and sought the protection of government.

The Garos of the inner hills asserted their independence, and frequently disturbed their more peaceful neighbours by making raids on them. The villages that were raided on, naturally expected government to protect them, but it did not make any determined effort to do so, until the offenders put the finishing stroke to their misdeeds, by murdering a Government Chuprassee, belonging to the Survey department. Government was obliged to take notice of this, and demanded that the murderers should be given up, but the Independents refused. Several attempts were made to bring them to reason, but without effect, and at last Government consented to allow the Deputy Commissioner to enforce the demand for the murderers to be given up, and to lead a considerable body of police into the inner hills for that purpose. The expedition was thoroughly successful, and very great credit is due to the officer who was at that time in charge of the Garo Hills, for the ability he displayed in conducting it, and in bringing to a successful conclusion, what would have been in less competent hands a long and troublesome affair, entailing as much loss of life and money as the many other expeditions that form one of the chief features of Assam history. Although this expedition

was one of the smallest and least expensive of the many that have been sent against the various tribes on the Assam frontier, it was one of the most successful. It consisted entirely of Frontier Police, at the particular request of Major Williamson, the Deputy Commissioner, and everything was so thoroughly well organised by him, that there was a notable absence of the blunders that have so frequently attended expeditions of this kind, and the Independent Garos soon submitted.

They were compelled to give up the skulls that they had for generations collected. These skulls were much prized as trophies, and were frequently the cause of feuds being kept up between villages, as each village was anxious to regain the skulls of each of their relations and friends as had been killed by their opponents. All the skulls that could be found were collected and publicly burnt, and orders given that all that should afterwards be discovered, were to be brought to Tura and burnt in front of the cutcherry. Numbers have been brought in, and the whole country is now quiet and peaceable, and the Garos can travel from end to end of it without fear of being molested. Instead of trying to settle their disputes by spear and sword, they now bring their cases to Tura, where they are disposed of by the Deputy Commissioner or the police officer, (who is vested with the powers of a Magistrate). They are encouraged to settle all their smaller disputes by Panchayet, or village council.

Trial by ordeal is not now so common amongst them as it used to be, but they still occasionally have recourse to it, and try reputed witches and wizards by it. One of these ordeals is very curious, and very cruel. The supposed witch is put into a long, narrow Garo basket with a cat, and the basket is so secured that the woman can only thrust one hand out of it. She is then thrown into the river, and if she can succeed in reaching the bottom and grasping a handful of sand, without being scratched by the cat, she is considered innocent, but if she fails—and how can she do otherwise—she is driven away from her village and becomes an outcast; if, indeed, she is not drowned before she is brought to land. They have other ordeals which are more harmless, such as passing a bamboo pin through the shadow of a supposed witch, to pin it to the ground without her knowledge. If she moves off without any difficulty she is innocent; if she is unable to move until her shadow is released, she is guilty. Witches are said to be burning hot at night, and to be unable to sit on a log of wood cut from a particular tree. There are often cases brought into Court in which witchcraft is an important feature.

The Garo religion is, like that of most savage tribes, one of superstition. They believe in evil spirits only. In one part

of the hills these spirits are called “Dawhāpā,”* in another “Mitti.” They are believed to be very powerful, and Pujah, or sacrifice, is constantly offered to them. Whenever a new path is cut, or a village or house built, when the dhán is sown or reaped, and on many other occasions too numerous to mention, Pujah is performed.

The ceremony is as unintelligible to us, as our church services would be to them, and they shew an amount of worldly wisdom in the way in which they conduct it, that speaks well for their bump of economy. They kill a fowl or a goat, or on great occasions a bull, and sprinkle the blood, and in the case of a fowl being sacrificed, the feathers are scattered on sundry bamboos that are cut in a peculiar way and struck in the ground. This is all the “Dawhāpā” receives—the Garos eat the flesh themselves. In some parts—for each different part of the hills has its own superstitions and customs, differing in detail but generally alike in substance—when there is sickness in a house, a string is attached to the doorway and carried through the cultivation to the outside of the fence that surrounds it; some food is placed at the end of the string, and the evil spirit is supposed to pass along it to obtain the food, and is in this way enticed away from the house, where its presence was supposed to have caused the sickness.

When the dhán (rice in the husk) is sown, Pujah is performed to propitiate the Dawhāpā, so that the weather may be favourable, and no bears, elephants or pigs destroy the crops. When a Garo dies, there is a sort of wake, and usually a rude figure, supposed to be a likeness of the deceased, is carried and placed in the middle of the dwelling house, and some rice and Garo liquor placed before it, the friends and relations all sit round, and drink and blow horns and beat drums all through the night. The images are very roughly carved, and no attempt is made to cut out more than the head and shoulders. They are placed in front of the house, when the funeral feast is over, and the ashes of the deceased placed near them; the Garos having settled the much-vexed question of cremation many centuries ago.

There are believed to be many evil spirits, the greatest of all is “Schuschma” the father of the sun. Schuschma had two sons “Rengra Belsa” (the sun) and “Jajong” (the moon.) These two sons quarrelled and Rengra Belsa threw some mud at Jajong, who did not wash it off, intending to shew it to his father, but failing to do so immediately, his light was obscured, and has been so ever since, so that he cannot shine so brilliantly as his brother Rengra Belsa. Jajong also fails to bathe so frequently as Rengra Belsa.

* (Pronounced Da-whā-pā.)

"Luckhmee" is the "mother of the dhán," and to her all Pujahs concerning the crops are offered.

"Abette" is the god they fear most, although he is not by any means the most powerful, being a servant of Schuschma, by whom he is made to stay by all running water. If any one offends him, they are sure to die, and no one knows when or how they may offend him. If they touch a stone, or fell a tree that belongs to him, they are doomed, here and hereafter; and there is no sign to show what trees and what stones belong to him. If any of his children happen to be near the water, when any one goes to drink, or to bathe, or to fill their water vessels, they are frightened, and run crying to their father, who thereupon cries out in a great rage "who has made my children cry? Who were laughing and are now crying, I will eat his liver." The unfortunate offender sickens from that time and dies, when Abette claims him.

The "hereafter" of the Garos is a high hill called "Chickmung," where they live for ever, and are perfectly happy according to a Garo's ideas of happiness. Schuschma makes them work, but gives them plenty of food and liquor, and they have no troubles of any kind; except the unfortunate wretches who fall into the clutches of Abette, and they are taken to Chickmung bound hand and foot, and Abette tortures them; he causes all their food or liquor to have an offensive smell, and worries them by every means in his power, until he finally eats their liver, and then they die outright, never to live again, even in Chickmung.

If the relations of the poor victim propitiate Schuschma and he is in a good temper, he may make Abette let them go, and they then join their fellow spirits who are working happily in Chickmung, but Abette's influence is generally too strong, and he persuades Schuschma not to partake of the sacrifice or to let the prisoner loose.

Garos who are beheaded or hanged cannot go to Chickmung according to the belief in one part of the country, but in another part they believe, that if a man is beheaded, his body goes to Chickmung and his neck grows until the head is allowed to follow it, so they say "He will have a long neck in Chickmung." Those who are not admitted to Chickmung from any cause, either the want of their heads, or having been hanged, or having been very wicked in their lifetime (an ordinary amount of wickedness does not debar them) remain in perpetual darkness, and wander round the trees that are called in Garo, "Ulback," but the real name of which I could not discover. From these trees they obtain a certain amount of moisture, which is all they have to live upon. These unhappy spirits, according to the Garo term, "go into blackness."

The Garos claim a common descent with Englishmen ; how they trace their origin I could not find out, but they say they are the only "black people" who are descended from the same god as the English are.

The first man was called "Mandesingree." He thought he would die to see what it was like, and wanted his younger brother to die with him. But the brother refused to leave his house, cultivation, wife and children ; so Mandesingree died alone ; but when his brother came to the place where his ashes were buried, having drank a lot of liquor, Mandesingree persuaded him to go to Chickmung with him, so he also died.

Mandesingree, however, repented of having died, and came back to see his wife and children. His wife was away catching fish, and he told his children to tell her to carry some fish and rice into the jungle for him. The wife did not believe that the children had seen their father, and was angry with them ; but on the third day he came again, and they saw that he was quite black. The wife was again absent, but he took some plantains with him, and threw the skins on the ground as he went ; she traced him by the skins for a very long way, and at last found him. He told her not to come near him as he was black ; so she stood with her faced turned from him, and he said to her "I have left my house and my dhân, my wife and my children, and cannot return to them, and I have nothing to eat ; if you put my food where you have buried my ashes, I will come every night and eat it."

The wife faithfully attended to his request, and hence arose the custom of putting food over the spot where the ashes have been buried, for a certain number of days after any one has died : the spirit is supposed to eat it on its road to Chickmung.

Formerly when any influential Garo died, one or more human sacrifices were made, that the spirits of those sacrificed might accompany the spirit of the great man. Slaves, or Garos from unfriendly villages, were selected for this honor ; now they have to be content with sacrificing bulls or goats. There is supposed to be a large tree, half way on the road to Chickmung, where the spirits tie up their animals. So many have been tied there that one tree has worn away and has fallen, but another young tree is now used. At this place the spirits eat the food supplied by their relations for the journey. They then untie their bull or goat, and cross a deep river by means of a narrow cane bridge, and are admitted to Chickmung.

Before crossing the bridge, it is possible but not probable that they may return to life. One old man that we knew very well, was supposed to have reached the bridge when his life was saved.

The old man, the same that I before mentioned as having

paid us a visit, dressed in a hunting coat and tall poled hat, was very ill, and news was brought in that as he was the most powerful man in the hills, there was to be a human sacrifice; the victim had been selected and was to be killed the instant old Reshin died. The excitement amongst the Garos was very great. It was before the expedition of 1873, and numbers of the Independent Garos were said to have assembled in Reshin's village which was only a few hours ride from the station. G. being in charge at the time, rode out to enquire into the matter. He had only one orderley with him, and I was terribly anxious during the time he was away. He found that some thousands of Garos had assembled in anticipation of Reshin's death. As there were not sufficient men of the Frontier Police that time in Tura to guard even the magazine, (the Deputy Commissioner * having taken almost all of them with him on a journey to some village that required to be visited) the station was in the meantime guarded by Beldars, or coolies, who were armed with guns, but empty ones, as they could not be trusted with loaded fire-arms. Under these circumstances it was rather alarming to find such a collection of Garos within an easy march of the station; and had Reshin died, it would have been a very serious matter, as he was a staunch friend of the Government. Everyone in the village was doing Pujah, and the beating of drums, and blowing of horns was deafening. G. had some difficulty in reaching the house where Reshin was lying. The poor old man was surrounded by his numerous wives and children, who were all of them howling and crying. They said that Reshin had died three times. The fact was he had fainted from exhaustion; they had given him no food, convinced that he would die. G. had been told by the men who had brought in the news of Reshin's illness, that he had died three times, had guessed that he had probably fainted, and had taken some medicine with him. He gave the old man a dose and he revived a little, and G. then persuaded one of the wives to fetch a little food and feed him. He was better directly he had taken it, and was easily induced to order a portion of a fine bull that had been killed for the Pujah, to be carried to Tura and given to me to be converted into soup. G. left the medicine with the wives to be given to him in case he died again, and returned to Tura as quickly as he could, when we sent out a bottle of wonderful medicine that revived him, and as he afterwards said, "brought him back to life:" when he had actually reached the bridge to Chickmung. The medicine was a mixture of eggs and brandy, and would never have reached him if the messengers had know what it was. Strong soup was sent

* Who was officiating for Major Williamson on leave.

out as soon as possible, and greatly to our relief, and to the astonishment of all those who had assembled to see him die, Reshin recovered, and lived to marry another wife! His daughters by his first wife being his heirs according to Garo law, had looked on him as already dead, and had divided his property, but they did not appear to mind giving it back again.

According to the Garo law the first wife or her daughters inherit the property, and all the other wives fall to the share of the daughter's husbands. Very frequently a man marries a woman, and her daughter by a former husband becomes his wife also, unless she objects, in which case she can appeal to the Panchayet of her village, and be released from her obligation to marry him. When a man marries he leaves his own village, and goes to live amongst his wife's relations, and if his father-in-law dies before him, he marries his own mother-in-law. Monogamy is not practised, but only the first wife inherits the property, thus—if a man marries three or four wives, (although, as a rule, they are content with two) they each bring her property. At his death all that property goes to the first wife, and at her death to her daughters, or failing daughters, to her son; if she leaves no children, her "Mahari" or mother's family claim it. The other wives receive nothing, except in the form of presents from the first wife. In whatever way a man accumulates property, it all goes to his first wife or to her "Mahari." Probably this custom has a good effect, as there is very little jealousy between the wives; and, as none of them can succeed in taking the place of the first wife, they generally live on pretty good terms with her, and there is much less domestic unhappiness than is usual where there is a plurality of wives.

The "Mahari" is a most curious and important feature in Garo life. The word means, "mother's family," and the Mahari consists of all the connections on the mother's side, no matter how distant they may be. Some Maharis are very large, and resemble tribes or clans more than families, as they count back several generations. They all have names, such as "Dhopo Mahari" "Khocksing Mahari," and every Garo knows to what Mahari he belongs. They are not allowed to marry anyone who belongs to the same Mahari; it is considered a great sin to do so, and the only Garo romance that came to my notice in eight years, was rudely crushed in the bud by the enamoured couple finding out that they belonged to the same Mahari.

The girl had been in my service about a year, and was a great favourite with us for her cheerful, bright disposition and willingness. She had grown tall and well formed while with us, and was better looking than most of her tribe. One of the orderlys

was an active, smart young Garo, called Mackhan. He and the girl Jaree, were well suited to each other, and they fell in love. The parents, however, objected to Jaree marrying the man of her choice, as, contrary to the usual custom, they had chosen a husband for her. The youth they had chosen was our cook-house boy, who could not be compared to Mackhan in any way. Jaree thought her lover was worth fighting for, and she held out bravely, although her father beat her cruelly to make her give him up. She took refuge in the Bungalow, and hardly dared to leave it except when out with the children—she knew no one would dare to molest her when she was out with our children and ayahs. However, one unlucky night the brother and her would-be husband, caught her, and dragged her into a hut, where they beat her unmercifully to make her promise to give up Mackhan. The girl was firm in her refusal, and her cries having brought the other servants to her assistance, she returned to the Bungalow. I was very angry at her having been so cruelly treated, and suggested that she had better settle the matter by marrying Mackhan at once. She said her people would kill her if she did, but still she determined to do so, and I was anxious to have them married, thinking that her people would have to make the best of it, and would leave her alone if once she was married. This was a very pretty little romance—but there it ended quite suddenly. Jaree informed me that she had discovered that Mackhan belonged to her Mahari—and they at once gave up all thoughts of marrying each other. They were not in the least heart-broken, but took it very quietly, and remained good friends. The cook-house boy did not profit by the discovery, however, for Jaree still refused to have anything to say to him. The sudden change in the attitude of these two lovers was wonderful, and showed what a powerful influence that of the "Mahari" is. When a man marries, his wife's Mahari becomes responsible for his good conduct. Thus if he steals, and it is found out, his wife's Mahari has to pay compensation; if he enters into a law-suit and loses the case—either when tried by village Panchayat or by a Magistrate—if he causes the death of, or seriously injures any one, his wife's Mahari has to pay for it. As the wife inherits all the property, so she—or her Mahari—has to pay all losses from whatever causes, with very few exceptions. One exception is, if a man wilfully destroys property belonging to another, without any benefit accruing to his wife—also if he forsakes his wife—in such cases his own Mahari must pay compensation. If he borrows money on his own responsibility, without the consent of his wife or his family, he must pay the debt himself even if he has to sell himself, and become a slave to do so. If he

willfully enters into a dispute against the wishes of his wife and her family, he must abide the consequences.

In every village there is a "Nokfantee," or bachelor's house, where all the young men live until they are chosen by some young girl and are married and taken into her family. The choice of a mate rests with the girls, but the parents arrange every thing else, and perhaps this is the reason why early marriage, as practised by the natives of other parts of India, are not common amongst them.

I have never heard of any particular marriage ceremony beyond the killing of a cock and hen with one stroke of the sword. This is done in the presence of the wedding guests, and the entrails are examined, and are supposed to fortell the future good or bad luck of the newly married couple. There is always a great deal of feasting and drinking at a wedding. Slight as the ceremony is, it is very binding; and the fact that the friends of the bride or bridegroom settle the amount of compensation to be paid should either party desert the other, and that the couple themselves declare that should they not be faithful to each other, they will be liable to pay this fine—is a great check on immorality, especially as the fine is a very heavy one and has to be paid by the Mahari of the culprit, thus making it the interest of everyone to prevent either the husband or the wife rendering them liable to pay the fine.

There are a good many slaves in the hills, but the slavery is divested of all its usual horrors. The slaves frequently run away from their owners, and remain in other villages without provoking any undue wrath or punishment. It is not at all unusual for a man to sell himself for a certain number of years, or for life, to pay a debt. The slaves are not over-worked, as they generally work with the the men of the house, and if they are forced to do anything they do not like, they run away. There is no disgrace attached to the fact of a man being a slave, and the old Luskah I have already mentioned as the most influential man in the district, was himself a slave at one time of his life. The whole race is very independent, and slaves or not, they will only do what they please; no amount of persuasion will induce one of them to do work as a domestic servant that does not suit him; and although they are good tempered, they are obstinate.

Within the last few years there is a great difference observable in the Garos who live near Tura. Many of them visit the station, and bring all the produce of their cultivations in for sale. These consist of cotton (in large quantities) Indian corn, and vegetables. Some, who have nothing of their own for sale, go down to the nearest hâts, or weekly markets, and bring up fowls, &c., for sale at Tura. A hât is now established

at Tura itself, and a brisk trade carried on ; and cloth of various kinds and colors, such as delight the eyes of all savages, are easily obtainable. Consequently the exceedingly primitive costume of the Garo, is now frequently supplemented by a gay colored cloth, flung not ungracefully round the shoulders and chest. Government gives away a large number of cloths to the Luckmas or head men of the villages. A school has been established by the American Missionaries and is doing well, and civilization is gradually creeping into the country : Will it improve it ? They are a happy harmless race as they are now. Their wants are few, and are all supplied by their own industry. They grow enough rice for their own consumption, or cotton, which they exchange for rice ; they occasionally indulge in a feast, at which they partake of excellent beef, some of the best in India, and they always have as much liquor as they can want. They do not rear cattle, but they fatten their young bulls to perfection. They feed them on the refuse from the rice that they make their liquor of, and on very young bamboo shoots, and keep them tied up on small Machans, (bamboo platforms.) These young bulls are frequently made to fight, the Garos being very fond of a good bull fight. Their flesh is tender and good, a great contrast to that of the Naga cattle, which is all muscle, as hard as leather, and as tough.

The rivers are full of good fish, and there is excellent fishing to be had in them, but the present method of catching the fish is a very barbarous one, and likely to destroy them all. A species of poison is thrown into the river, which has the effect of stupifying the fish, and they are then caught in large quantities. There is also a less objectionable way of catching them by means of baskets. A bamboo network is erected right across the river, with funnel shaped baskets every few yards ; the fish in trying to pass the network enter the large end of the baskets, and then being unable to turn are caught. The scenery on some of the rivers is beautiful, the bright, clear water dashing along over the large boulders, or forming clear still pools with the graceful foliage of the jungle that grows to the very edge of the water reflected in it. Sometimes a bridge is thrown across, consisting of a single tree, over which long strings of Garos pass with their large baskets of cotton on their backs, as fearlessly and easily as if it was a well built stone one. Over the larger and broader rivers, cane bridges are thrown, which sway about and look and feel too, very unsafe, but which are really strong and safe for the sure-footed race who have to cross them. After heavy rains the rivers are flooded, and rush along at a furious rate. The small stream close to the station, that has

frequently less than a foot of water at the ford, becomes a furious torrent after a storm, and on one occasion was impassible for days. One of our cows having incautiously attempted to drink with her fore legs in the water, was swept away by the force of the current, and we lost her: her legs were broken, and no doubt some lucky Garos had a good meal off her.

They are fond of flesh of every description, only a few villages refusing to eat even elephant's flesh. Rats are considered great dainties, better even than half-hatched eggs, but not so good as a fat puppy or a pig. Their mode of cooking a dog is disgustingly dirty. They give it a large feed of rice, and immediately kill it and cook it whole, stuffing and all, and eat every morsel of it.

They are not good sportsmen and never kill game fairly. They trap it, and then kill it. The traps for deer are generally made at the opening in the fence that surrounds their cultivations, as that is where the deer leap over to get at the young *dhân*. The trap consists of a pit some feet deep, and about two feet wide at the top, and seven or eight feet long. They slope inwards towards the bottom to only half a span in breadth, so that when a deer or a wild pig springs over the low break in the fence, that serves as an opening, it falls into the pit, and with the weight of its fall, becomes firmly wedged in. The top of these traps being lightly covered with grass and small branches, they are well concealed, and sometimes human beings as well as wild animals fall into them. This is of no consequence if they are properly made, as a man or woman can easily scramble out of them, but some Garos will not take the trouble to dig them properly, and merely make a large hole, at the bottom of which they drive in sharp bamboo stakes. These traps are dangerous, and most villages object strongly to anyone making them, as lives are frequently lost. If anyone is killed in one of these traps—and it is almost certain death to fall into one—the relatives can claim a heavy compensation, and the man who made it is disgraced in the eyes of friends. If a child falls in, the man will frequently pay the parents a large sum to keep it quiet, so that he may not be disgraced.

The elephant traps are made on the same principle but very much larger, and are more substantially covered, so that any lighter animal, or any person walking over them would not fall in, but the covering gives way under the weight of an elephant. It is said that in some instances the sudden fall kills the animal, but I presume this is only when the pit is staked.

The elephant traps are made far away from the villages and cultivations, as a number of these animals collect round

the one that is trapped. They cannot assist it in any way, but they do not leave it until it dies, and unless killed by the fall, it may linger on until it dies of starvation. If a solitary elephant is caught, the Garos throw branches of trees on its head, until it is powerless, and cannot use its trunk; they then throw earth into the sides of the pit, and stamp it down. The pressure soon kills the poor beast, and it is then cut up and the flesh is cooked and eaten. If the inhabitants of the villages near the trap are amongst the few who object to eating elephant flesh, the tusks are cut out and the body burnt: I was told that it is by no means difficult to burn it, as there is generally so much fat that it burns readily. There are no sportsmen amongst the Garos. They never either catch or kill small game. Partridges, peafowl, pheasants, a few quails and jungle fowl are to be had in the hills, but the sport is very poor; without a good dog it is impossible to put up anything, and when the birds rise and are shot, they fall into dense jungle, and even a good retriever often fails to find them. The dogs cannot be allowed to hunt far afield, as there are numbers of leopards, and now also tigers, ready to snap them up. It was a curious fact, that until a cart road was made to the plains, there were no tigers in the hills. When the carts began to come up, the tigers followed the bullocks, and became very troublesome. The best shooting grounds are over the cultivations when the dhân has just been cut. Elephants are to be found in great numbers, but of course they cannot be shot, and as government has recently made large catches, and great interest is now taken in elephant catching, and there is a heavy fine for trapping or killing them, the Garos must find it ~~difficult~~ to have a grand elephant feast. It is impossible to shoot the leopards or tigers, as they cannot be followed even for a few yards into the jungles; they have to be poisoned, or trapped. One man we had—a Goorkah—was very clever at setting spring guns for them, and shot several for us. The leopards are large, handsome ones, and we once heard of a black one, but not having seen it, I cannot vouch for the veracity of our informants, although they had a good opportunity of seeing it, for it sprang from the bank on an unfortunate constable who was travelling up the Tura with two of his fellow-constables, and dealt him a blow on the head that scalped him. The two others frightened it away and rescued their comrade's body and brought it in, and they said the leopard was quite black: as it was broad daylight they could see well. The leopards are very daring, and even enter dwelling houses, so the Garos have good reason to build their houses high up from the ground; those that are erected

in their cultivations for them to occupy when watching their crops, are perched up very high, on a tree generally, the fork of the tree being used as the main supports.

The climate of the Garo hills is said to be very unhealthy, but I am inclined to believe that it has been unnecessarily maligned. Europeans who wish to keep their health must not go there with the idea of saving and living economically, for good food and comfortable living is absolutely necessary. With good living, plenty of exercise and moderate care, Tura is by no means an unhealthy Station, and is many degrees cooler than the plains districts.

ESME.

ART III.—THE PANJAB POLICE.

PART II.

A SERIES of papers which we put forward many years ago in the Lahore representative of public opinion on the defects of the administration of criminal justice, induced Sir James Stephen to turn his attention to the Indian system of Criminal Procedure. After the publication of our papers, an Act was drafted to supersede the old Code (Act XXV of 1861); and Act X of 1872 was ultimately passed. One of our suggestions was that every report of an offence of whatever sort made to a Police Officer, should after reduction into writing, be signed, sealed, or marked by the person making it. We gave the following reasons for our suggestion:—"In numerous charges against the Police, we had considerable experience of the necessity of such a precaution as this. Men from whom property had been stolen, frequently came to the Magistrate in camp on finding the Police would not assist them. A common plea of the Police was that the complainant never reported the theft. It was generally found that the Police were in league with the thieves, and relied on being able to show by the evidence of numerous witnesses, that the complainant had never come to the Police station. To allow, therefore, the complainant to see that his plaint was reduced to writing, would be a great step gained towards the repression of Police corruption."

Our suggestion was adopted *totidem verbis* in Section 112 of Act X of 1882. We, however, afterwards found from experience ~~that~~ our suggestion was not sufficient; but that owing to the character of the Police and the people of the country, it would be necessary to give a copy of the report to the person who had made it, so that he might be able to take it to the nearest educated person to verify. In this all experienced Police Officers agree with us, and they admit that it would be a real check on the Police. In process of time Act X of 1872 went the way of most Indian legislation and was repealed. Act X of 1882, which has superseded it, requires (Section 154) that "every information relating to the commission of a cognizable offence, if given orally to an officer in charge of a Police Station, shall be reduced to writing by him or under his direction, and be read over to the informant; and every such information, whether given in writing or reduced to writing as aforesaid, shall be signed by the person giving it, and the *substance* thereof shall be entered in a book to be kept by such officer in such form as the Local Government may prescribe in this behalf." This section leaves

the matter in a muddle. Its first clause prescribes that the statement of the complainant shall be written down, apparently in full, in his presence, but that is never done in the Panjab.

It is very obvious that if the complainant's full statement were recorded in his presence and signed by him, the Police would subsequently not be able to manipulate the case as they pleased. They could not burke enquiry, or make up a different charge altogether from the one reported; and they could not make the report an excuse for proceeding against some innocent person they sought to injure. The Police department has always had sufficient address to set aside rules of law, whenever such a course tended, not to the repression of crime, but to the credit of the Police administration.

The departmental rule for receiving reports of cognizable offences in the Panjab is contained in the following paragraph of orders and rules of the Panjab Police Force "Every complaint preferred to, and every information or other intimation received by, an officer in charge of a cognizable offence, which he is empowered by law to investigate, shall be recorded as soon as practicable in the charge register book, and the counterfoils shall be despatched without any unnecessary delay, to the officers prescribed." This apparently complies with the letter of the law, but the practical procedure of the Police is quite the reverse, and has totally deceived the Government. Herein is the most glaring defect of Police administration. This charge register is a check-book containing foil and counterfoil, and neither of these affords sufficient space for the full record of the reports of complainants. But that is not all. Both foil and counterfoil are headed in the vernacular *khulasa-i-nalish*, or *abstract* of the complaint, so that it is not the real complaint that is ever recorded, but only such an abstract of it as the Police choose to make. The Police apparently comply with the provision of the second part of the section of the Criminal Procedure Code already cited, but they totally ignore the first part, which apparently requires that the full report should be recorded; and it remains a complete dead letter in the Panjab. It might be urged, that the statements of several complainants are false or long-winded, and so cannot be conveniently recorded in full. To this our reply is, that the falser they are the better, as then an offence has been committed only by the complainant, who can be easily prosecuted for making a false charge to the Police. And if the objection be, that the reports are long-winded or not to the point, we say that country paper, pens, and ink are cheap; and that it would not be a grievous burden on the Police to subtract from their hours of daily slumber, and oblige them to write the statements of complainants in full.

But this again is not all. The Police departmental orders go on to state, that "such record," that is, a record of the substance of the complainant's report in the "charge register," shall be so made "only when such complaint, information, or otherwise amounts to an offence, *and is not on the face it malicious, absurd, and untrue.*" If to the sapient and immaculate mind of the Deputy Inspector or Sergeant in charge of a Police station, a report of a cognizable offence *appears to be false*, it is not to be entered in the charge register book at all! A brief abstract of it shall be made in the station diary!!

These rules may have been the result of inexperience on the part of the officers who framed them, but such inexperience is to us marvellous. Nobody, we believe, who had associated for even three months with the natives of India, could, if acting in good faith, give a native even in the position of a Deputy Inspector or Sergeant of Police the option of deciding off-hand whether a complaint of a cognizable offence formally and deliberately made to him was true or false, reasonable or absurd. To allow the subordinate Police this option is simply to suggest to them to suppress reports of crime; and every Magistrate who has turned his attention to the subject knows that this is the result. Injured persons receive no redress and the thieves bribe the Police to do nothing. But looking at the matter from another point of view, the more false and absurd the charge is, as we have already stated, the better and the greater reason for enquiring into it with the object of punishing the person who made it, and thus doing some thing towards improving public morality.

The system of reporting non-cognizable offences prescribed by the Criminal Procedure Code is equally bad. When information is given to an officer in charge of a Police station of the commission, within the limits of such station, of a non-cognizable offence, he "shall enter in a book to be kept as aforesaid the substance of such information, and refer the informant to the Magistrate." Here again it is the *substance* of the complaint that is to be entered. In the Panjab, reports of non-cognizable offences are recorded in a book called the station diary, which, like the charge register, also consists of a foil and counterfoil; and it is certain that in this only the very briefest abstract is ever recorded, and indeed there are departmental orders to that effect. The complainant's signature is not necessary at all by the new Criminal Procedure Code, so that in this register, at any rate, the Police will soon be able to write whatever reports they please. And they are rarely slow to avail themselves of "any thing good" that the law and departmental rules allow them.

As a matter of fact, the great majority of complainants cannot read and write, and know very little of the Criminal Procedure Code. Even in the case of cognizable offences, the substance of the complainant's statement is rarely ever written in his presence or at the time of making it. The Police order above quoted says, that it "shall be written "as soon as practicable." It is easy enough to find reasons for not writing it immediately, that is to say, as soon as practicable, if the Police decide on visiting the spot, they, as often as they can, write the *khulása-nálish*, or substance of the complaint afterwards, and then, of course, they can give it whatever shape they please. If they cannot get the seal or mark of the complainant, when they have written the substance of the report at their own convenience, a mark is easily made, and its authenticity will be proved by the whole staff of the Police station. If the Police decide on taking no action, they represent that the complaint is a frivolous one, or they twist it into a non-cognizable offence, and write the substance of it in the station diary, or, more convenient for them still, they do not report the complaint at all, if they think such a course will be attended with impunity. The report, if written, has by this time arrived at a stage when, not only could the Magistrate or District Superintendent of Police not understand what actually occurred, but even the very man who made the report, would fail to recognise it.

It would, however, perhaps not be fair to cast all the blame on the Police Department for the rules framed for its subordinates, which allow them to refuse to investigate cognizable offences, unless, indeed, the Police themselves shaped the code on this subject, which appears to have been the case. The Criminal Procedure Code gives the Police power to refuse to investigate cognizable offences, subject to such explanation as they think fit to give. It distinctly provides that "when any information as to the commission of any cognizable offence is given against any person by name, and the case is not of a serious nature, the officer in charge of a Police station need not proceed in person, or depute a subordinate officer to make an investigation on the spot; and if it appear to the officer in charge of a Police station, that there is no sufficient ground for entering on an investigation, he shall not investigate the case." We should think it would be easy enough to invent several reasons for not entering on an investigation, if it appeared less irksome and more profitable not to do so. Indeed, it may be taken for granted, that the suppression of complaints in the manner described, is the custom of the Police, so far as it can safely be practised; and this again depends on the knowledge, the ability, and the vigilance of District Superintendents.

The total result of the whole system of procedure and reporting of offences is, as every Magistrate of experience knows, that Police reports can rarely be trusted for a real statement of what occurred. If a man reports that half a dozen bullocks of his were stolen over-night, this is recorded as the straying (*dwárgi*) of one bullock from his herd; and then the Police add, that he does not desire to urge the matter (*Pairawí nahín karna चाहता है*). Now in the early years, at any rate, of the present Police system, it may fairly be assumed that men went to the Police station to ask for assistance, and to try at least to recover their stolen property. In process of time, as the failures of the Police and the hardships they inflicted on innocent persons by their enquiries became known, men from whom property had been stolen, no doubt began to report offences to the Police as a matter of form, to satisfy the desire of the lambardár and chankídár on whom it is incumbent to bring certain crimes to official notice. But more often, perhaps, in recent times reports are made to the Police in order to put pressure on the thieves, and thus facilitate the private recovery of stolen property. In any case, the Police report to the effect that the injured persons represented their cattle as strayed and desired no assistance, is rarely a real statement either of what actually occurred or of what was reported at the Police station. To such an extent is this manipulation of reports practised, that we have actually known murders disposed of as assaults in a line or a line-and-a-half of station diaries, which are intended, it will be remembered, for the report of offences not cognizable by the Police.

But this is not all. Acts which are not punishable by any code are metamorphosed into offences. Civil complaints regarding marriages and betrothals are interfered in by the Police as cognizable offences of kidnapping from lawful guardianship. If a libertine wishes to secure a widow or a desirable maiden, he goes to the Police, reports that the woman is in the family way, and means to procure abortion; and he gets her put under the supervision of a friendly lambardár who allows him to have access to her. And so on: every form of abomination is practised by the Police owing to the present lax system of reporting offences. It is in vain under existing rules to try to punish the Police for not recording the statements of complainants in full. They refer to the *khulása* or abstract prescribed for them by the heads of their department, and they defy the Magistrate. If they do not record any statement at all, they will prove that the complainant never presented himself at the Police office; and if they record a cognizable offence as a non-cognizable one

in the station diary, they will prove by their own men and witnesses on whom they can count, that what they recorded as an abstract was the sum total of the complainant's words.

All this must, as stated, be altered, if there is to be any real check on the Panjab Police. A proper system of reporting offences, by which the original statements of aggrieved persons could be obtained, would be far more important to society and the popularity of the British administration, than any measure that has been introduced in recent times. The Subordinate Police must not be allowed to draw any subtle distinctions of their own between *reports* of cognizable and *complaints* of non-cognizable offences made to them. They must be obliged to write down *in extenso in one book*, every report or complaint, of whatever sort, which is made to them, get it signed, sealed, or marked by the person reporting, and then give him an attested copy of it for easy verification. The Subordinate Police would, of course, have still the power to enquire into cognizable offences; but, if they erred, the Sadr authorities, with the full statements of complainants before them, could easily decide what cases were, and what cases were not, to be sent for trial before the Magistrate. We have thought over this subject for many years, and discussed it with numerous Police officers; and all have agreed that this is the most effectual check on the Subordinate Police that can be proposed. It may not be a perfect one, but, in view of what may be said in its favour, and of the existing highly unsatisfactory and delusive system of reporting offences, it certainly might receive a fair trial.

The statistics given regarding the burglaries by Pesháwaris in Delhi and Mirat, and recently even in Simlá, are interesting from a Police point of view; and no doubt a detective system, such as Colonel Ewart proposes, would be highly useful to trace such offenders. But what if we first begin at home? We may be quite certain that before the Pesháwaris left their inhospitable abodes, they were thoroughly trained to the ways of crime under the appellate system and the police procedure. If they had not found the existing order of things favoured thieves, they doubtless would have turned their talents in some other direction, and it would not have been necessary to put detectives on their track.

It is hopeless to expect that the Panjab Police Department will take up this question of the manner of reporting offences. The first result of a reform would be to show the large amount of crime that really exists, and the impotence of the Police. No Inspector-General, so long as the option is left him, will consent to do this. His aim is to show as good working as possible during his own term of office, and not to propose checks on his department which the legislature has not had sufficient knowledge of Indian administrative detail to impose without reference to him.

In the matter of reporting offences, the Panjab Police are far the most backward in the Bengal Presidency, and perhaps in the whole of India. As early as 1866 the District Superintendent of Police in the North-Western Provinces was ordered to give the Magistrate of the district a daily abstract in English of all crimes reported, and other matters of importance. The same rule was prescribed in Lower Bengal in 1870. There is no such order in the Panjab, and there is practically nothing to show that the District Superintendent of Police peruses his daily reports, or does so with intelligence.

"In the North-Western Provinces every person making a charge, whether accepted or refused, or making a report, or laying information of any kind, will be invariably furnished by the officer in charge of the station with a receipt duly filled up out of the check book provided for that purpose." This is what we have been advocating for the Panjab. In Lower Bengal, "if a Magistrate directs a cognizable case to be investigated by the Police, and the Police officer has not received any previous information regarding the crime, he shall, on receipt of the Magistrate's order, prepare a first information report." The system of reporting offences in Lower Bengal we consider perfect. It is what we have been advocating for the Panjab, even indeed before we knew that it existed in Lower Bengal. "The second part of the report should be *verbatim* the story told by the informant. If the complaint is given in writing, the original paper should be attached to the form. After so recording, the Police officer should add such additional matter elicited by comment or interrogation as may be required to explain any doubtful or unintelligible points in the *verbatim* statement. In cases of delay in bringing complaints, explanation of such delay should always be demanded; so also vague statements of suspicion against parties accused should never be recorded without enquiring the reason of such suspicion. Careful interrogation of an informant tends to strengthen a true complaint and expose a false one. Provided that, while so examining an informant, the Police officer shall record both question and answer." It would be fortunate for the Panjab, if such an order as this were ever issued to its Police.

The Police Department, as it exists in the Panjab, is but a whited sepulchre. It is not an uncommon thing to hear remarked, "The career of a regular soldier is one of honor, that of a constable of dishonour."* A short time since we asked a native soldier who called on us, why he preferred his post to an appointment in the local Police. He quickly and laconically replied—"Kyunki hamare mahakma men koi daghabazi nahin

* Report of the District Superintendent of Police of Gurgaon.

hai"—because in my department there is no rascality. And we have often, when recommending some young man to enter the constabulary, heard it described as a *ganda mahakma* or dirty department. When a youth of nice education enters the Police, he for some time endeavours to act honestly, but the forces against him are too strong, and he is carried along with the tide. He in process of time finds it much easier and pleasanter not to report at all, but draw his pay, enjoy his *aram*, and take money from thieves for doing nothing. The Police are often punished for this, but the cases rarely stand in appeal; and Magistrates soon become tired of taking up charges against them.

By an extraordinary fatality the very appellate system, which, by turning criminals loose on society, disheartens and finally corrupts the Police, has its counterbalancing clemencies for the Police themselves thus corrupted. In one district we collected statistics of the result of charges against the Police. For three years twenty-two members of the Police force were convicted and punished by the orders of eight different Magistrates of different grades. Of the twenty-two who were punished, the sentences of thirteen were appealable. These thirteen men all appealed, and *in every case their appeal was accepted*. Now any one or more of the Magistrates may have been hasty, or ill-judging, or to stretch the imagination further, even malicious; but how about eight different Magistrates of different degrees, of different nationalities, and who certainly were incapable from their temperaments and for other reasons, of conspiring together for any common object? If the eight Magistrates were all in the wrong and the Appellate Courts above them all in the right, then the Police of the district were nearly immaculate for three years. We are inclined to question this conclusion, seeing that the most orthodox Christian divines admit that the age of miracles has departed. The Subordinate Police do not of course always enjoy absolute impunity of this description, but that the impunity is very great has, we believe, already been recognized by all Subordinate Magistrates and by Police Officer themselves.

A good District Superintendent of Police will keep his Police up to the mark by departmental punishment, but, as far as our experience goes, his immediate departmental superior, the Deputy Inspector-General, looking on his force as a Military one, becomes animated with *esprit de corps*, and refuses to believe anything against his subordinates; and, in most cases that we have ever known, reverses the orders of the District Superintendent. The Deputy Inspector-General knows well that if he supports the District Superintendent of Police, he runs the risk of receiving censure from the Inspector-General. Dead men tell no tales, neither do subordinates cry out when their orders are

reversed, unless, indeed, they are personally injured ; so when the order of a District Superintendent of Police is reversed by the Deputy Inspector-General, there is nothing further heard of the matter. The District Superintendent of Police soon grows tired of his efforts to keep his men up to the mark, and ends, by playing a double game between his Deputy Inspector-General and the Magistrate of the District. He partially obeys both, but he plays one against the other. He does not wish to disobey or displease the Magistrate, but he knows that his advancement depends on his Deputy Inspector-General.

From a long experience of the Police Department we must say, that whenever we have known Deputy Inspectors-General exercise their appellate authority in departmental matters, it has generally been exercised for the worse. It has almost always been either in opposition to the District Officer or the District Superintendent of Police. Only quite lately we heard of a case in which a District Superintendent reduced a Sergeant for tearing leaves out of a Police register, so that the official in whose responsible custody it was—a man whom he wished to injure—might be punished. The Deputy Inspector-General on appeal restored the man to his position, and seemed to think the little matter a harmless departmental eccentricity. The man was transferred, and he abetted a precisely similar act in his new position. With great difficulty could the District Superintendent of Police secure his transfer from his charge. That District Superintendent of Police will probably allow things for the future to take their own course. Policemen who are punished in one Police jurisdiction are generally, but not always, transferred to another. This hinders a stir or agitation of any magnitude being made. The officer from whom the punished policeman is transferred, is fairly well satisfied ; and the officer to whom he is transferred, is frequently not aware of his antecedents, or, if he is, he is not in a position to object to his services.

Deputy Inspectors-General are actuated by various and intelligible motives. There is the *esprit de corps* already mentioned ; there is the difficulty of recruiting the Police owing to the low pay of its subordinate grades and other reasons ; there is the striving for good results in yearly reports ; there is the dread of the sharp pens of the assistants of the Inspector-General ; and there is the hopelessness of repressing crime under the existing judicial system. The result is that the Deputy Inspectors-General array themselves, as with a garment, with jesuitical unbelief in the defects of their department. In view, however, of the existing state of the Police, of the terror they are to the community, and of the danger they are to the Government in the popular discontent they cause,

there appears to be very little doubt that the question of the use of Deputy Inspectors-General must ere long receive a solution. If they are removed or reduced in number, they will, we hope, be provided for either in kindred appointments which exist in the political department, or allowed to do duty with the army to which they originally belonged. But whatever is to be done in the matter of Deputy Inspectors-General, there is a crying necessity to curtail their appellate jurisdiction.

It is curious to follow the varying fortunes of Deputy Inspectors-General in some of the provinces of the Bengal Presidency. For a few years after the promulgation of Act V of 1861, Deputy Inspectors-General received and went through the form of analyzing criminal statistics; they were supposed to watch the fluctuations of crime, and did really watch the fluctuation of *reports* of crime; and it was considered an especial part of their duty "to watch and trace all cases of organized or ramified crime." It would have been a very good thing if Deputy Inspectors-General had done all this, but, in Bengal, Commissioners and Magistrates held irreverent doubts regarding the perfection of the new police system, and threw discredit on the industry and capacity of the Deputy Inspectors-General, and on the *nakshas* manufactured in their offices. A Commission was then appointed to scrutinise and report upon its Police establishment. In 1864 the Bengal Government, on the report of the Commission, decided that the Deputy Inspectors-General were not to burden themselves with statistics of crime, but were to confine themselves solely to the inspection and discipline of the force.

In the North-Western Provinces the same year, the Deputy Inspectors-General, one of whom had been originally appointed to each of six revenue Divisions, were found too many for the administration, and their number was reduced to two. In 1876 the Civil Administration Committee proposed that the number of Deputy Inspectors-General should be reduced to one, and that the powers hitherto possessed by that class of officers should be vested in Commissioners. The Government of the North-Western Provinces the same year passed the following decision:—"Every Commissioner shall be *ex-officio* a Deputy Inspector-General under section 4 of Act V of 1861, within the limits of his divisional jurisdiction. To the Inspector-General, and to the Deputies other than Commissioners, will be left ordinarily all purely departmental functions; to Commissioners will be delegated the control of all other police matters belonging to the office of Deputy Inspector-General within their respective Divisions."

Five years afterwards the Bengal Government, knowing

thoroughly what it was about, made proposals for the abolition of the separate departmental control of the Police, and for the transfer of the powers of the Inspector-General and the Deputy Inspector-General to the Commissioners of Divisions. The Bengal Government wrote,—“There can be little doubt that in dealing with ordinary crime, the Bengal Police system has not come up to the expectation of its framers. There is a general consensus of opinion as to its practical failure in this respect, and the Lieutenant-Governor believes that this is in a great measure due to the want of local direction in this particular point. The Deputy Inspectors-General having had no magisterial and judicial training, have naturally devoted themselves rather to the enforcement of discipline and internal organization, than to the cultivation of detective ability and the acquisition of intimate local knowledge.”

Lord Lawrence, a practical administrator acquainted with the people, eagerly welcomed the letter of the Bengal Government, and circulated it to all local governments with a strong hint that the proposals of the Bengal Government on the subject of the Police should be universally adopted. The private influence of Inspectors-General—an influence still excessive with all Local Governors—was, however, too strong for the Governor-General. The Local Governors took care of Dowb, and of their *protégés*, the heads of the Police Department; and it was only in Assam, which was about to be formed into a separate Province, and in which there happened to be no *protégés* with vested interests and no authorities strong enough to object, that the experiment of abolishing the separate control of the Police was determined on.

On the occurrence of the financial crisis of 1876, Lord Mayo, acting on the advice of Sir John Strachey, recorded a minute to the effect that the office of Deputy Inspectors-General had been universally condemned as useless, and he directed the abolition of the appointment held by such officers throughout India. All the Local Governments again, with the exception of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, which had previously reduced its Deputy Inspectors-General to two, did disloyal battle for the Deputy Inspectors-General. The result was that all other administrations of the Bengal Presidency retained their Deputy Inspectors-General. In Bengal there had been originally six such officers. They were now reduced to two as the result of Lord Mayo's admirable minute.

In the Panjab four Deputy Inspectors-General were appointed under the Police organization of 1861. Of these one has since been reduced. This was because the railway system was sufficiently extended to admit of one circle (Multan) being

absorbed without departmental inconvenience. There can be little doubt that the Panjab Police still look on themselves as an army and a separate department altogether from the civil staff of the Province, however the Panjab Government in some amiable circulars on the subject has sought to mildly reason them into the contrary belief.

We readily admit that Deputy Inspectors-General are necessary to maintain the military organization of the Police Force, should this be deemed necessary. We have seen that the promoters of the existing system, immediately after the Indian Mutiny, when the defects of the native army were glaring and painful, had in view the creation of rural military forces which would be more manageable than the old native army, and whose services would be at once accessible when necessary to the civil power. But what the value of the present Police as a Military Force would be in the event of a popular insurrection, is a matter fairly open to discussion. At the time of the great Sepoy War, officers of regiments were found totally unacquainted with the temper and feelings of their men; and it would therefore be nothing surprising if the Government cherished the belief, that the Police as a body would be loyal in the hour of need to the British Government. This may be so, but the contrary opinion is widely entertained. Lord Napier of Magdala, who was for many years in civil employ, and who for this and for other reasons must have known what he was writing about, described the Police Force as "useless in time of peace and dangerous in time of war," but, perhaps he spoke with professional prejudice.

We have, therefore, extended the range of our enquiries to the Police Department itself, and we fear that the unanimous opinion of all candid and experienced Police Officers is, that the loyalty of the Police could not be depended on. They are badly paid, as we shall see further on; the bonds of discipline are relaxed as they were in the old Pandya army; every policeman—we beg his pardon! Police officer, as a constable is styled from the moment of enlistment—knows that his District Superintendent of Police is generally powerless to do anything but threaten him; that orders of punishment will be reversed by higher authority; and if they are not reversed, the person punished can do his superior officer tangible and serious harm by attacking him anonymously, as was also the custom in the old Pandya army; and it is asked, why or wherefore should the Police be loyal? To ourselves the Police have always appeared in the same light as the mercenary levies described by Machiavelli. Sono disuniti, ambiziosi e senza disciplina, infedeli, gagliarde tra gli amici, tra li nemici vili; non hanno timore di Dio, non fede con gli uomini, e tanto si differisce

la rovina quanto si differisce l'assalto ; e nella pace sei spogliato da lora, nella guerra da'nemici. The Mutiny of 1857 was a war of soldiers, not generally participated in by the people, but a Police mutiny would be an universal insurrection, because, being closely associated with the people, they would carry with them the masses and inflame their minds against the Government.

Colonel Ewart, in a vernacular pamphlet which accompanies one of the appendices to his proposal for a Detective Police system, thus describes some of the irregularities practised by the Police, the result of their being practically beyond the control of any authority, human or divine. Colonel Ewart has had great experience as a Police Officer, and his statements may be relied on as correct.—On the occurrence of a serious offence, the police endeavour to prove the statement of the complainant to be false, and they proceed in such a manner as to throw a veil over the whole occurrence. This is done in a variety of ways. The Police send for, perhaps, as many as fifty of the principal inhabitants of the village, and call upon them to furnish supplies. Fowl, ghi, flour, milk, vegetables, and kids, pour in as offerings to the offended minions of the law. After a "square meal" the Police tell the people that no offence has really been committed. The complainant maintains that he has suffered actual loss. Upon this the Police indent for further supplies. The Zaildar and Lamberdar then interfere. An understanding is arrived at by which the complainant is induced to state that no theft has been committed. The police receive further presents from the complainant or the head man of the village, take their departure, and report that no offence has been committed. It has been seen that law and departmental rules actually allow them to resort to these expedients. On their report to their officer that the charge is false, he is satisfied and makes no further enquiry.

When the Police hear from any source, whether public rumour or the report of a village watchman, of the occurrence of a cognizable offence which the injured party does not desire to prosecute on account of the personal annoyance caused him, or the suspension of his business, the Police of their own motion make a show of obliging him to take action. This is done by compelling him to go to the Police Station, and there charging him with an endeavour to suppress a report of crime, with being in league with the thieves, and with having compounded felony. The unfortunate sufferer is very glad to buy off the police by making them the largest present of which he is capable.

On the occasion of even a *bond fide* enquiry, the police collect at the house of the complainant, or take their seats on charpoys

on the neighbouring highways, and so annoy the complainant and his neighbours, and hinder them from pursuing their daily avocations, that the complainant is at last very glad to come to terms with the Police and send them away. This is done in a variety of ways, such as endeavouring to make out to the Police that there was no ground for complaint, that it was all a mistake, and that nothing was really stolen. Failing the success of these tactics, an illegal gratification is given to the Police, whose absence is then, according to the Celtic proverb, the best company of the villagers.

Sometimes when the complainant has really suffered great loss and he is anxious for a Police investigation, the Police cause him such dishonour by interfering with his female relatives, or by enquiring into his pecuniary transactions, that he is glad to get rid of them at any cost. If the Police see a good-looking woman, they tell her male relatives that she has a paramour whom she introduced into the house, that it was through her the paramour committed theft or house-breaking, as the case may be; and they threaten to send the woman to Court and expose her. When her relatives find this complexion put on their loss, they buy the Police off and save themselves from persecution and the disgrace of their female relative. The manner in which they persecute the complainant by enquiring into his pecuniary transactions is this: They pretend he is in debt, and that to evade payment to his creditors he has falsely reported the theft or robbery. His books are then demanded, and all his private pecuniary transactions read out for the benefit of the public in general and the Police in particular. Sometimes the Police try to make out that the alleged stolen property consisted of pledged articles, and that, to wrongfully misappropriate them, the complainant reported the offence. This is calculated to shake the complainant's credit, and he is glad to bribe the Police to depart, and not further disgrace him. When this conduct on the part of the Police becomes known in the neighbourhood, of course, people will do anything rather than report offences.

To bring charges to conviction, the Police apply torture to suspicious persons, or they induce them to confess under promise of pardon or acquittal. Innocent persons are often thus condemned. Even if the innocent man be hanged, the Police feel no compunction so long as they receive favourable reports in their service books, and the good opinion of their superior officers.

If an offence occurs near a boundary, whether of a British district or a Protected State, the local Police employed to investigate report that it did not occur in their own jurisdiction. The object of this is to give the parties time to settle the

case. In any such settlement, of course, the Police will not be forgotten by the thieves. The Railway Police belonging to the different jurisdictions of Shikarpur, Bahawalpur, Bilochistan, &c., are said to be particular adepts at this particular sort of procedure.

The lower class of constables who are of necessity first despatched to the scene of serious occurrences for enquiry, are bought over, and when a senior Officer has subsequently time to visit the spot, the case is found, as it is termed, spoiled, and a conviction can in no wise be obtained. The occasion let slip can never again be seized.

وقت از دست رفته و تیر از کمان جسته باز بدست نمی آید

Even if the case is then brought before the court, a skilful pleader can always secure the acquittal of the accused.

The above dishonest procedure on the part of the police is, as stated, given on the authority of Colonel Ewart, but a whole volume might be written on the subject, which would be in no wise less interesting reading than the once famous "Revelations of Paunchkhouri Khan."* Suffice it to say, that we fear there is no check whatever on the Police under the existing system, and that there is no such cause of popular discontent throughout India as the oppression practised by the Police under an alien administration, whose officers are yearly becoming more and more unacquainted with the people they are called upon to govern.

We have now enumerated three causes of the demoralization of the Police, namely, the judicial appellate system, the system of reporting offences laid down by law and departmental rules, and the interference of the Deputy Inspectors-General with departmental punishments. To these causes are to be added the low scale of pay drawn by the constables, particularly those of the second class. If the first three causes of the demoralization of the Police did not exist, probably the low scale of pay would not have been really material at the time it was originally fixed; but since then prices have greatly risen, and what was sufficient for the Policeman twenty years ago, is totally insufficient for him now. He, therefore, makes use of every avenue of illicit gain allowed him, until finally he adopts the profession of thief and house-breaker himself, as it is popularly believed he has done in the Lahore and other districts in which the Subordinate Police have been unduly supported by their own department.

* On the subject of the low pay of the Police, nothing more

* This remarkable work is unfortunately now out of print, but a very full abstract of it by Mr. Theobald will be found in the "Selections from the Calcutta Review" for April 1882.

or better can be said than that contained in a letter of the Inspector-General of Police a year ago to the Panjab Government—"The question of recruiting for the Police has been a matter of extreme difficulty for years. The steady growth of prices since 1863, the increase of wages for unskilled labor, and the larger market for menials of all kinds afforded by the extension of railway enterprise, have greatly depreciated the pay and position of a Police constable. The grant of good conduct pay on more favourable terms to the army, and the gift of free kits and other advantages in 1877 to native troops, have thrown into stronger contrast the disadvantages of a Police career. To this must be added the steady increase in the duties demanded from the constabulary. As laws and rules multiply, as sanitation is better attended to, and as the registration of vital statistics is extended and improved, the work of the Police is vastly augmented, for the real burden falls on them.

"For years past the quality of our recruits has been steadily deteriorating. Notwithstanding the reduction of our standard of physical requirements far below that which is desirable in a Police Officer, we only secure, for the most part, a very inferior stamp of recruit-men who have little or no prospect in succeeding in any other line. The wholesome and most prudent rules, regulating the proportions of religions to be maintained in the force, have, per force, been set aside to enable us to fill our ranks at all. The simplest process of arithmetic suffices to prove that, in many seasons, a second grade constable cannot live on his pay as a single man; and, in accordance with native habits and ideas, most are married. If a badly paid struggling official, invested with large powers and possessed of many opportunities, abuses his position in order to support himself, more blame is naturally given to the Government for placing a man in such a position than to the individual for immoral conduct."

This is a painful state of things. To remedy it the Inspector-General proposes to promote from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 all constables in the Provincial Police of the twenty-five Cis-Indus districts in which this grade exists; to increase the number of Deputy Inspectors by sixty-five, as that would admit of rather more than half of the second class and all the first class stations being held by Deputy Inspectors, and not, as is now too often the case, by Sergeants on 25 Rs. and sometimes 15 Rs. a month; to create a grade of Inspectors of Police on Rs. 250 a month; and, finally, to raise the pay by Rs. 20 of each of the twenty-six Cis-Indus Court Inspectors and then give them the nominal rank of Inspectors, so as to allow them to prosecute in criminal cases, and thus evade the

restrictions placed on police prosecution by the last Criminal Procedure Code.

A proposal has often been made, and is now again repeated by Colonel Ewart, that the Provincial Police should be reorganized and divided into Military Police for guards and public order, and Detectives for bringing criminals to justice. This we strongly advocate after an intimate acquaintance with the existing Police, extending back almost to the period of its formation. There is perhaps no country in the world where such diversities of human intellect are found as in India. Englishmen who know no Indian dialect, and who have met men like the late Sir Salar Jang, Keshab Chandar Sen, Kristo Das Pal, and others, have formed, and very justly, a very high opinion of the capabilities of Indians; but it is not of such men as those the population of India is composed. The great mass of the people are sunk in almost hopeless ignorance, and this evil is further intensified by too early and excessive sensual indulgence, by the use of intoxicating drugs, and perhaps by bad food and sordid existence. Your fine-looking constable on parade whose appearance delights the soul of a military Inspector-General has often no more intellect than a bullock. You ask him his name, saying, *tumhara nam kya hai*, and he replies with a blank stare, *hán ji*. (Yes, sir). You slowly repeat your question with your best Hindustání pronunciation, and he replies *ji hán*. (Sir, yes). The use of articulate speech of some sort, and the ability to ring the changes on *ji* and *hán* are almost the only means of intellectually discriminating between that constable and a beast of the field. It is utterly and absolutely hopeless to make a detective out of him till his education has improved. But he will stand over a bag of rupees perfectly well, or he will plant himself on a roadway or crossing and assist in clearing it, or hinder a crowd from collecting. A professional criminal would fool him to the top of his bent, or take and sell him as a slave in the market place, if slavery were not forbidden under the British constitution; but a man of any physique or caste whatever may make an admirable detective, though he may never make a soldier. The Police Department ought to recruit its detective body from all classes and conditions of men among whom detective ability may be found, and merit should receive prompt and generous recognition.

All experienced District Superintendents of Police with whom we have spoken are of this opinion, that there must be two branches of the regular Police service, apart altogether from the local staff of village watchmen. Two branches of the regular Police have probably existed in all ages in India, until our countrymen evolved a scheme of their own, based upon the British and Irish constabularies. As early as the age of

Manú, patrols and fixed guards, open and secret, were appointed, while at the same time it was the duty of the king to entertain detectives, or spies as they were called, who would associate with the thieves, and lead them into situations in which they could be arrested and their guilt established. Other times, other manners. It is not now desirable that our detectives should act in this way, but the law of Manú shows that the use of detectives, as distinct from Police for the preservation of order, was deemed necessary even at such an early stage of Indian history.

It will be remembered that at the time of the Mutiny the Panjab Police which appeared to more favourable advantage than it perhaps ever will again, consisted of the two branches we have been advocating, namely, armed Police to supply guards and maintain public order, and barkandazes for the repression and detection of crime. We are simply advocating a return to the system which did so well when the Government required the military services of the Police, and when disaffection on their part would possibly have been attended with the most disastrous consequences. When the existing Police was formed, even the Supreme Government apprehended danger from high military efficiency on their part, and stated that if it was ever attained, it might be taken as a tolerably conclusive proof that the Police was stronger than was needed for purely Police purposes and might be safely reduced.*

There is another reason still why in India Police for public order should be separated from the detective body. In all ages in India, the official with arms in his hands considered himself the master of the people, while the detective or watchman considered himself their servant. Under all native rule the armed official, or sipáhi as he called himself, was badly and irregularly paid—even far worse than our existing regular Police; and he considered he had a right to live on the people. This right it is to be feared our constable still considers himself entitled to, but it cannot be conceded to a man whose mission it is to investigate heinous offences and bring criminals to justice. He must lay aside his swagger and fanfarronade, move noiselessly among the people, and literally consider himself their servant and not their master.

There is one class of men, the old professional trackers, whom the present police system is gradually allowing to die out. We consider this a great pity. We have known several men of that calling possess extraordinary detective abilities. On one occasion we knew a famous tracker, probably now

* *Papers on Police Reform*, p. 247.

dead, pursue a Pathán murderer for sixty-three miles and arrest him in a village near the roadside whither he went to drink water during the midday heat. That man may not look well on parade, but his services should be coveted by the Police Department as fine gold by a miser. Of such men the Police Department, as at present constituted, hardly takes any account. In the northern part of the Panjab, the private trackers are altogether worthless, and, indeed, for some time their evidence has for the most part only been employed to establish false charges.

If the second class of existing Police constables were turned into barkándāzes, their present pay would probably suffice for them, and the Inspector-General's difficulty would be solved as far as they are concerned. They should then be undrilled and undisciplined, as was formerly recommended by Mr. Clerk in the case of the Bombay Military Police; and if they proved themselves good detectives, there should be a career for them in their own special line. We would, as we have explained, have an armed Police and an unarmed Police. If for the armed Police we could obtain physical excellence and detective merit so much the more satisfactory :

Nam gratior pulchro veniens in corpore virtus ;
but if this were not possible, then we would have the armed force for such purely good physique as we could obtain, and the unarmed force for special detective skill and acuteness even when unattended by youth or comeliness of person. The proposal to increase the pay of Inspectors might be considered, if the imperial finances were not otherwise overburdened. And instead of raising the pay of the Court Inspectors to evade the provisions of the law, perhaps a change in the law itself would be more feasible and desirable. If the mountain will not come to Muhammad, let Muhammad go to the mountain. We have long known Court Inspectors with their existing pay make capital public prosecutors. The proposal to increase the number of the Deputy Inspectors recommended by the Inspector-General, and thus hinder Police stations from being held by Sergeants on Rs. 25 or Rs. 15 a month, we cordially endorse. It is a necessity of the age, the result of high prices, of the progressive increase in the salaries of native officials in other not more important departments, and of the great power and responsibility possessed by officers in charge of Police stations.

In considering any further reforms of the Panjab Police, we cannot do better than refer to the admirable report of the North-Western Provinces' Civil Administration Committees' labours and deliberations, in 1876,* and the resolution of the

* This Report was written by Mr. Robert Smeaton, Secretary to the Oudh Government.

Government of the North-Western Provinces thereon. It appears that from the time of the creation of the new Police, the Government of the North-Western Provinces has been far in advance of the Panjab. We notice the following special points not even yet included in Panjab Police Procedure. In the Police Manual of 1863 for the North-Western Provinces, the Police were ordered to attend to, and report for the information of the Inspector-General, all suggestions of the Magistrate of the district relative to any alteration in the disposition of the district force. The Magistrate of the district when on tour was to be accompanied by the District Superintendent of Police, the Assistant District Superintendent, or an Inspector of high position, because the Magistrate is the head of the Police, exercising a general control and supervision over the Police force. And the offer of rewards for the discovery or apprehension of criminals was vested in the Commissioner or Magistrate, and not in the Police officer as in the Panjab.

The report of the Nainí Tál Committee of 1863-4, a well-considered and remarkable one for the time, comes next in order. It opportunely pointed out the drifting of the Police from all Magisterial control. It was then found that superintendents had practically become less subordinate to the Magistrate of the district than had been intended or contemplated by Act V of 1861, and by the Calcutta Police Commission on whose report it was based. Deputy Inspectors-General, as already stated, were reduced to two, and their powers were transferred to Commissioners. It was found at the time, that the people believed the Magistrates indifferent to Police matters, and that the Tahsildárs had no authority whatever. The most important orders issued on the Report of the Committee were that District Superintendents of Police should in future correspond with the Inspector-General through the District Magistrate, and that the Magistrates' concurrence was required in all promotions up to the rank of Inspector.

The circulars subsequently issued by the North-Western Provinces all tended to restore the Magistrate of the district to his position as head of the District Police. Unemployed candidates for the post of Inspector of Police were to be recommended by the Magistrate of the district. Pay abstracts of the Police Department were to be countersigned by the Magistrate of the district, and acquittance rolls to be deposited in his office. Travelling and halting allowances of District Superintendents of Police were to be countersigned by the Magistrate as their immediate official superior. Orders discharging Police from the service were to be supported by the concurrence of the Magistrate, and to be countersigned by him. Similarly, the concurrence of the Magistrate of the district

was required in the case of the reduction or promotion of all officers below the rank of Inspector.

In the event of a Police officer being placed under suspension, the District Superintendent of Police might appoint a substitute for him, subject to the sanction of the Magistrate of the district. The Magistrate was empowered to appoint a member of a Committee to examine Sub-Inspectors in their knowledge of Police duties. It was ordered, that all matters connected with the rules for the repression of crime, the testing of statistics, the nomination and appointment of Special Police should be entirely in the hands of the Magistrate; and that the District Superintendent of Police only acted as one of his Assistants. *In consultation with Magistrates* and District Superintendents of Police, Deputy Inspectors-General were authorised to reduce or promote one grade on the spot Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police whose conduct called for such notice. Commissioners and Magistrates were solicited to inspect Police stations and inform the Inspector-General and the District Superintendent of Police, if they found anything wrong when on their annual tour.

All appointments, promotions, rewards, and transfers of Police up to the grade of first-class Head Constables were to be made by the District Superintendent of Police with the sanction and approval of the Magistrate; and, finally, an English order book was prescribed to record the orders of the Magistrate of the district addressed to the District Superintendent of Police.

If all these orders had been passed in the Panjab, most persons would think the Police were under sufficient control. This was not, however, found to be the case in the North-Western Provinces, and, accordingly, the Civil Administration Committee of 1876 recommended numerous other measures by which the Police should be brought still more under the control of the Magistrate of the district. Sir John Strachey, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, in a minute dated the 22nd of July 1876, consolidated the existing orders and the recommendations of the Committee as follows:—

*" Position and powers of Magistrates of districts.—*The Magistrate of the district is the controlling authority of the Police within his district. The Superintendent of Police is in the position of an Assistant to the Magistrate in the Police Department and entirely subordinate to him. The Magistrate will convey his instructions to his District Superintendent in the manner most convenient for the despatch of public business; and no official correspondence should be carried on between the Magistrate and his District Superintendent, except in the case of special reports on special subjects. The

concurrence of the Magistrate will be required to the nomination, appointment, and promotion of all Police officers up to (and including) the grade of Head Constable. The veto of the Magistrate shall in all such cases be final. The Magistrate shall exercise control, if he deems it necessary, in regard to the nomination and appointment of constables, but, ordinarily, these appointments shall be made by the District Superintendent. The express sanction of the Magistrate of the District will be required to all departmental punishments inflicted by the District Superintendent, except in the case of fines imposed on constables. The consent of the Magistrate must be obtained to the transfer, from one part of the District to another, of Police officers above the grade of constable; and the Magistrate may direct any such transfer *suo motu* and carry it into effect. The transfer of constables will be made by the District Superintendent subject to the Magistrate's control."

Apart altogether from the superior position of the Magistrate of the district, there is another reason for making the District Superintendent of Police more subordinate to him in the Panjab than he is at present. A District Superintendent of Police often receives charge of his office at a younger age than the Magistrate of the district. In the Panjab it is not an uncommon thing to see a young Police Assistant acting for six months of the year as District Superintendent. This youth often possesses no experience, and by the time he, in the beginning of the cold weather, makes over charge to a senior officer, he has succeeded in disorganizing and demoralising the whole District Police force. At present in the Panjab, junior Civil Officers cannot hold charge of Districts for more than a month or two yearly, and during that time they can effect little either of good or evil; and it is not considered the correct thing for them to do any more than carry on the work of the senior officers for whom they are acting.

Commissioners were altogether ignored by Act V. of 1861; and the Civil Administration Committee of the North-Western Provinces strongly recommended that these high officers should no longer be treated as cyphers in Police matters. The position and powers of Commissioners in the police economy were accordingly thus defined:—"Every Commissioner shall be ex-officio a Deputy Inspector-General, under section 4 of Act V. of 1861, within the limits of his divisional jurisdiction. To the Inspector-General, and to the Deputies other than Commissioners, will be left ordinarily all purely departmental functions; to Commissioners will be delegated the control of all other Police matters belonging to the office of Deputy Inspector-General within their respective divisions. An appeal shall lie to the Commissioner from all

departmental orders passed by Magistrates and District Superintendents inflicting punishment on members of the force above the rank of constable and below that of Inspector. The Commissioner's order in all such cases shall be final. Questions regarding the punishment of Inspectors will be referred, through the Commissioner, for the decision of the Inspector-General. The concurrence of the Commissioner as well as of the Magistrate will be required to all promotions to the grade, and in the several sub-grades of sub-Inspector. Commissioners have power, at the instance of a Magistrate of a district, to re-allocate, when necessary, the police force, provincial and rural, within their divisions, provided that such changes entail no additional expense. Any re-allocation so made must be reported through the Inspector-General of Police to the Government. The Inspector-General will alone have authority to transfer members of the Police force from one division to another, and to determine, from time to time, the strength to be allowed to each division. Crime reports are of two kinds; incidental reports of heinous crimes, and annual reports on special crimes. Reports of the first class will be submitted to the Commissioners for information; and, after perusal, will be forwarded by them for review to the Deputy Inspector-General, to whose department they belong. All correspondence between the Inspector-General on the one hand, and the District Superintendent of Police on the other, will pass, as at present, through the office of the Magistrate. The Police correspondence will always be open to inspection by the Commissioner of the Division."

The weak point, we think, in these generally admirable rules for the control of the Police in the North-Western Provinces is, that the Judges who must see more of Police working than the Revenue Commissioners, are totally ignored, on the old principle, we suppose, that the thiel-catcher shall not be the thief-trier, but this we have already shown to be a fallacy. There is also, at least, one clause which obviously requires modification. The concurrence of the Commissioners to promotions to, and in, the several grades of sub-Inspectors is not at all necessary in our experience, and no practical advantage can be gained by it. If the Magistrate of the district and the District Superintendent of Police agree that a man deserves promotion, it may be accepted as a fact that he does, and the Commissioner should have no power of veto.

We have said that the Judges are ignored. The Commissioners in the Panjab who are already released from judicial work, could easily in future discharge the Police duties

prescribed to the Commissioners of the North-Western Provinces. Our Panjab Commissioners have all been Sessions Judges, and consequently they will be often in a better position to superintend the Police than the Commissioners of the North-Western Provinces, most of whom we believe have risen through the administrative branch of the service. But when the six Commissioners of the Panjab who have retained their offices after the 1st of October 1884, have retired from the scene, a question for consideration will be, how far and in what manner the experience of the Divisional Judges regarding Police working should be utilized. In this, however, a sufficient guide might easily be obtained from the experience of the North-Western Provinces.

But, perhaps, one of the most important measures of the North-Western Provinces' Government was the introduction of Tahsildárs or sub-Collectors, who had been totally ignored by the Police Act, into the new Police system. There are no officers under the Anglo-Indian administration who possess such great individual power as Tahsildárs, and whose influence for good or evil, within their own charges, is fraught with such serious consequence. In the Panjab their great power to assist the Police is allowed to lie dormant. Nay, it is to be feared, that it is in some cases employed against the force whenever there is a bad understanding, as there frequently is, between the Tahsildár and the Deputy Inspector. The latter frequently sets himself up as the Tahsildár's equal, and the result of an *imperium in imperio* distresses the Tahsildár, who can then divert his great resources into direct antagonism to the Police. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, therefore, wisely issued the following rule:—

"All Tahsildárs who have passed the judicial and police tests shall be ex-officio Assistant Superintendents of Police within the limits of their Tahsils. The ordinary duty of Tahsildárs in their Police capacity will be confined to visiting the stations within their local jurisdiction, examining the various registers and diaries, and bringing to the notice of the District Superintendent any points appearing to deserve attention. They shall only exercise their Police powers for the purpose of enquiring into crimes, when expressly directed to do so by the Magistrate of the district. A Tahsildár shall not be so deputed, unless the offence is to be tried in some court other than his own."

To one other point we would refer. If ever the Panjab Police are reformed on the lines above indicated, it will not be difficult to carry the district officers with them, and induce them to sympathize with the Police in their difficulties. District

officers will then be easily induced to recommend native police officers for appointments, executive and judicial, under them, which now they are very chary of doing. This would improve the tone of the Police, and encourage men of good family and education to enter the service. We know that there is a very strong desire on the part of the whole body of the natives in the Police force to be brought back under the control of the district officer. It is a consummation that would be eagerly and loyally welcomed by them. The only malcontents would possibly be some European District Superintendents of Police who desired to be freed from subordination, and some Deputy Inspectors-General who feared the abolition of their appointments. The reproaches that are now levelled against the Police Department should not be possible against such an important branch of the public service, and would be totally obviated if it were again restored to its proper position under the District officer.

When all these reforms have been effected, there will little remain to be done. We do not deny the advantage that might result from a detective system for the whole of India ; but we understand there already exists one in the Thaggi and Dakaiti Department, and that this only requires extension and improvement. Illicit coining, offences against the Postal and Railway Acts, smuggling, and numerous crimes which remain undetected now, could easily be traced by any competent agency. But we do not attach so much importance to a special Detective Police for India as we do to altering the existing Police system, and beginning in the hearts of districts with the needed Police reforms.

M. MACAULIFFE.

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ART. IV.—THE VILLAGE WATCH IN BENGAL ;
OR A CENTURY OF ABORTIVE REFORM.

THE village watch in Bengal is doubtless a remnant of the primitive village system, which in ancient times prevailed throughout the whole of inhabited Hindustan, and the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity. The Aryan settlers, unable otherwise to secure their crops and property from the ruthless depredations of the numerous lawless tribes which in early times infested the country, appear to have compounded with the heads of robber races for their forbearance from crime. Thieves were appointed watchmen for the prevention of offences, of which themselves were the sole perpetrators, lands were set apart for their support, and the headmen were responsible to make good all losses. As between the Government and the village, the same rude system was enforced, wherever there was a Government worthy of the name. The inhabitants of a village were bound to produce the perpetrators of a crime or to make good the loss. If, however, they succeeded in tracking the criminal to another village, their responsibility was transferred to it. Thus was formed a rough and ready system of police adapted to the requirements of a weak, unscrupulous government and a semi-civilized state of society.

Primitive as is the idea of preventing crime by making terms with criminals, it has not unfrequently found favour in modern times, and is hardly yet extinct. It formed the basis of the detestable *goindari* expedient resorted to in Bengal upon the breakdown of the police arrangements of 1793. According to Dr. Buchanan, it prevailed at Purneah in 1810, as related further on, and singularly enough was yet in vogue in the same district half a century later, when *karuriah*s—a notoriously criminal tribe—were openly enlisted in the new constabulary for detective purposes, by enthusiastic British police officers whose zeal exceeded their experience. Nor is Purneah the only district in which this false notion has found exponents. Many others might be instanced. One will suffice :—In the district of Gaya, not many years ago, a number of thieving Rajwars, whose depredations had assumed unwonted proportions, were deliberately enrolled as chowkidars to guard the scene of their burglarious exploits. They were bound by solemn and written compact to outcast for ten years any member of the association who committed, within certain

limits, any of the offences of theft, burglary, highway robbery, or dacoity; and *mirabile dictu* crime in that particular spot thenceforth ceased—to be reported!

A belief in the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief is by no means confined to India. It was held and acted on by the crafty Fouché under the First Napoleon, and was the sole *raison d'être* of the peculiar position occupied in France by the celebrated ex-convict Vidoque, a few years later. And passing by the escapades of Jonathan Wild and the early Bow Street Runners, we find that the advantages to themselves of joining hands with their enemies, have not been overlooked by the police of modern London. Their misuse of time-expired convicts a few years since created a grave scandal which culminated in the famous Druscovitch trial.

The system of holding the village community responsible for the conduct of each of its members, resembled somewhat that of the ancient tithing or frank-pledge in feudal England. A feeling of village responsibility for individual crime in many places still abides. In the Burdwan district, for instance, there exists, or did exist till recently, a practice called *kâtla para* (the fish has fallen) by which the burden was literally as well as figuratively transferred from one village to another. The watchman was secretly apprized by means of the above pass word that a corpse had been deposited within the bounds of his village, and summoning his caste-men to his aid, hastened to rid the village of such an unpleasant visitor. In the course of a night the ghastly remains of murdered men were passed through many villages. Whence came the corpse, and what became of it, were questions with which none concerned himself. The village was relieved of liability, and the police were saddled with the additional task of discovering as well the scene as the perpetrator of the murder.

Besides the assignment of rent-free land, the watchman has, in the course of time, become entitled to remuneration from other sources, depending in amount and character on local custom. Such, for instance, are contributions of grain for watching the crops in the field and at the threshing-floor called *bojha* (load), *panja* (five fingers), a sheaf as large as can be grasped. Also *manpowra*, a fee of one-quarter of a *ser* on each *man* watched. He also became entitled to various miscellaneous fees and perquisites called *haq* (right), for attendance at *hâts*, feasts, and festivals, and guarding shops, carts, and travellers. Among perquisites were the occasional free services of the village barber, shoemaker, blacksmith, potter, and other simple artizans. His post was hereditary, and under British rule has continued so, but at the discretion of the authorities. The following extract from a proclamation found at Lucknow by

Sir Colin Campbell's army, shows to what an extent this hereditary right was valued :—"The low caste servants should also know that the office of Watchman is their hereditary right, but the British appoint others in their posts and deprive them of their rights. They should therefore kill and plunder the British and their followers, and annoy them by committing robbery and theft in their camp."

The ancient names of him who watched whilst others slept were *Nishapāl*, or guardian of the night, *prahari*, watchman (whence the familiar *paharawalla* of modern parlance); *ashtopraharī*, one who keeps watch throughout the eight *prahars*, or 24 hours, and who despite the severity of his vigil, in some places still survives under the corrupt form *athpaharia*, having a near but less austere kinsman in the *athghariya*, or watcher for eight *gharis*, or about $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours. Occasionally the appellation *jaganiya*, or wide-awake, is found; but this is as uncommon as the attribute it implies is foreign to the nature of watchmen by whatever name be they known.

The watchmen, as has been said, are believed to have been taken originally from predatory tribes given up wholly to plunder, and it is a fact that to the present day the castes from which the village police are recruited are, in all parts of India, highly criminal. In Bengal whatever may have been the case formerly, all of these castes now subordinate the gratification of their hereditary thieving propensities to the pursuits of some honest calling, and are therefore less dangerous members of the community than their ancestors. In Eastern Bengal these castes are principally *Haris*, *Bagdis* and *Doms*. In Western districts they are mostly *Ahirs* and *Dosadhs*. The characteristics of the various castes differ in many respects, and there is none that can be regarded as typical.

The most interesting is, perhaps, the *Dosadh*, about whose origin there is doubt. To such an extent does he monopolize the office in Behar, that the name *Dosadh* has become synonymous with village watchman. In this character, too, he is embalmed in the legendary lore of the country, which tells how Salhes Dosadh, a venerated ancestor, whilst guarding the palace of Rájá Bhim Sen, was circumvented by Chuhar Mal, another Dosadh, and a burglar of such uncommon capacity, that having knotted his pig-tail and girt up his loins, he was able to strike a mine (*Sindh*) from Mokameh into the heart of the kingdom of Pakooriah, some three *kos* distant, and surprise Queen Hansabati, sleeping on a golden bed, the object of his enterprise.

Like the illustrious Chuhar Mal, the Dosadh of the present day is an expert burglar. He is also a cattle-lifter, though in this art he 'resigns the front seat' to the *Ahir*. Many Dosadh

have attained celebrity as leaders of dacoits, and shrines are in some places erected to their memory. An instance is on record of a determined *Sirghana* (leader) of this caste, and a chowkidar to boot, decapitating and carrying off the head of a brother wounded in the fray, rather than risk identification and the safety of the gang. As a race, Dosadhs are of good physique, lithe, active, and courageous, and are said to have been well represented in Clive's army at Plassey. Notwithstanding their inherited criminal propensities they often prove good cultivators, industrious labourers, and faithful domestic servants. They worship a demon called Rahoo, have priests of their own, and eat and drink almost anything. They are particularly partial to pork and rear swine in abundance. They have also a weakness for strong drink and the *kalal*, or liquor-vendor has no better customer. Being divided into *gotras* or clans, like other castes, their customs vary somewhat.

The duty of the village watchman, in former days, was simply to guard the persons and property of his fellow-villagers from the depredations of robbers, but with the creation of zemindars and the acquisition of perquisites came an increase of functions: and in still later times it became his bounden duty, by various legal enactments, to arrest and carry before the authorities all thieves, burglars, dacoits and murderers; to report the occurrence of offences, unnatural and other deaths; the movements of bad and suspicious characters, and to present himself periodically at the *thannah* to furnish any local information that might be required of him. Besides the above, various irregular personal services are exacted by his superiors. He has become the *factotum* of peripatetic officials from the Magistrate-Collectors down to the *Barkandaz*, and his anti-type, the modern constable—awhile their guide and porter, anon their dairyman, poulterer, and general purveyor. Plodding wearily across paddy fields, the *Darogah's* bundle on his head, a constable in front, he may at any time be recognized by his blue *puggree* and antique bludgeon or battle-axe, struggling with his fate, and ever and anon giving vent to a hideous yell in the hope of alluring to the distasteful task some other luckless wight of a chowkidar whose village happens to fall in the *Darogah's* path.

On the accession of the Mahomedans to power, a radical change in the form of government took place. Villages lost their independence, and zemindars, hitherto non-existent, were appointed by the State, and charged with the collection of revenue and the administration of civil and criminal justice within the estates committed to their charge. Large establishments were placed at their disposal and into these the village watchman was absorbed. He continued to perform his functions as such,

but in the course of time the various duties appertaining to the zemindary establishments were performed more or less indiscriminately by the whole body. A new nomenclature was introduced, and persons discharging the duties of watch and guard were now known under names mostly of Persian origin, such as *Pâsbân*, *Nigâhbân*, and *Chaukidâr*. This last mongrel term, meaning holder of a post, appears originally to have been applied only to the police of towns, but became general under the British administration, when an attempt was made to extend to villages, previously devoid of watchmen, the principles of Regulation XIII, 1813, framed for the better management of the police of the cities of Dacca, Patna and Murshidâbâd. At the close of the Mahomedan rule, the zemindar was, for good or for evil, a strong power in the land. He exercised almost supreme authority within his estate. He inflicted all sorts of punishments, including corporal,* and even capital, under no further restraint than reporting the case at Murshidâbâd before executing the sentence. On the other hand, he was responsible for the peace, being bound under heavy penalty to apprehend murderers, robbers, and peace-breakers, and if he failed, to produce the robbers to make good the thing stolen. How he fulfilled his important charge the sequel will show.

In August 1765, two months after Clive's brilliant victory at Plassey, the *Diwani*, or civil and fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was conferred on the East India Company by a *Firman* or Royal Grant from Delhi: the *Foujdari* or criminal administration remained in the hands of the Mahomedans. Four years later supervisors were appointed in each district to superintend the collection of revenue and administration of justice, and an enquiry into the history of each district of the newly acquired provinces was ordered by Mr. Verelst, who had succeeded Clive as President in Council. This enquiry disclosed *inter alia* "that the regular course (of justice) was everywhere suspended: but every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decision;" that crime, especially dacoity, was very prevalent; and that the village police, where existing, so far from protecting the ryots, too often oppressed them. The increase of dacoity was ascribed partly to the resumption of *chakran*, or service lands, by the zemindars, and the restoration of these lands, and rewards in the shape of further grants of lands, was recommended by way of remedy.

No traces of a village watch, or indeed any portion of the

* The power to flog chowkidars for neglect of duty was only abrogated in 1834 by Reg. II of that year. It was found to be still occasionally usurped by police officers after the introduction of the new system of 1861.

ancient village system were then discernible in large tracts of North and East Bengal; due no doubt, in some places, to their having been uninhabited up to comparatively recent times, and in others to the antagonistic influence of the Mahomedan conquest on Hindu institutions.

A criminal court called the *Foujdari Adaulat* was then established in each district, presided over by the supervisors, afterwards called Collectors, assisted by a *Kazi*, *Mufti* and two *Moulavis* as interpreters of the law. There was also a Court of Control at Murshidâbâd and a Court of Ultimate Appeal at the Presidency called the Sadr Nizâmat Adaulat.

These arrangements totally failed to secure a proper administration of justice, and in 1775 the superintendence of criminal affairs was restored to the Mahomedan government in the person of the Nâib Subah at Murshidâbâd. *Foujdari* or Native magistrates were appointed to each of the 14 districts of Bengal, with armed men under them to protect the inhabitants. They were responsible to the Nâib Subah and entirely independent of all other authority. The state of the public peace under these officials is described by Hastings in a letter written to the Nawab in 1778: "The affairs," he wrote, "both of the *Phousdary* and *Adaulat* (sic) were in the greatest confusion imaginable, and daily robberies and murders were perpetrated throughout the country." And what wonder, for at this time the affairs of the Nizamat were controlled by a woman, Muni Begum, step-mother of the Nawab.

The great prevalence of crime had been attributed by Hastings' great adversary, Francis, to the reduction of the authority of zemindars, who, he maintained, should have full judicial as well as police powers. Hastings, of course, differed, and the Faujdars held undivided sway till 1781, when their conspicuous failure led to the judges of the Diwani Adaulat being vested with the power to apprehend depredators and delinquents within the bounds of their jurisdiction, but not to try or punish them—a power which was still reserved to Nizamat Adaulats under the Nawab.

In 1787, Lord Cornwallis having appeared upon this scene of disorder, regulations were promulgated, and Collectors vested with the triple power of revenue agents, judges, and police magistrates. The management of the police of the country remained in the hands of the zemindars, who were still held primarily responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and restoration of stolen property.

Their police establishments consisted principally of the village watchmen. There was also, in the Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidâbâd and Nuddiya districts, a force known as the *Thannadari* police, which must not be confounded with

the later establishment of Thannah police under Darogahs. In the wild tracts of Ramghar, Birbhum, and the Jungle Mehals, there was a semi-military force of Ghatwals, and a similar force in Midnapore, called *Paiks*, or footmen, whose duty it was to guard the hill passes and repel the *Chooars*, mountain robbers, who were in the habit of making descents upon the plains, attacking and plundering the people. These numbered in their ranks officers bearing the martial titles of *Nishândâr* (standard bearer), *Nagarchi* (drummer), and *Sunârdâr* (trumpeter). There was also in jungly places a sort of road patrol known variously as *Digwârs*, *Râhabârs*, *Dâkwas*, and *Shâhrâhis*, the two last being especially charged with the protection of the mails. Each zemindar had also a large personal guard of *burkandûzes* (lightning throwers), besides which, in the district of Burdwan, there were troops called *Nagdis* who, unlike the other establishments, were paid in cash, and not by assignments of land.

The condition of the people, left to the mercy of a class exasperated by reduction from the position of tributary chiefs to that of police magistrates and rent collectors, was not likely to improve, and the zemindars and their subordinates were found to be themselves the perpetrators and abettors of half the crime in the country. A vivid picture of the state of police administration under the zemindar of Burdwan is presented in the following extract from a letter from the Collector of Burdwan, Mr. Law Mercer, to the Board of Revenue, dated 3rd November 1790: "Nursed in idleness, indulging only in vicious courses, and mercenary in his principles, points him out (*sic*) as a very improper person in whom to vest authority for the redress of the most trivial grievances, and indeed from his supine indolence of disposition, he entrusts the entire management of business to dependants who, if possible, are more venal than himself, and the power of the Magistrate is very inadequate to remove grievances, the existence of which is encouraged at the very source from whence redress should be afforded; and, in fact, the persons injured by the *thannadars* never prefer their complaints to the Rajah, well knowing from sad experience it would be vain to expect redress from him;" and alluding to the Zemindar's responsibility in regard to stolen property, "nor is it in any manner in the power of the Magistrate to procure restitution to the unhappy and often ruined sufferers, as no specific rule has been laid down for enforcing it, nor can I quote a single instance where the stolen effects have been recovered, or the property reimbursed by the zemindar, although the whole gang of the *dacoits* may have been apprehended."

By a proclamation, therefore, of December 7th, 1792, re-enacted by Reg. XXII, 1773, the Government took the police of the country directly into its own hands, and deprived the landholders by law of all the authority which had attached to them as officers of State. At the same time all those branches of their establishments which had been maintained avowedly for police purposes only, were abolished; and the remainder, with the exception of one class, the village watch, lost their position as public officers and were reduced to that of mere private servants. The police services of the village watch were not dispensed with, as were those of the *thannadari* establishments, but were transferred from the zemindars to the regular police, now for the first time appointed under the direct orders of Government. Each zillah was divided into *thannahs*, of about 20 miles square, and to each *thannah* the Judge appointed a *darogah* with a body of armed *burkundazes* selected by himself. The Darogah was empowered to apprehend on a written charge, and to take security in the case of a bailable offence for appearance before the Magistrate.

All village watchmen, including *Paiks* and others, were declared subject to the orders of the newly appointed darogahs, but their connection with the zemindars as private servants was left undisturbed, and the double character of the village watchman supported by service lands was perpetuated. The right of nomination of watchman and responsibility for reporting and aiding in the repression of crime was left with the zemindar, and the duty of conveying letters from one police post to another, imposed upon him.

The effect of the new arrangements upon the *chukran* lands held by the village watch were, in the words of Mr. McNeile, "that the State acquired a direct lien upon the lands to the extent represented by the public service due from the occupants, the zemindars being left in possession of a lien proportionate to the private services still owing to them by the same occupants."

The earliest attempt to reorganize the rural police appears to have been made in 1797 by the Collector of Midnapore, who was permitted to resume about half of the *Paikan* or service lands of that district, and to dispense with the services of the Paiks. This measure was the cause of serious discontent among the abolished Paiks who, coalescing with their enemies, the *Chooars*, broke out into rebellion, burnt all the Watson's factories, and created such serious disturbances that, in 1800, the Government was compelled to restore all the resumed lands.

In the Bishenpore mehals a different policy was pursued,

and in 1802, on the recommendation of Mr. Blunt, the *ghatwali* tenures were taken from the zemindars, a proportionate deduction of *jumma* being allowed as compensation, and the *ghatwals* of Bancoorah became purely police servants of Government, entirely under the control of the Magistrate.

And now, alas! it became again apparent that the condition of the country had not improved. As observed many years afterwards by the Police Commissioner of 1838, a system of police so full of anomalies could not do otherwise than fail. The zemindars unentrusted with authority, but still held responsible, would of course afford no cordial co-operation. The chowkidars required to serve two masters, nominated by and entitled to receive their pay from the one, but bound to obey and liable to punishment and dismissal from the other, effectually served neither; while the public authority in support of which they are expected to co-operate, is naturally hated and betrayed by both!

Writing in 1815 the Marquis of Hastings remarked with much truth, that "it would have been unreasonable to look to the landholders for a cordial disposition to further a system, the immediate effect of which was to supplant their own police authority."

A return in part to the ancient system of conducting the police administration through the zemindars was thought desirable, and was urged with the usual disregard of history and experience shown by the *laudator temporis acti*. The judges of the Muishidabad Court of Appeal were of opinion that it would be expedient to vest zemindars with the powers of Justices of the Peace, "for it would contribute to the suppression of crimes and apprehension of offenders, by bringing to the assistance of the police all the zemindari establishments who were then not cordially co-operating with *thannadars* and *burkandazes*."

Reg. XVIII, 1805, was the immediate upshot of these deliberations. It enabled the Governor-General in Council to invest zemindars with the powers of darogahs of police. This power was, however, scarcely exercised, except in the recently ceded district of Cuttack, and another enactment (Reg. XII, 1807) was passed providing for the issue of commissions "to respectable inhabitants" to act as honorary assistants to the Darogahs, under the name of *Ameens* of Police, and the village watchmen were again placed under the orders of zemindars when so acting. But within the short space of three years it was found necessary to revoke all these appointments as the "respectable inhabitants" had "countenanced and supported dacoits" and other bad characters, and crime was more

prevalent than ever, so much so, that in the year 1808 no less than 329 dacoities took place in the Nuddiya district, 169 in Jessore, and 139 in Rajshahye. They were revoked accordingly by Reg. VI, 1810, and in the same year a superintendent of police was appointed for the Lower Provinces, and was charged to give his special attention to the state of the village watch.

Mr. W. Blunt was the officer first selected for this duty. His inquiries and those of his successor, Mr. J. T. Shakspeare, brought to light a lamentable state of affairs. The village watchmen were reported from all quarters to be the perpetrators or aiders of every kind of crime, the main reason assigned being the utterly insufficient provision made for their support. That close and accurate observer, Dr. Buchanan, in a report on the state of the Purneah District dated 1810, observed that "watchmen in India are reckoned very vile and abominable, and this seems in general to have been attended with much evil in the regulation of the Police; for these degraded creatures, not without some reason, think themselves justified in pilfering from their haughty masters; and wherever the custom of keeping such people prevails, no house is safe that does not pay them regular contributions. . . . In the remote north-west parts of the district this is at present the case, and the depredations are said to be enormous." The cure suggested had the merit of being at least unique and thorough. "Well informed men," continued Dr. Buchanan, "think that no remedy would be effectual except granting the watchmen some villages for them to occupy entirely, and to which they should be at night entirely confined by severe punishment, to be inflicted whenever they were found prowling about the villages of their neighbours." Verily, a complete answer to the question *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes!*

From a condemnation which was otherwise general, the village watch of the districts of Burdwan and Birbhum were excepted, and the Magistrates were called upon to report by what means they had attained success in a field where all others had failed. Mr. Bayley, Magistrate of Burdwan, took all credit to himself, for having by his personal energy and good management converted the watchmen of his district from a gang of robbers into a useful body of police. Mr. Morrison of Birbhum reported more modestly of his own achievements, writing in a letter dated 1811, that "a very short experience was sufficient to satisfy him that the village watchmen were either the perpetrators of every outrage, or, where not personally engaged, connived at the commission of those acts in others." He expressed a hope that by steadily pursuing his plan, which was similar to Mr. Bayley's, he might be able "to

introduce greater regularity than at present exists, and to obtain more accurate and earlier information." It is to be regretted that the secret of Mr. Bayley's magic recipe for the regeneration of recalcitrant watchman has been lost to subsequent generations.

The father of Bengal's Police Superintendents, Mr. W. Blunt, began his reforms by drafting a regulation for the better management of the police of the cities of Dacca, Patna and Murshidabad. This was Reg. XIII, 1813, the first Municipal law enacted in Bengal. It provided for the maintenance of "*chowkidars*" on monthly stipends to be paid by the residents of the cities mentioned; the preamble laying down the important principle, that "it is just and expedient that the communities for whose benefit and protection such establishments may be entertained, should defray the charge of their maintenance." By Reg. III, 1814, and XX, 1816, the rules contained in Reg. XIII, 1813, were somewhat modified, and were extended to the head-quarters of all Magistrates and Joint Magistrates in the Lower Provinces; and the Government signified its intention of gradually applying the principles of these regulations to all the mofussil towns and villages in the country.

This intention was subsequently abandoned, probably in view of the practical difficulties to be surmounted; but meanwhile local officers had taken up the question of the village watch with an energy and disregard of legal technicalities which has not been without imitators in the more recent history of this hitherto incorrigible body. Mr. Ewer, the Magistrate of Mymensingh, established a village-watch in his district, holding the zemindars responsible for its support. In his report to Government dated 1815, he observed, however, "I conclude that the expense of this establishment is in reality, as it ought to be, defrayed by the inhabitants of the villages." Mr. Ewer's arrangements were highly approved of by the Government, and copies of his report were circulated to nearly all the Magistrates in the country for their information and guidance. Mr. Walpole, Magistrate of Dacca, Jalalpur (now Faridpur), was the first to follow Mr. Ewer's example. He also instituted a village-watch in his district, and threw the burden of supporting it directly upon the inhabitants at large. Mr. Ewer being transferred in the beginning of 1816 to Rajshahye, carried out in that district the same measures he had introduced into Mymensingh. Mr. Sesson introduced, first into Rungpore, and afterwards into Dinagepore (including Maldah), a system which he called the "*Golbandi*" or "*Zangirabandi*" by which the villagers were obliged to patrol their villages at night, taking the duty in turns. This system was abandoned soon after his departure, on account of a very

natural objection felt to it by the people, and its gross illegality. By whom the present chowkidari establishments of those districts were subsequently appointed has not come to light.

All these operations were carried out between 1814 and 1817. During the same period steps were successfully taken in some of the Behar districts to induce the residents of mofussil towns, still smarting under the rapacious cruelties of the Pindharies, voluntarily to adopt the new chowkidari system of Reg. XIII, 1813. In this manner chowkidars, paid entirely by the residents, were appointed at Mr. Patton's instance in Arwal and Daudnagar in the district of Behar (now Gaya); in Sasseram by Mr. Smith, the Magistrate of Shahabad; and in several towns and places in the district of Sarun. The same system was extensively introduced into the towns and villages within the mofussil jurisdiction of the Magistrates of the cities of Dacca, Patna, and probably Murshidabad.

Just after these new arrangements had been pretty generally carried into effect, Regulation XX, 1817—a comprehensive enactment for the better management of the rural police—was passed, and must be held to have been an Act of indemnity for the past as well as of confirmation for the future. It regulated the duties of the village watchmen throughout Bengal, upon lines very similar to those laid down in the Regulations of 1793, and prescribed a system of periodical reports at *thannahs*. The control of the force was vested in the Magistrates, with practically no power of punishment, short of dismissal, and no method of enforcing payment of salaries. The right of nomination remained as before with the landholders, and they, together with their representatives, were still held liable to afford certain aid and information to the police. With the exception of a few slight modifications introduced from time to time, this law was the last of the legislation in the matter of the village-watch for upwards of half a century.

Meanwhile the extension of the new system continued. In Tipperah a village-watch was established by Mr. Thompson in 1826, and in Chittagong by Mr. Davidson in 1827 to 1829. By whom the village-watch of Sylhet, Backergunge, and Noakholly was organized does not appear. But it is certain that the institution did not exist in those districts in 1818. There were some fragmentary remains of a village-watch in the 24-Pergannahs in that year, but they were, for all practical purposes, quite useless. By whom the existing force was constituted in that district has not yet come to light. This is also the case in regard to Nuddea and Jessore, where, from correspondence, it appears that a village-watch was instituted between the years 1793 and 1813, but by whom, and on what basis, is unknown.

With the exception of an attempt at assessment of Paikan lands made by Mr. Harvey in Midnapore, but put a stop to by Government in 1828, and a recommendation of resumption urged by the Board of Revenue in 1833, on the score that the zemindars neglected to keep up an efficient police, the village-watch attracted little attention till the efficiency of the general body of police in Bengal, brought out prominently by the insurrection of Teetoo Mir in the Baraset District in 1831, when a large body of chowkidars and others were ignominiously routed, and the much more serious rising of the Koles of Western Bengal in the following year, led eventually to the Police Commission of 1838.

The functions, character, and utility of the village-watch were then described by a Member of the Commission, Mr. Halliday, in the following famous passage :—"Theoretically these chowkidars are appointed, paid, removed and controlled by the village communities, subject at the same time to an incompatible control by the Government Police, and through them by the Magistrates. Practically they are sometimes controlled by the Thannah officers, oftener by the villagers, frequently by neither. For all practical purposes of Police properly so-called, they are absolutely useless. Here we have a force of about a hundred and seventy thousand men taken by a custom, which so long as the name of village chowkidar exists will be immutable. from the lowest and vilest and most despised classes, drawing annually from the people in legitimate wages,—not to mention irregular modes of taxation.—upwards of sixty *lakhs* of rupees ; under no practical control but that of irresponsible and ignorant communities, of whom they are by turn the petty tyrants and the slaves, thieves by caste and habit, and connections ; totally disconnected from the general system of Police, unorganized, depraved, worse than useless."

The remedy proposed by Mr. Halliday was, that this immaculate body of guardians should be increased in numbers to the extent necessary to enable them to undertake the whole duties of the Police of the country—an extraordinary proposition, which eighteen years later, himself admitted to be impracticable.

The depravity of the rural police was at this period, as all along, not confined to one part of Bengal : Mr. Hawthorn, Judge of Cuttack, in a letter to this Police Commissioner, wrote as follows : "The race of people denominated chowkidars, retain the name apparently to blind the people as to their real character. They are employed during the day to assist the Zemindar in collecting his rents, and at night they act as the agents of the notorious characters to point out where property is to be found. . . It is not an uncommon trick amongst the chowkidars to apply for leave of absence before a burglary or

dacoity takes place, to quiet suspicion against them, after having informed where property is to be found, and the time and manner in which the theft can be accomplished, with the least chance of detection to the parties concerned."

The Ghatwals of the west were no better than their brethren of the south. In 1840 Mr. J. M. Loch, Collector of Bancoorah, wrote to Mr. W. Dampier, Superintendent of Police, in the following strain:—"I now come to the character of these men and the present state of the system, and happy would it be if I could say anything in their, or its, favour. Instead of the Ghatwals being an assistance, they have always been a source of the greatest trouble to the Magistrate, and there is little doubt but that they are rather leaders, actors, or accomplices in all the robberies that take place in the district. That the system ought not to be allowed to last longer is clear, for they are dreaded by the inhabitants, useless as Police, and most expert as robbers and thieves."

But the time had not yet come for the solution of the problem of reform. All that was attempted at this time was to place watchmen of estates under Government management on a more satisfactory footing, by providing for the payment of their salaries in cash. But even in this small matter the fates were adverse, and throughout whole divisions these orders were deliberately disobeyed and the old system adhered to.

In 1844 Mr. Dampier represented to the Deputy Governor of Bengal the evils of the land payment system, and recommended that the duties should be relinquished, the lands assessed, and funds procured to support an efficient police. These evils were chiefly the impossibility of successfully combining the occupation of a cultivator with that of a night watchman; the incessant disputes as to boundaries; and the complications in case of dismissal or death without heirs or leaving minors.

Despite all these representations no real action was taken till, in 1851, a Draft Act was read in Council which, if it had become law, would have virtually transferred the burden of supporting the rural police from the villagers to the landholders. The British India Association protested, and the *coup de grâce* was given to the proposal by Sir Barnes Peacock in a minute, dated 1854.

In the interim Mr. Pierce Taylor, Judge of Burdwan, had reported that the *Ghatwali* system of police had become intolerable, and that—shades of Mr. Bayley!—the regular village watch of Bancoorah and Burdwan were little better. His view was heartily endorsed by Mr. Rivers Thompson, then Joint Magistrate of Bancoorah, who wrote, "they are the instigators or actors in every serious crime," and "any measure which you might suggest for the complete removal of such a body from the district

would be accepted as a boon by every class of the community." But the Government of the day did not see their way to the uprooting of this noxious plant. Mr. Ricketts was deputed to see what might be done in Midnapore, where the state of affairs appeared to cry loudest for reform. He recommended no less a radical cure than a survey and resumption of lands, followed by the appointment of an entirely new force. A long correspondence supervened, in which the Government of India, the Court of Directors, and lastly the Secretary of State, all took part. The proposal was unanimously approved of, but when it came near to be carried into effect, unforeseen difficulties were found to exist, and it suffered the fate inevitable to all projects for the reform of the rural police.

Then came the Santal rebellion of 1855. Prompt and drastic measures were here at least imperative and not to be delayed. The *thannah* police whose oppressions and unpopularity had been as potent a cause of the outbreak, as the tyranny of zemindars, or the extortion of money-lenders, were abolished, and a primitive village system invented and introduced by Mr. Ashley Eden, the first Deputy Commissioner. There were no policemen paid by the State. The headman of the village was made responsible for the repression of crime, with a staff of watchmen under him, well and regularly paid by the villagers. There was no law nor even written rule in force for their control.

The system suited, and was approved of by these then simple people, and was voluntarily carried out under the paternal auspices of the Deputy Commissioner. Speaking of its success in 1873, Colonel Pughe, Inspector General of Police, said "all Santal officers agree that the village system is admirably successful in the case of common theft and burglary, but useless against dacoity and against professional theft." Changes have of late years come over the spirit of this arcadian dream, and things do not, from various causes, work so smoothly as formerly.

In 1856 a reforming spirit was again abroad in Calcutta, a Commission, appointed by Parliament, was sitting to consider the improvement of the judicial establishments procedure and laws; and the character of the police again became subject of enquiry. Sir Fred. Halliday, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had a fresh opportunity of expatiating on the delinquencies of the village watch. It will be seen that they had not gone forward on the path of moral and material progress. "Village watchmen," he wrote, "are now declared to have no right to remuneration for service, and (the help of the Magistrate being withdrawn) they have no power to enforce their rights even if they had any rights to enforce. Hence they are all thieves or robbers, or leagued with thieves or robbers,

inasmuch that when any one is robbed in a village it is most probable that the first person suspected will be the village watchman." He showed from the statistics of three years that the ratio of crimes committed by village police was, in respect to their numbers, four times as great as the ratio of the total of crimes to the population at large.

The lucubrations of this Commission ended, so far as the village watch was concerned, in smoke. The outbreak of the Mutiny shortly afterwards may be accepted as a sufficient excuse for inaction. Sometime after it had been quelled, in 1859, a second bill for the amelioration of the condition of the village watch was brought into council; but it was declared to be "wrong in principle, and the details so utterly unsuited to the country, as to be incapable of being put in practice."

The following year the Government of India appointed a fresh Commission, composed of Messrs. Court, Wauchope, Robinson, Temple, and Bruce. It had for its purpose the consideration as to how best the reform of the Police establishments which had been successfully carried out in Bombay and Madras might be extended to Upper India. By a strange fatality which seems all along to have pursued this unhappy subject, no instructions were given to the Commission having reference to the village watch, though in the South the reforms of the imperial and rural police had, with much wisdom, been effected simultaneously.

Nevertheless, of such paramount importance was it thought that the reforms of the two forces should proceed together, that the Commission deemed it their duty to give their best consideration to the village Police, and embodied their conclusions in a series of propositions which they commended to the consideration of Government. "We are not prepared," they wrote, "to affirm that the abstract *necessity* of a village police for India could be demonstrated, nor that in a highly civilized country with a comparatively perfect police organization, such an institution as that of a village police would be indispensable. But under the existing circumstances of all those provinces of India, of which we, severally, have cognizance, we think that the institution must be maintained, and if the institution be maintained at all, there can, we apprehend, be no doubt that it ought to be maintained in real and thorough efficiency." * * "Experience in all parts of India daily proves that the maintenance of such an institution cannot be entrusted to private effort, or to public spirit; but must be actively undertaken by the State," * * "and the more the country settles down under British rule, the more negligent do the people become in contributing of their own accord to the support of

any public institution whatever." * * "In India, as elsewhere, it is necessary that the Government Police should be, as it were, *en rapport* and in intimate communication with the people. In the existing condition of the interior of the country, the organized police cannot be informed of all that occurs of public consequence, unless they have some tolerably reliable agency in the villages. That the organized police should have one of their body in every village or circle of villages would be impossible, and, if possible, would not be desirable. On the one hand a large augmentation of the police force would be needed. On the other, policemen scattered about among the villages and isolated from control would be oppressive to the people. It becomes necessary, therefore, that there should be some one among the residents of the village on whom the organized constabulary can rely for information, through whom they can carry out their orders. The village watchman is, of course, just such a person. He is a man of the village; not enough of an official to be alien from, or obnoxious to, the villagers, and enough of an official to be amenable to system and reliable for duty. He possesses a sort of knowledge, and a sort of influence, which no police agent could ever possess, and the people never regard him with distrust or dislike, but, on the contrary, consider him a useful personage, and a necessary adjunct to the constitution of the village." In short, the Commission expressed a belief that the two guiding principles should be *first*, the preservation of the local and popular character of the village watch, and *second*, the rendering of the village watch efficient for local police service. To secure these objects they deemed it essential, that—(1st) the appointment or succession of the village watchman should be regulated, as far as possible, by local custom; (2nd), that provision should be made for his support, either by the State, by the landholders, or by the villagers, or by two or more of these in combination; (3rd), that the amount of remuneration should be fixed and its realization be enforced by the district officer; (4th), that the control of the village police should vest in the Magistrate or Police Officer, who should have the power of *veto* in the matter of their appointment.

The road thus cleared, and the example of other provinces before them, it might be thought that now at last the matter would be taken up in right good earnest. The greatest effort, however, that the Government of the day found itself equal to, was the vesting of District Superintendents of Police appointed under Act V of 1861 with the phantom of authority hitherto exercised over the village police by Magistrates of districts, an authority which, ten years after, when under Act VI, 1870, shadow became substance, was deliberately taken away.—*Montes parturiunt, &c.*

The fatal mistake was made of starting the new police with a wide gap between them and the people—of creating a body without hands or eyes. It was soon found that something would have to be done to establish a *rapprochement*.

Public interest in the village watch had been kept alive by the institution on very opposite grounds of important suits on behalf of zemindars of Bhaugulpore and Burdwan, the former seeking redress on account of resumptions of Ghatwali lands by Government, the latter praying to be relieved from the interference of the Collector of Burdwan, who had thought it his duty to put a stop to illegal resumptions of service lands by zemindars, which had been quietly going on for three-quarters of a century. Both suits were carried to the Privy Council. In the former case, the Government was defeated, and subsequently absolved the *Ghatwals* from further service in consideration of the annual payment of a fixed sum. In the latter, the Government was successful, and the important principle enunciated, that the village watch of Bengal, so far as it is directly or indirectly supported by grants of land, has always been maintained at the joint expense of the State and the village communities and not at the cost of the landholders in any manner whatever.

In the same year, 1864, Mr. Hobhouse, who, as Judge of Burdwan, had tried the last mentioned case, being then Legislative member of the Bengal Council, drew up a memorandum on the village police, and, nothing daunted by previous miscarriages, prepared the draft of another bill for its improvement. He painted a highly, but not over-coloured picture of the anomalous position of the chowkidar and of the general deplorable state of the village watch. He proposed that chowkidars should in future be purely Government servants, and be paid in cash by a tax levied upon landholders, where there was no custom to the contrary—and where was there not?—the tax to be collected in a manner similar to that in force in connection with the village Dâk system. He provided that there should never be less than one chowkidar to 25 houses—about the proportion allowed in the most densely populated parts of Calcutta—and, in short, propounded a scheme which was in many respects so ill-adapted to the circumstances of the country, that it was almost universally condemned, though the various critics raised different objections, and proposed dissimilar remedies. The British India Association urged the same arguments that had been accepted as conclusive against the Bill of 1851-4.

Mr. McNeile, a talented young civilian, was then specially deputed to enquire into the whole subject. He visited a number of districts, and in 1866 submitted to Government the result of his researches, in the shape of a highly interesting and exhaustive report, to which the present writer is vastly indebted.

He showed, amongst other things, that in many places, owing to illegal resumptions, the service lands had altogether disappeared, and chowkidars were now supported by stipends in cash and grain and other commodities, paid nominally by the zemindars and villagers, but really by the latter alone.

The causes of the failure of the chowkidari system he attributed to certain evil influences always close, constant, and powerful, whilst *supervision* which alone could counteract them, was distant, intermittent, and slightly felt. Those evil influences were temptations to idleness, to the commission of crime, and to the concealment of crime committed by others. These evils, he thought, might be removed by the appointment of *sirdars* to supervise the chowkidars of a circle of villages averaging an area of twelve square miles; by the regular payment to the sirdars and chowkidars through the authorities, of a sufficient salary, and by rendering them altogether independent of the villagers and landholders. There were to be not less than four chowkidars to each circle, and not more than two chowkidars to every three square miles of area. The chowkidars were to patrol in pairs, and to exercise the powers of a police constable under Act V of 1861: the whole force to be subordinate to the District Police, and controlled by the District Superintendent. The Magistrate was to fix the amount to be raised in each circle, and to call upon the residents to appoint a *punchayet* upon whom would devolve the duty of assessment. The amount would then be collected with the revenue from the proprietors of Sudder Mehals, who, in their turn, would collect from their under tenants. It was further proposed to concentrate upon one person, in the lowest grade of rent collecting agents, all existing responsibilities in connection with the reporting and repression of crime. Mr. McNeile, however, closed his report with an expression of preference for a system under which the whole establishment of village police would be abolished and their duties be absorbed by a greatly increased force of constabulary. This extravagant scheme was the exact converse of that proposed by Mr. Halliday in 1838.

Neither of Mr. McNeil's proposals found favour with the authorities: the Inspector-General of Police objected to the status of the proposed chowkidar, or rural constable—"a constable," he contended, "may be a resident of a circle, and yet not be on visiting terms with his neighbours. It is different with the village chowkidar; though neglected and abused, he has the confidence of his fellow-villagers—he hears a hundred things that no other person has an opportunity of hearing. Like the village barber or washerman, he learns all the gossip of the place; and on pretence of collecting his per-centage of pay from each householder, he has an excuse

for entering every house in the village without exciting suspicion. He has an opportunity of seeing how each member of a family is employed ; who is absent, and who is present. On the occasion of a feast or festival, he is employed to carry the invitations either verbal or written. He, and often his family, are invited to assist in the preparation of the feast, and in the distribution of the dishes. Is it likely that a subordinate constable receiving his appointment from the District Superintendent of Police, without any reference to the village communities, will be permitted to have the same free and unreserved intercourse with the inhabitants ? Allow that he may have some intercourse with his own village ; but will he have the same advantages in the other villages of his circle, in which he is not a resident ? ” Now that a system was in danger that had always been admitted by well-informed men to be based upon sound principles and to contain the germ of good, it behoved the head of the department to say something in its defence, and accordingly he wrote “ that the village-watch has degenerated,—that it is wretchedly paid and *without any supervision*, no one can deny ; but it is going too far to assert that every chowkidar is a thief, if not a dacoit. Every police officer who has had experience in the investigation of serious cases of crime will acknowledge, that in the generality of cases, the clue which enabled him to work out a case successfully, was obtained from the village chowkidar.” . . . “ If, then, the present system is entirely abolished, I fear that we shall only add to our difficulties.” The Inspector-General also objected to the abolition of the obligations of landholders and to the roundabout method of collecting the tax, and ended by proposing a scheme of his own, the most important feature of which, in our eyes, consists in the provision of a village inspector whose duty it would be both to collect the tax and superintend the chowkidars.

The twin proposals were strangled in their birth ; three more years elapsed, and then, the urgency of reform having been repeatedly pressed upon Government, a fresh departure was taken, and a fourth Commission sat to consider this already threadbare subject. The offspring of this Commission was Act VI of 1870. It was ill received—being looked upon from its birth by far-seeing officials as an ill-conditioned, impracticable measure. After two years, it had been introduced into only 26 districts, and in only one of these—Rajshahye—was it pronounced successful, and even there, this verdict had afterwards to be greatly modified.

Writing of the position of the chowkidars under this Act, Mr. Stuart Bayley said—“ They have no more *rapport* or connection with the police than their weekly appearance at

the Thannah can give. They are supposed to be the last link in the chain of co-operators for the suppression of crime, . . . but singularly enough between them and the link above, the chain is broken." Another official upon whom, to judge from the present stage of this controversy, the mantle of Elijah had descended, prophesied "that so long as the question of organizing the village-watch for police purposes is shirked and shelved, and the real issue made subservient to broader questions of Municipal self-government, so long will complaints be made of police inefficiency, and the police themselves be unjustly blamed." Sir G. Campbell, however, thought that, with modification, Act VI might answer for places where there was no indigenous system, and thus, damned with faint praise, it continued to struggle on, till in 1874 another onslaught was made. The Inspector-General of Police reported about it as follows:—"In theory it is excellent, but here its merit ends. It is procedure-ridden instead of summary, cumbrous instead of simple," and in the Rajshahye District, where it had been most successful, no less than 1,560 chowkidars were found to be in arrears of salary.

In spite of almost universal condemnation, Sir R. Temple, confident that only "vigorous administration" was necessary to success, enforced the extension of the Act to a large number of districts. Failure became more conspicuous, and in 1876, Mr. Monro represented "that the *punchayets* are in many instances unfit* to have anything to do with a post which gives them control over village crime in which they may be interested; that there is a great danger and practical mistake in separating between the rural and regular police as the Act does; that such separation, now only commencing, is likely to increase and to be mischievous." This elicited only the inconsequent, yet to the main subject, very pertinent remark, that the rural police was the main stay of the regular police, and without their co-operation detection was more or less a matter of chance. The District Superintendents must therefore supervise the former more closely;—supervise, indeed, but without the staff to do it.

Year after year the local authorities persisted in representing the real state of affairs, but with the exception of the passing of an Act in 1878 for the regulation of the rural police in the districts of Hazaribagh and Lohardagga, the Government evinced no disposition to move. At last, in 1883, the attention of the Government of India was attracted to the subject, who remarking upon the unsatisfactory working of the present arrangement, and the necessity of *bringing the force more*

* They appear to have been intellectually as well as morally unfit, for in one district the copy of the Act under which they were conducting their operations proved to be a translation of Dr. Macleod's treatise on cattle-disease!

under control without depriving it of its local character, expressed a hope that the Lieutenant-Governor would take an early opportunity of placing the village-watch in Bengal on a more satisfactory footing.

Three officers with much practical experience of the working of the Act were accordingly constituted a Commission to enquire and report. That urgent necessity for reform still existed may be gathered from the following passages descriptive of the character of the village police so lately as 1870, and the success of the law passed for the removal of this dark blot in the administration. "There was only too good reason," wrote no less an authority than Mr. Rivers Thompson, "to conclude from repeated cases of heinous crime in which they had been convicted, that the chowkidars themselves were hand and glove with the criminal classes, and often the direct organisers and promoters of the worst form of gang-robbery." And in regard to the effect upon this lamentable state of things of Act VI of 1870, the Committee after patient enquiry in many districts, reported that in their opinion the Act "when worked as it was intended to be worked, has failed to secure what was expected." . . . "Where good results have been attained they have been secured, not by voluntary action on the part of village communities but by pressure, in many cases illegal pressure, being put upon them by local officers anxious to secure the payment of their salaries to the village watchmen."

With regard to the future a majority of the Commission—unanimity on such an ill-starred subject being of course out of the question,—recommended certain radical changes which may be thus briefly summarised :

(a). That there should be one uniform system of administration of the village watch in Bengal, the system of payment by lands being abolished.

(b). That the *punchayets* should be retained as assessing bodies only ; retaining, however, the right to nominate and supervise chowkidars, but having no further control over them whatever.

(c). That the power of appointment, fine, suspension, and dismissal should rest with the Magistrate of the District.

(d). That the chowkidari rate should be collected by *tehsildars* appointed by Magistrates to circles of villages, and the chowkidars be paid through the Police.

(e). That the powers and duties of chowkidars should in certain respects be increased.

The Lieutenant-Governor, whilst admitting that a case had been made out, showing a necessity for some separate agency to collect the rate, was inclined to the opinion that in other respects the *punchayets* might, under the new local self-Government

scheme, be successfully controlled and made to fulfil their functions. The opinion of Divisional Commissioners has accordingly been asked, on this point, and the long-looked-for reform again indefinitely postponed.

It has been seen that after a century of tinkering, the character of the force, relatively to the state of civilisation, remains the same. And the question arises, what is there about all the numerous schemes devised for the improvement of this refractory body that has led to nothing but failure? The problem to be solved is this: It is necessary to convert thieves into honest men; to make them as far as possible independent of local influences whilst maintaining their intimate relations with the villages; and to exact from them a proper performance of their duties.

The first condition has been generally thought securable by the mere provision of a sufficient stipend. This is no doubt an important—nay, the most important—factor, but it is not everything. Writing of the Police of Bengal, Mr. Mill, some fifty years since remarked, that “It is one of the most imbecile of prejudices to suppose that large salaries make honest men. So long as things were so miserably organized that gain, unbalanced by danger, would accrue to the darogahs by violating their duties, they might be expected to violate them, if their salaries were as large as those of the Governor-General.” Yet this delusion is in the year of grace 1884 still abroad; and it is held that a regularly paid pittance of from 3 to 6 rupees a month will be sufficient, under the supervision of an apathetic, self-seeking *punchayet*, and the distant, fitful control of the *thannah*, to restrain from crime a class whose opportunities, and strong hereditary instincts, have for centuries rendered them the terror of the people and the scourge of the land.

The second condition is, we think, satisfied by the proposals of the recent Commission in regard to the appointment and payment of chowkidars. It is not in human nature that the chowkidars shall retain the unbounded confidence of the criminals whilst loyally serving their enemies, and the nearest approach to perfection is, we think, to be attained by the selection of chowkidars from among the best disposed of the classes that have hitherto held the post closely supervising them, and making it their interest to serve us faithfully.

The third condition—in our eyes a vital one—is to all intents and purposes ignored. It is impossible to exact a proper performance of his duties from the chowkidar without an efficient supervising agency, and this neither exists at present nor is provided by the Commission. The *punchayets* have already proved themselves both fraudulent paymasters, and inefficient supervisors; and it is absurd to suppose that a handful of *thannah*

police can properly control a force of 'several hundred rogues scattered over an area of from 10 to 20 square miles.

The necessity for a supervising agency and link between the rural police and the constabulary has been repeatedly pointed out. Such an agency was provided, in his sirdars, by Mr. McNeile ; it was suggested in the shape of Village Inspectors by Colonel Pughe ; it was thought requisite by Sir Stuart Bayley ; its want was recognised and supplied in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Oude. It can be secured in Bengal by the simple transformation of the *tehsildar* of the recent Commission into the Village Inspector of Colonel Pughe. Let this functionary, call him Village Inspector, *Sirdar*, *Pharidar*, or what you will, be charged with the double duty of collection and supervision, let him form a centre of information, and a link between the people and the imperial police, and, in order to secure men of a fit stamp, throw open to him the doors of promotion to a higher rank. Until reform takes the direction here indicated, there is no hope, we fear, of much real improvement in the rural police of Bengal.

We have seen the village watchman in the various guises of a black-mailing robber, an armed retainer, and a rural policeman. We have seen him remunerated for his services in land, in cash, and in kind. We have seen him abolished, and re-instated ; controlled sometimes by villagers, at others by zemindars, by darogahs, and by *punchayets*. In all these capacities, and under all these vicissitudes, he has remained the same unregenerate, yet indispensable blackguard. We trust that when next we meet him we may find him a reformed character, wearing the garb of penitence, and fulfilling his functions under the vigilant eye of close supervision.

ART. V.—POLICE REFORM.

EARNEST and prolonged discussion on the important subject of Police Reform is peculiarly appropriate to the present time, while a carefully prepared scheme for the formation of a detective force, drawn up by Colonel C. H. Ewart, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Amballa Circle, is under the consideration of Provincial Governments. The writer of the present article proposes in these pages, to briefly expose some of the chief deficiencies and errors in the existing system, and to show in what way the adoption of Colonel Ewart's scheme remedies them and brings into use many available factors of efficiency which at present lie in abeyance.

The writer of a clever and well written article on the subject of Police and Police Courts, appearing in the July number of this *Review*, believes that the inefficiency of the existing Police system is mainly attributable to the fact that in its organization the primitive and semi-barbarous condition of Indian Society was not sufficiently taken into consideration. The present writer believes on the contrary, that in the steady march of progress towards complete development which has within the last twenty years distinguished the administration of most departments in India, and which has had the effect of eliciting the latent capacity for improvement of the urban and rural populations, the Police department alone has remained stationary, and that its system instead of requiring simplifying is much in need of higher development to enable it to cope with the conditions under which crime at present exists and flourishes.

It may seem paradoxical to state that the application of the resources of art and science to the improvement of various departments, has directly tended to the encouraging of crime and the increase in immunity to offenders ; but a little consideration will show that it has had this direct tendency. For instance, hitherto the fact has not been sufficiently realised that the opening out on a large scale of railways and telegraphs, and the vast and always progressing improvement in postal arrangements have enormously increased the facilities for the commission of the more heinous sorts of crimes which are generally the handiwork of daring criminals who adopt such crimes as professions, while no corresponding facilities have been furnished to the Police to enable them to cope on something like equal terms with the carefully thought out and daringly executed offences which are daily becoming more common in occurrence and more skilful in conception and execution.

The main faults in the existing police organization are :—

1. The absence of a class standard in recruiting.
2. The breaks in continuity of action consequent on the restrictions imposed by territorial boundaries.
3. The poverty of the pay in the lower grades, tending to the increase of temptation to dishonesty.
4. The non-existence of schools for detective instruction.
5. The want of proper machinery for the prosecution of cases.

Let us consider these points in the order above noted.

(1.) When recruits are required, men of good physique are selected from the number of candidates who attend the Police office daily. The selected candidates undergo a medical examination and must be up to the standard height and chest measurements, and are then entertained as recruits, giving a reference as to character. This reference is generally to one of the headmen of the recruit's village, and perfunctory enquiries are made which rarely prove unsatisfactory for the simple reason that the matter has been previously settled between the recruit and his referee, who may be as likely as not one of the greatest *badmashes* of his village. No endeavours are made to ascertain particulars regarding any former employment of the recruit, and it not unfrequently happens that a man is enlisted who has been previously dismissed from the Police force of some other district for misconduct.

The recruit thus obtained is put through a course of training in drill and discipline at station head-quarters for a year or so, and then posted to a station where he is employed in the investigation of cases under the general supervision of a senior native officer, but where he has frequent opportunities for independent action in individual cases. When it is borne in mind that these opportunities occur in the career of an individual whose moral training has probably been *nil*, and who receives from Government a monthly salary of six rupees,—something less than can be made in any branch of unskilled labour,—the wonder is not that such men occasionally yield to temptation, but that they do not universally do so.

(2.) The break in continuity of action is one of the most serious defects in the existing organization. The operations of a Police officer in search of a criminal are mainly confined to action in his own district. In the event of his having to follow up a clue in another district, he has to apply to the Police of that district and is met, not perhaps by active obstruction, but at best by lukewarm and perfunctory assistance from individuals who are uninterested in his success as being a matter which in no way bears upon themselves and their personal interests.

Should his search lead him into another province, these difficulties are of course accentuated and other technical restrictions occur, while to the professional criminal one district or province is as open as another, and his knowledge of localities is generally much wider and more general than that of the Police officer who serves from the commencement to the end of his career in one district, and whose experience of procedure in cases of normal local crime is absolutely useless when applied to the detection of special offences which have been planned and executed by astute and daring professional offenders.

(3.) The poverty of pay in the lower grades has been already briefly referred to in this article, and is so palpably an incentive to dishonesty, that it requires no special comment.

The rates of pay in the Panjab Police are as follows :—

For Constables, six and seven rupees per mensem.

„ Sergeants, ten, fifteen, and twenty-five per mensem.

„ Deputy Inspectors, forty, sixty, and eighty rupees.

„ Inspectors, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and two hundred rupees per mensem.

The salary in the higher grades is sufficiently good to justify Government in expecting honest work from their incumbents, but is lamentably insufficient in the grades of Sergeant and Constable. A Constable drawing six or seven rupees is frequently employed in preliminary investigations in petty cases, and when he can probably make at least a month's pay in each such case, it is not fair to expect phenomenal honesty from him, such as would not be looked for under corresponding circumstances in any civilised nation.

(4.) The non-existence of any school for detective training seriously debars the average Police officer from a fair chance of success in dealing with the heinous crimes which are the work of professional criminals. Quite recent discoveries in the Panjab and N.-W. Provinces have shown that crime is a professed *industry* (if the word may be so applied,) among certain classes who devote as much ingenuity and labour to the perfection of their art as the professional criminal classes in England (coiners, burglars, pickpockets, &c.), and with as marked results, as regards the attainment of a high standard of dexterity and skill. The training undergone by an ordinary Police officer leaves him very far behind in the acquirement of knowledge enabling him to cope with these skilled offenders, and success is very rarely obtained except by means of inducing one or more of the gang (professional criminals are almost invariably members of organized gangs) to become an informer on promise of pardon. This is of course an unsatisfactory method of procedure, but is, in most instances, the only one practicable. A Police officer, after undergoing his year's training in discipline

and elementary drill, passes the remainder of his service: (1) in guard and treasure escort duties if at head-quarters; (2) in taking part in the investigation of *normal* crime if at an outstation, to the extent of, perhaps, five or six cases during the year, and (3) in nightly patrolling roads, taking no part in criminal investigations, if stationed at a roadpost. In a few years, during which he apathetically waits for his promotion by *seniority*, not by merit, he becomes a machine for the perfunctory and automatic performance of certain fixed duties, his individuality and potential capacity for independent action in emergencies being swamped by the necessity for rigid adherence to technical procedure imposed by departmental regulations. The only exceptions to a career such as that here sketched, are in the cases of police employed in large cities, where the members of the local force are brought into frequent personal contact with professional offenders and pick up a certain amount of experience of their *modus operandi*. As the terms "professional" and "normal" crime have been frequently used in this article, perhaps a few words on this subject will render their meaning clear, and show the great difficulties besetting the Police in the investigation of the former.

Crime may be classed under three general heads, *viz* :—

Casual, Normal, and Professional.

Under the head of casual crime may be classed offences committed without premeditation, such as murder (when with no object beyond the gratification of a temporary feeling of resentment), culpable homicide, kidnapping, and many other offences, generally trivial in nature, the commission of which is brought about by conditions of temporary existence.

This is the rarest of the three sorts of crime in occurrence, is the most easily detected, and is the least important in its effects on the moral or mental condition of the people.

The term "normal crime" is self-explanatory. In the Panjab, and probably all over India, the normal crimes are petty theft, cattle lifting, burglary, and acting as receiver of stolen property. Some of these being adopted as a means of livelihood might be classed as professional crime, but it is preferable to preserve the latter term for distinctive application to such crimes as require special appliances, skill, and personal attributes for their successful operation, and, above all, that are the work of carefully organized gangs with well established systems of intercommunication among their different members or parties, and that execute crimes which could not be worked by ordinary criminals or without special organization with much chance of continued success. In this category may be included murder by poison, or by special means always adhered to by the performer, dacoities, coining, certain conditions of

cheating, and some few other heinous crimes. Professional crime, though not of as frequent occurrence as normal crime, is generally far more serious in its nature and effect, and is the special crime in which Police procedure most signally fails, through the fault of the system far more than of individuals, and it is mainly for the suppression of this species of crime that the creation of a detective force is most urgently needed, and towards which Colonel Ewart's scheme is most particularly directed.

(5). The machinery for the prosecution of cases before the Magistrates is markedly deficient. The accused persons have the advantage of the services of pleaders and barristers, in addition to the many loopholes of escape afforded by a legislation which is singularly favourable in all its aspects, from first to last, to the individuals under trial. On this point the words of a well-known writer on English law are singularly applicable to our Indian law. He observes:—"The prisoner's whole treatment now-a-days seems like one continuous apology for putting him to the inconvenience of arrest, and an organised effort to shield him from the attacks of that society whose peace he has probably broken, and the same consideration is shown him to the very end."

Here the principle of the English and Indian law is identical, but England possesses what we do not, yet what we sadly require, *viz.*, a Director of Public Prosecutions, with several assistants, all of whom are barristers, while Scotland has a Procurator-fiscal and his staff employed as public prosecutors. The technical obstructions to prosecution are daily becoming more rigid and inflexible, and a Magistrate is bound to abide by the letter of these restrictions, though in many instances a discretionary power to act upon their spirit would enable him to convict notorious criminals of whose guilt there can be no possible doubt, but whom he is reluctantly compelled to let loose, to prey upon the world again.

The writer of the article in the July number of this *Review*, to which reference was made in the beginning of this article, considers that laxity of supervision encourages dishonesty among the subordinate police, and that an improvement would be effected by making over the supervision to the District Magistrate, in fact, by reversion to the system existing prior to the reorganization of the Police in 1861. He may have been unfortunate in his experience of District Superintendents of Police, but it is difficult to conceive the possibility of improved supervision resulting from the withdrawal of that supervision from an officer whose special work it is, and imposing its duties on one who is, as a rule, already overworked, and who could not possibly devote the time and attention to it that are at the

disposal of the present superintendents. That this fact received due recognition is proved by the creation of the office of Police Superintendents in the reorganization of 1861. The majority of District Magistrates freely admit their incapacity to give due supervision to matters of internal economy in Police matters without prejudice to their other multifarious duties, and, moreover, the Police are after all under the general direction of the Magistrate of the District who can step in and exercise his prerogative if he finds it necessary to do so.

The writer of that article remarks that the disorganization of society recently witnessed in British Burmah would hardly have been possible under the old régime, yet the mutiny occurred under that régime.

The real reform required is very clearly pointed out in Colonel Ewart's detective scheme, which received the strong approbation of very many of the most eminent Magistrates of the day prior to its submission for the consideration of the Provincial Governments.

Accepting the fact that in attacking professional crime, we have to deal with individuals and gangs possessing, as a rule, (1) more or less local knowledge of the proposed scene of their operations ; (2) well established lines of communication among themselves ; (3) power of action unrestricted by district or provincial boundaries, and (4) a system of co-operation with local criminals. We must also accept the fact that to cope with them successfully we must have a Police force possessing, (1) equal knowledge of the country, which is only obtainable by equal freedom from the restrictions of local boundaries ; (2) an organized system of intercommunication throughout the empire, having one central focus ; (3) liberty to avail itself freely of telegraphic communication ; (4) composed of members of more than average intelligence, and (5) drawing salaries sufficient to maintain themselves and their families without recourse to dishonesty.

This is the detective branch of our Police Administration which Colonel Ewart proposes to give us.

In its place we have a Police : (1) Indifferently paid and not over intelligent in its lower grades ; (2) with local knowledge and capacity for action, confined strictly within local limits ; (3) with no experience in the systems of working of professional offenders and (4) totally out of touch with the Police of other districts and provinces.

The contrast between what is, and what ought to be, is surely sufficiently marked here, to account for the shortcomings of the existing Police force, and to show plainly the absolute necessity for reform on the lines indicated.

The proposed detective force is to be raised, (1) by the selec-

tion of men in the existing force who have given proofs of their possessing detective ability, (2) by recruiting among the criminal classes as approvers, and (3) from certain classes of the general population.

The obtaining of recruits from the criminal classes might seem paradoxical to non-professional observers, but to those brought into official contact with those classes, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon their special aptitude for the services required from a detective, the diverting of the skill, cunning, ingenuity and promptitude of action of the pseudo-successful criminal, to the more legitimate line of business would certainly result in the formation of a good detective.

Reserves for the supply of members for this force would be formed at the head-quarters of districts, and would work under the order of the Local District Superintendents, subject to call upon them for employment in the detective branch. The latter would thus become a *corps d'elite*, and the rising detective of the reserve would strain every nerve to qualify for admission to its ranks. The main employment of detectives would be along lines of railways, which are the almost invariable method of locomotion adopted by professional criminals. The detective force of the whole of India would be under the orders of an Inspector-General of Detectives, with assistant Inspectors-General in each province. The members of the force would thus find themselves working throughout under one administration, and individual members being liable to be ordered off to any part of the Empire would not consider themselves bound to special exertions in the investigation of cases of local occurrence only. It is absolutely necessary to success that this force should be made Imperial and not Provincial, in order to the establishment of continuous and co-operative action throughout. The Provincial Police could be called upon to assist in cases where their local knowledge would be valuable, and in return the Detective Branch would greatly help the Provincial Police by taking upon itself the repression of professional crime.

The pay of the Detective Branch, as proposed in Colonel Ewart's scheme, would be as follows:—Constables Rs. 15 to 20, Sergeants 50 to 80, Deputy Inspectors 100 to 200, Inspectors 200 to 300. These salaries would induce men of recognised ability and position to join the force, and a spirit of emulation and ambition would be created in the provincial Police which would prove a healthy incentive to honest labour and intelligence, and would raise the general standard of the force.

The Railway Police Committee's Report published in June 1882, contains some passages which are here quoted as

indicating a recognition of the necessity of an Imperial Detective Force.

"The chief defects of the system are the extreme disintegration," &c.

* * * *

"This renders impossible any cohesion in the force, and prevents individual members feeling that amount of interest in the common success of the Force which is so necessary in all Police administration."

* * * *

"There being no common point of contact between the different Police Detachments, bad characters, when one part of the line becomes too hot for them, have only to change their habitat to reappear elsewhere with unblemished reputations, again to be found out, and again to move further on into another Police District."

* * * *

"On the Railway highway of India it seems of the utmost importance to secure concerted action. Criminals have the advantage of rapid through locomotion, facilitating the quick exchange of spheres of action, and it is only prudent that there should be a Police organization capable of watching their movements over a large extent of line."

H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab has already expressed his opinion that "the scheme proposed by Colonel Ewart is a good one, and sound reasons have been adduced for the constitution of a detective force."

The scheme has already been for some months under consideration and the early institution of the necessary reform may be expected.

In conclusion it is advisable to remark that statements in this article regarding internal economy, &c., of the present force, have special reference to the Panjab Police, but as the whole of the Indian Police was organized on the general lines laid down by Act V of 1861, the principles involved are sufficiently identical throughout to admit of general application.

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ART. VI.—THE GALVANIZATION OF INDIA.

AT the close of a Vicereignty such as that under the régime of which this country has just passed, it may not be inopportune to pause and consider the very rapid strides by which India is being *pulled* along towards the goal of Western civilization. Of course, advanced thinkers regard this as an unmixed good and scout the idea of *Festina Lente* which commends itself to men such as myself who have had the fortune (whether good or bad,) to have been brought up as Conservatives and to cling to the sinking ship which is freighted with what some would call, old world ideas. They were, however, the ideas under which the empire was made and maintained, and if even they are now obsolete and about to fall to sleep, we can claim for them that "they have served their generation."

I am painfully aware that I am putting myself out of court entirely in the opinion of the school which now holds sway in this country and in England, when I say that I consider that the pace at which we are pulling our Aryan brethren is too great to last. It reminds me forcibly of a scene which I used to witness when a boy at school. A tall lanky sixth form boy was under orders to see that the little boys took exercise, and he used to ensure that desirable result by running across a large plain near a northern town dragging some wretched four-foot-nothing little boy after him, regardless of the relative length of the legs of each. If this meets the eye of any old St. Paulite, he will recal the incident. I think the illustration an apt one as applied to the manner in which go-ahead modern civilizers would force the pace in this country—a country which is just awakening from the effects of a narcotic under which it has slumbered for centuries.

In most countries which have a history, institutions have gradually grown up, lived their life, and died a natural death. Their place was taken by others which, growing with the old institutions, were in their vigour when the old institutions were in their dotage, and were ready to exercise their active influence on the community, with a touch on both the past and the growing future. In no country which has attained to greatness has an intermediate stage been over-leaped, and, a sudden jar been given to the body politic by the substitution, so to speak, of the grandson as the heir to the grandfather, passing over the son. A tendency to this practice is arising in England, but there are some who would question whether the greatness of the England of to-day is on a par

with what it was when Lord Palmerston guided the councils of the country, and when this tendency was not developed.

In India, more especially during recent years, the law of natural succession has been entirely abnegated, and in its stead a series of galvanic shocks have been given to the country which may have caused it to leap forward for a time, but, the lasting effect of which is very doubtful. Let us take Municipal institutions as an example.

In most countries the earliest form of social government was the village community. In almost every country it survived for generations and gradually gave place to a more central form of government. In India, by the force of circumstances, it yielded to the paternal government of the Englishmen who conquered the country, who made India their home, and who lived amongst the people and for the people. The race that remembers them is fast passing away, but their memory survives in the names of places called after them, and, as I have seen in one instance at Revelgunge, in shrines erected to their glory and worshipped at by the descendants of those, who erst worshipped as something more than human, the men who evolved order out of chaos and who enabled every man to sit in peace beneath his own vine and fig-tree.

Even we of the present generation can remember men whose advice and opinion was sought for in every question of difficulty that arose amongst natives themselves, and whose unwritten word was of more effect than the decrees of a hundred Moonsiffs, Judges, High Courts and Privy Councils would have been.

The first touch of the galvanic battery which has never since ceased working on society and politics in India was the introduction, at the expense of the State, of English education. I do not mean primary education. *It* was not properly introduced until long after, and no one takes a greater interest in primary education than I do, or admires the principle which maintains it more than I do. I refer to the system of educating at the expense of the State, young men whom their parents can well afford to educate, and, creating a class of semi-English educated men who will not dig, but to beg are not ashamed. Education in foreign languages has, as a rule, been left to private enterprise in other countries. In India by a galvanic touch it was made a State care. A new generation of men arose, who, as might be expected, were intolerant of the paternal government under which their parents had prospered, and were anxious to strike out a new line for themselves. The time had come and the man was not wanting to work the battery. That electric eel of Governors, Sir George Campbell, came just in the nick of time, and once more the galvanic touch was applied to the country. About this time, too, the influence

of party-government in England began to shed its baneful influence over this country ; an influence which every well-wisher of India would fain see come to an end.

We all remember the beginning of *representative* institutions started by that well-meaning though dogmatical ruler Sir George Campbell. The ryot was to leave his plough and to hasten to the station to take his seat on the Bench side by side with the Raj Kumar of some noble house. The *Teli* was to wash off in haste the traces of his trade and hie him to the same august assembly. All classes were to be represented, and an ideal bed of justice was to be devised from materials which had about the same elements of cohesion as oil and water have. A new era, in short, was to dawn on the country. The battery was applied and the unpaid Magistracy of England was introduced into India. Where are the representative ryots now ? In one district where a zealous Magistrate caught a *real* ryot, and made him an Honorary Magistrate, that ryot came with fear and trembling. He would probably have felt himself more at home in the dock. He ventured not in until the proceedings were over, and then *without* his shoes crept in to make his salaam to the *Hakim* and his brother Honorary Magistrate, and to enquire "*kya hookum hai.*"

The representative ryot died a natural death, the galvanic force that created him spent itself, and the really representative men—those who represented wealth and property in the various districts—survived, and have up to the present formed useful consultative bodies in the various districts of Bengal. These men would, in the ordinary course of things, have been consulted by district officers as they always used to be on the various requirements of the districts. They were not the result of galvanism. The result of galvanism has disappeared and the ryot is not recognized *quâ*-ryot, as a factor in the new scheme which is about to be introduced into the country. The land had rest for some time after this shock had been applied. Famine and war occupied the attention of both the governing classes and those governed. One touch of the battery, however, was given and Calcutta became an elective Municipality. If ever a town in this part of India was fit to manage its own affairs, one would have supposed that Calcutta was. We see the melancholy result to-day : a town decimated by cholera, a corporation taking no steps to carry out the rudiments of sanitation, and a Commission issued by the Local Government to enquire into the state of things that the inaction of the Corporation has brought about ; a state of things which would disgrace a third rate continental city. The galvanic push which was given to the cause of representative institutions in Calcutta has not, therefore, been an unmixed advance towards

civilization. It has shown, however, the temporary nature of any unnatural growth in Municipal institutions: as temporary as the existence of a tree suddenly stuck in loose soil and without roots to support it.

It was not, however, until the last few years, that men became conscious, that new hands had got to work on the galvanic battery, and during those few years the country has been experimented on in a manner unknown in its previous history.

The history of galvanic action on India both socially and politically has been, where completed, a repetition of history: a story of action and violent reaction. There is but one exception to this, and that is the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act. The galvanic influence exercised by that measure of so-called Liberal Legislation still remains. It has been diverted, however, into a channel, which its authors never dreamt of (at least charity would assume so) and the vernacular press of to-day has been vitalized into a course of treason, disloyalty and scurrilous abuse of every European, both non-official and official, whose actions may have incurred the displeasure of the semi-educated Babu, whose strength lies in scurrility and whose fighting power lies in fulsome flattery of those through whom he thinks he can obtain his desire over his enemy. The tone of the native press, both English and vernacular, with one or two honourable exceptions, is worse now than it was when it was deemed necessary to place it under restraint. The Russian advance is in some papers openly paraded, and the fact of the benevolent intentions of Russia are advertised all but in name. Yet we are told by a statesman who has gagged the national press in Ireland, that it is outside the purview of Liberal statesman to do the same in India. In the one country, the teaching of disloyalty in the press bore fruit in the shape of outrage and assassination, until the voice of England declared, in no uncertain tone, that such ravings must be suppressed. In India, presumably, the Liberal Cabinet hesitates to act until such time as the ravings of seditious Babus have excited some of their more warlike countrymen into overt acts of treason.

The great scheme of local self-government was the next form in which galvanism was applied to Eastern apathy. The scheme is on its trial, and it would be unjust as well as ungenerous to predict its failure. It is to be hoped it will be a success, though with the experience of Calcutta before us, the hope seems an over sanguine one. It seems out of the range of possibility that in a country like India, where caste predominates everything, we should suddenly be able to find, in all the small towns of the country, men who will abrogate caste interest and will work for the common good of all. Such men may be found. It is sincerely to be hoped that they will, but the

experiment has yet to be tried and, if it fail, the damage that will have been done will not be compensated for by the reflexion that the experiment was tried with the best possible intentions. It may be argued that municipal institutions have up to date done good work. The argument is a true one, but, apart from the obvious reply to this, "If they have done, and are doing well, why not let well alone?" There is the insuperable answer that these institutions have done well because they are under the guidance and control of responsible officers, and because those who compose the various public Boards are *selected* as being men of integrity and public spirit." Can any one predict the same for our future Boards about to be *elected* by the *people*, (we are told,) but in reality by their own understrappers and dependents. About to be elected, too, to a position where public funds will be at their disposal, practically uncontrolled by officers whose training has fitted them for such control, and the traditions of whose life have been associated with public probity and morality. We all can remember the hopes that were excited amongst the *Babul's Babuli* when local self-government was first started. The idea of most of those persons was that Government was to collect the money which they were to have the privilege of spending. The *people* took no interest in the matter, and up to the present day they take no interest in it. It was only the briefless pleader, and the disappointed *unmedwar*, who swelled the cry which was started by the so-called leaders of society, and the cry wore itself out, although the scheme has been some years in coming to maturity. Local self-government ceased to be attractive when the present Lieutenant-Governor, in some of his addresses to would be Self-Governors, plainly told them that it was not to be all beer and skittles, and that real hard work was to be exacted from those who wished to pose as rulers and not as workers.

However, the scheme is on its trial, and the question is *sub judice*. It is hoped it will be successful.

The next turn of the wheel of galvanism brought to the surface the Ilbert Bill. The less said about that unfortunate measure the better. The country was, by it, plunged into a ferment from which it has never rightly recovered. Race animosities, which were dead or dying, were galvanized into life. It is to be feared that many years must elapse before the state of harmony which prevailed previous to the introduction of that ill-fated measure, will have been restored. The ill-feeling which exists at present between the uneducated Europeans and all but the really enlightened natives, had its origin in the Ilbert Bill. A galvanic shock was given to impel the native on the path leading to equality. The reaction set in very speedily, and has resulted in a measure which has

done more to accentuate race distinctions than the previous law did to minimize the effects of which the Ilbert Bill was introduced. At the same time galvanism was not suffered to remain idle amongst the agricultural community of Bengal.

A Rent Bill was introduced, with assertions that the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill was requisite to save a starving peasantry and to make the wilderness blossom like the rose.

The battery in this case was, however, charged too highly, and it soon became manifest that the shock was one too great for even Radical galvanizers to view with equanimity. The pressure has by degrees been taken off and principles which, we were told, were vital to anything like a proper Rent Law have one after another been abandoned. The Bill now before the Council is the shadow of its former self, and would be repudiated with scorn by those who originally fathered the measure. This is an instance in which the galvanic charge has been by degrees lessened by the workers of the battery, and it is to be hoped that the current will be removed altogether and the country propelled towards a settlement of the Landlord and Tenant question by the more safe, though less showy, means of careful local enquiry. I have briefly but as fully as the space allowed me will permit, sketched the course of jerky, galvanic legislation to which this country has been subjected since the advent of the late Viceroy to power. Of the four principal measures introduced, the results have been—

- (1) A seditious and disloyal native press ;
- (2) An act which nominally removes, but actually accentuates race distinctions ;

(3) The ghost of a land act coupled with a feeling of intense uneasiness amongst the entire agricultural community, and a measure of local self-Government which, having been found unworkable in Calcutta, is to be introduced into the mofussil. Its wings are to be clipped, however, in most of the places which might be supposed to be fit for local self-Government. The Suburban Municipality, Patna, and Mozufferpore, are not supposed to be fit to be entrusted with the privilege of electing their own Chairman, a privilege which Rungpore, Bakurgunge and Bogra are considered capable of possessing.

To the most ardent worshipper of free institutions, there seems a grim irony about this : and it is intensified by the issue of the Commission lately, and very properly, appointed for the purpose of bringing the metropolitan corporation to a sense of its shortcomings. Is it too much to hope that, with a new régime, an end will come to this sensational spasmodic legislation ?

The hopes of us, Conservatives, old fogies, men with old world ideas, *laudatores temporis acti*, or, whatever we may be called,

have long been at a very low ebb. But "there is a tide in the affairs of men," and I am not without hope that it is setting in for us and those who think with us. Subjecting a country like India to great and sudden changes is very much like dragging a child that cannot walk across the country at the heels of a man. When one thinks what the country was but a few years ago, nay, even what it is now, the unsuitableness becomes manifest of forcing upon it Western institutions which have taken centuries to mature, and have grown with the growth of the people amongst whom they flourish. We are forcing upon a people, who but yesterday were slaves to the first freebooter who chose to exploit the country, institutions for which our countrymen fought and laboured for some four hundred years, and for which, by gradual growth from national childhood to national manhood, they have become fitted. There is no reason why the people of this country should not become fitted for these various free institutions in the course of time, as, there is no reason why a young child should not become a very skilful engine-driver; but we would hardly entrust the child with the charge of a locomotive drawing a train full of people and property. The tendency of recent legislation has been, however, to emulate him who would put a locomotive into the hands of a child. This is illustrated by the legislation under which the lives of people are about to be entrusted into the hands of men, whose ideas of sanitation are somewhat similar to those which prevailed in England in the time of James the First.

The elite of the educated Bengalis, the Corporation of Calcutta, has shown itself painfully unversed in the rudiments of sanitation. What is to be expected from the rural Baboo whose compound is a cess-pool, who makes, clean it is true, the outside of the cup and platter, but the outside only?

Before Ilbert Bills, Rent Bills and local self-government Bills were started, we heard nothing of any desire on the part of the people for them. The land had rest and a good feeling was growing up between the two races. I think the result of this galvanic legislation has not been to improve that feeling. Is it too much to urge that we should go back to that time, to the pre-scientific legislation period, and resume the education of the people that was rudely interrupted by the Government telling them that they had suddenly become men, and were no longer to be schooled. Ought we not rather to recal them now into the class-room, and let them know gently but firmly that their injudiciously granted emancipation is over, and that they have yet much to learn before they are fit to go out into the political world and take their

places with those whose education began at Runnymede, and who have, from that day to this, been learning in a political school, not conducted on an anti-corporal punishment system. The people of this country are no more fit as yet to exercise the freedom which the people of England do, than is the most educated and advanced Babu fit to fight the English lad, who through much fighting and tribulation has attained to the proud position of cock of his school: and the sooner that fact is recognized, the better will it be for the country. What I have written is, I am aware, fearful treason against existing theories. However, out of the fulness of the heart the mouth hath spoken, and although the fortunes of the party to which I am proud to belong, may be at present at a very low ebb, I do not think it unbecoming to let its voice be heard, even though the cry be in the wilderness. I am as anxious as any one for the advancement of my native brethren, and I may, perhaps, in my own quiet way, be in the habit of doing as much for them as others do. I consider, however, that we are going by entirely a wrong path to ensure their advancement. We are projecting them by galvanic leaps and bounds along the road to civilization, but the permanency of their tenure of the position into which they are being projected is only to be measured by the duration of the initial shock. That shock cannot last for ever, and the result will be a recoil. It will be a gradual withering of the plant of free institutions, which is being set in a soil not yet prepared to bear it. It would be well, before it be too late, to cut down the unwieldy tree, and plant in its stead a sapling which will grow with the political growth of the country and strengthen as the people become strong.

Such a plant will hereafter, in years to come, be likely to cast a grateful shade over the land in which it has grown up. The full-grown tree which recent legislation has sought to transplant into the soil which cannot bear it, is likely, on the other hand, to be fit for nothing but tinder within a very short space of time. Indian legislation should be conducted under one motto. By adhering to that motto our fathers ruled the country and ruled it well. That motto is

FESTINALENTE.

ART. VII.—ENGLISH-WOMEN IN INDIA.

IN the olden days when communication between England and India was slow and tedious, and when the journey either to or from India was considered a great undertaking, there were fewer English-women in India than there are now ; but the few who were here—knowing how difficult, nay, almost impossible—it was for them to return to England for many years, made up their minds to be happy out here, and it is more than doubtful if the troubles of Indian domestic life have not been considerably increased by the facility with which the doctor's pet prescription "go home" can be complied with.

Very few, if any, young girls who have left their own home, and all their friends and relations, to come to India with their husbands, can hope to escape entirely from that disease of the mind "Home-sickness." In former days, however great the longing might be for Home and for the dear Home faces, for the fresh, health-giving breezes of the moors, or the cosy fireside, for the sound of a mother's loving voice, or the kindly touch of a father's hand, however great the longing might be, it had to be fought against and conquered, if not entirely (for it is very hard to overcome the home-sickness of home-loving English-woman)—at least sufficiently so, to prevent its assuming a chronic form.

But now it is different ; there is no tedious voyage of three or four months between the Indian and the English home, and Anglo-Indians have gradually become imbued with the idea that "going home" is the cure for all evils ; and so the feeling of home-sickness is not fought against as it used to be. It gains ground, and after a few years of Indian life the young wife's thoughts begin to turn towards her own country, the unresisted longing tells upon her spirits, as the climate does upon her health ; the kind doctors recommend a visit to Europe, and suggest that it would be well for baby, too, to escape another hot season, and although the idea is rejected at first, it is accepted in the end.

Very often the husband, being himself imbued with the belief that all wives must go home periodically, urges the advisability of the doctor's advice being followed ; the passage is taken, and the woman, who, a few years before, arrived in India, fully determined to fulfil her marriage vow in its entirety—leaves her husband, and joins the crowd of her country-women who are to be seen every season on the decks of the homeward bound steamers.

There are many soothing salves that these ladies can apply

to their consciences—should they prick them for deserting their husbands :—" Did not dear John or Arthur insist upon it, and did not doctor C. or doctor B. tell them that they really ought to go before their health was completely ruined ? Was it not better for dear John or Arthur to lose them for just twelve months, than that he should be burdened with a sickly wife, or perhaps lose her altogether ? "

There is a great deal of truth in this ; no doubt the husbands do urge their wives to go home ; but what else can they do ? No man likes to think that his wife is sacrificing her health by remaining with him, and when he sees her pale and listless, taking little or no interest in anything connected with her Indian life, and too often really suffering severely from the many ailments that fall to the lot of European women in India, he willingly consents to her going to Europe. His experience has shown him that most men have to send their wives home, and he must be a brave man who would refuse to believe in the necessity for it.

He must consent to pose as a hard-hearted husband who is sacrificing his wife's health for his own selfish motives ; or perhaps as the unnatural father who refuses to allow his wife to take their child home, although everyone says that the poor little thing ought to go. He must submit to the still more trying condemnation of his own conscience, which pricks him whenever he sees his wife's pale face, or feels the touch of his child's feverish little hand—it is more than he can stand, and he takes their passage.

A few brief years of happiness, and then it seems almost inevitable that husband and wife must separate, but not quite so ; for sometimes a wife refuses to be separated from her husband for the sake of her own health, or even for that of her child ; and sometime the want of sufficient funds to meet the expense of the journey and of the double household, acts as a deterrent, in the same way that the long voyage used to in former days.

Amongst the higher grades of the different services, and in the Civil Service, this deterrent is seldom felt, but very few of the lower grade men, or of the Uncovenanted Services can afford to send their families to Europe, until it becomes necessary to do so for the sake of the education of the children, and to economise the heavy expenditure that their schooling entails.

Up to this point, it is doubtful if the poorer man is not better off, as concerns his household comfort and happiness, than the richer man. There is no apprehension of his home being broken up before a certain time has elapsed, he has his wife with him, and feels more settled, and he sees his children for many more years of their lives than his richer brethren. His wife not being troubled with the idea of " going home " makes

herself happy out here, and her husband's house as comfortable and bright as she can, undisturbed by the constant idea of having to sell off everything and start for Europe.

This period of an English-woman's life in India is undoubtedly the happiest, and nothing but the most imperative necessity should induce them to shorten it. The difficulties of house-keeping in India are no doubt considerably greater than in Europe. It can hardly be otherwise, considering how much larger the establishments are, and how untrustworthy most, if not all, native servants are; but still with good management the difficulties can be overcome to a great extent, and those that cannot be cured, can be endured. When a young wife first starts house-keeping, she is about as wise as Dora Copperfield concerning the requirements of her household. Her ignorance of the language leads her into ridiculous and sometimes awkward mistakes, and she is liable to commit a few social blunders. But these troubles are soon overcome; no one is inclined to be hard on the mistakes of a new-comer, if she is pleasant and sociable, but if she is exclusive and stiff, she will find her social life neither an easy nor a pleasant one, for there are many people in Indian society who are very touchy and easily offended.

Well-trained servants never even smile at the most absurd mistakes that their masters or mistresses make; and although they always take advantage of the ignorance of the latter, it is only just at first that they can do so with impunity. No one must expect to find it any easy matter to manage a number of native servants, who all have different castes, not one of whom have anything in common with their employers; whose ideas of honesty, cleanliness and truthfulness are not merely vague, but do not exist. Their delinquencies must be taken philosophically. It is useless to make oneself miserable because the sugar, tea, &c., &c., is always being stolen, or the hens will not lay eggs (according to your *khansama's* account, although you are well aware that those that he makes you pay for, are from your own fowls), or because you caught your cook in the very act of straining the soup or the jelly through an old vest or sock, or you find dirty finger marks on the edges of your beautiful new albums, or your pet vases and ornaments broken by the person who in India answers to the proverbial cat in an English house, namely, "no one,"—"it broke of itself" you are told, and no amount of investigation will throw any light on the subject. These are daily annoyances that must be expected, and are rather increased than otherwise by constant upbraidings or punishments.

There are many things that combine to make life in India very pleasant, during the first years of residence, before the family, and the troubles increase, and before the thought of

probable separation is entertained. There is a freedom and independence, in all but the largest stations, that is very enjoyable : the possibility of indulging in any favorite pursuit or amusement, (such as gardening,) and above all the open-hearted hospitality that is universal through the whole of India, are among the most attractive features of Indian life. To those who enjoy even moderately good health, and whose incomes are not so limited as to prevent their joining in the numerous amusements that are to be had in most moderate-sized stations, or of their taking an occasional trip to the hills, an Indian life is far from an unpleasant one, and can always be made bright and enjoyable, except in very small stations, where there are no amusements of any description, and where the monotony is most depressing.

But India is essentially a country for the rich. To be poor is to be miserable, for comfort is a most expensive luxury and without it both health and strength must give way. Fairly good living is essential to health, and many things that are looked upon as luxuries, and can very easily be dispensed with in a cooler and healthier climate, are necessities in India. The income that is sufficient to keep a family comfortably, while living together, is not sufficient to provide the same amount of comfort when two establishments have to be kept up, and it is then that the shoe begins to pinch ; how tightly it pinches is well known to many an Anglo-Indian whose children are being educated at home, and who finds that one by one all his little comforts have to be given up to satisfy the demands of those who are good enough to take care of his children, provided they are handsomely paid for so doing.

Not unfrequently those demands become so heavy, that the question arises of the advisability of the mother going home to take charge of the children herself, and in some cases it is necessary for her to do so ; but a wise woman will defer that evil day as long as possible, and not leave her husband to endure a life of constant self-sacrifice and discomfort, if she can by any means prevent it.

The richer men do not suffer to the same extent as far as their personal comfort is concerned. They can afford to pay high and get the best servants available, and to live well. But even they cannot altogether escape the discomforts of a divided household. They are worse off than bachelors, in that they have known the comforts of a home, and have grown accustomed to them. They have dropped all their bachelor habits, and find it irksome to resume them, and to have to attend to household matters. With all the cares of a married man they have none of the comforts.

That there are many men who take the constant desertion of their wives philosophically, and make themselves perfectly

happy without them, is a matter of regret, for it tells a very unflattering tale of those wives, who may be termed the butterflies of Indian society, and who hardly come under the heading of English-women *in* India, for they are visitors only, who occasionally favor their husbands with their presence. These cases can only occur amongst those whose wives are not all to them that they should be, and to whom the expense of such a divided existence is of no consequence. The voluntary absence of the wife causes a sore feeling, and although the patience of the husband may be great, or although he may look on her periodical departure with resignation or even relief, the inward consciousness that if she cared anything about him, she would at least make an effort to remain with him, lessens his affection for her, and after an absence of two or three years a breach is made between them that is never thoroughly healed. There is no longer the same unity of thought or feeling that there was in those few happy years before she went home.

This feeling arises quite irrespective of the fact of there being money enough to provide for the divided household; the hearts become divided as well as the households, and while the husband is either too proud or too indifferent to desire his wife to rejoin him, she clings to her English home and her children and persuades herself that her duty lies with the latter.

When at last she comes out she naturally leaves half of her heart with her children, and unless she resolutely determines not to give in to the feeling of intense longing that she has—and that she will have for years—to be with them again, to see their fair young faces, to feel the touch of their soft little hands, and to hear the sound of their voices—it will not be long before she finds that the old loss of spirit and appetite and the old feeling of lassitude and weariness returns, and then she becomes an easy prey to fever and all the other ailments incidental to a residence in India, and another visit to Europe is considered necessary.

That English-women suffer greatly in India is certain, and the life that they are to a certain extent bound to lead, does not tend to lessen the evil. Whether they live in a large and gay station or in a small and dull one, the effect of the climate seems to be the same. In the first instance, late hours, and constant excitement, rather induce than ward off its injurious effects, and the excessive dulness and monotony of mofussil life have a most depressing effect, especially where it is increased by the absence of children. The life that is led by a large proportion of ladies in India is not such as would, even in a better climate, keep them in perfect health. They do not take enough healthy exercise.

In almost every part of India the morning is the only time when walking or riding exercise can be taken, and, as a rule, most gentlemen go out in the morning ; but very few ladies follow their good example. In Calcutta where the great and depressing heat of the day, especially calls for early rising, to enable people to reap the benefit of the only cool or refreshing air that is to be had, it is a matter of regret that so small a proportion of the ladies are to be seen out in the morning.

Some few are to be met with riding, but not many, and a rather larger number driving, but for every one who is out, taking advantage of the first freshness (if there is any freshness to be had) of the morning, there must be twenty who are making up for the loss of sleep entailed by late hours over night. In the middle of the day, when it is trying to the very strongest constitution to be exposed to the heat and glare of the streets, a Calcutta lady, who is in society, must leave her own house, where in a cool morning gown, and with a good punkah going, she can enjoy, at least, as much coolness as it is possible to get, and dressed in fashionable costume, that is quite unsuited to the climate, drive out to pay her calls.

It is quite useless to preach against this foolish and trying custom in this case as in many others : custom is stronger than reason, calls must be made within regulation hours, and small bonnets or hats worn, even at the risk of sunstroke or apoplexy.

The regular evening drive is a great boon to all Anglo-Indians, but there is not so much benefit to be derived from it, as from the morning ride or drive as the ground is still hot from the rays of the sun. In most stations where there are enough Europeans to make it possible, there is generally Lawn Tennis of an evening, and it is a pity that more ladies do not play it. That they do not, arises from several reasons, principally the want of strength or energy, and the evident dislike of the gentlemen to have their sets "spoilt" by the lady players. The former cause cannot be avoided, but the remedy for the latter is in their own hands. If those who can play a *fairly* good game, would persevere and not rest satisfied until they could play a *thoroughly* good one, the discouragement that they receive from the gentlemen-players would cease. They should practise amongst themselves, until they feel that they can join in a set without being accused privately, if not publicly, of spoiling it.

The exercise is invaluable and the recreation hardly less so. After a long hot day, spent within doors, with very little to break the monotony, and a great deal to enervate and weaken the system, and fret the temper, a good game of Lawn Tennis acts as a tonic, and does good to both mind and body.

The one danger of Tennis is, that the players become very warm and are liable to take a chill. This can easily be avoided if they will take the precaution of having a light shawl to put on when they stop playing,—during that delightful half hour before they all separate, wherein they discuss all matters, private or public, and listen to, or relate the latest thing in the way of station gossip. It would be wiser to go home and change instead of indulging in this half-hour's rest, but that is not always possible.

Unmarried girls in England, as a rule, take a very fair amount of exercise, and the change of climate generally tells upon them less than upon their married sisters, because, as a rule, they have more time, more strength, and also more inducement to take exercise. When once they are married, the cares and troubles of a family soon begin to interfere with their recreations. When there are two or three little ones to be cared for, who cannot safely be left to the tender mercies of native ayahs (the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!) and who cause the young mother's rest to be broken at night, the morning ride is gradually discontinued, or if persevered in, is not enjoyed as it was when she could rise in the morning refreshed by a good night's rest. Her pleasant little camping expeditions have to be given up, for it is difficult, and rather unsafe to take a small family into camp. Her life, if she lives in a small station, or on a factory, becomes duller and duller, and unless she gets a change occasionally, is likely to effect both her spirits and her health. There are numbers of English-women in the tea and indigo districts, especially in the former, who often pass weeks without seeing another lady. The roads are frequently impassible for months together and the few neighbours who might meet together for Tennis, or for a quiet evening at Whist, are unable to do so, on account of the wretched state of the roads.

The monotony of mofussil life in India has a great deal to do with the want of health amongst those Anglo-Indians who are unable to go away for a change now and again. In large stations where there are a number of Europeans this is hardly felt, but for every large station, there are half-a-dozen small ones, where there is nothing doing, no excitement or amusement of any description, and where the few who are stationed there, live the dullest and most uninteresting life possible.

It is perhaps in the dulness of these small stations that the excuse lies, for the amount of gossip and scandal that goes on in them—but what is to be said for the larger one? It is a curious and most melancholy fact that there is hardly a station in India, large or small, where the residents live in harmony together. Whether the climate is to blame for making people

peculiarly touchy and ready to take offence, or the want of healthy employment and amusement gives them too much time to think over small and trifling matters, or from whatever cause it arises, it is an undeniable fact that there are few stations where the residents pull well together.

Some people say it is entirely the fault of the ladies, but it is hardly fair to put it all down to them, as it not unfrequently happens that unpleasantnesses arise about purely official matters. It is hardly possible for two men to disagree seriously on official matters, and for it not to effect their private life. It is fortunately a rare occurrence that if the quarrel is a private one, it is allowed to affect the official conduct of either party, but it does effect the sociability of everyone concerned. For any two families to be on bad terms with each other, inflicts an injury on all their friends. Mrs. A. and Mrs. B. quarrel, no one knows, or cares why; but the result is that no one can ask them to meet each other, and if Mrs. A. is invited Mrs. B. is hurt at it, and if Mrs. B. is asked Mrs. A. is hurt, and so it goes on. It is almost useless trying to heal these absurd little station squabbles, which are not worthy of the name of quarrels, the original cause is frequently forgotten, but the sore is kept open by a score of small annoyances. Nowhere does the advice of the poet to "beware of entrance to a quarrel,"—need to be followed more carefully than in Indian society. If once a slight disagreement occurs, the spark is quickly fanned into a flame that consumes all former friendliness, and injudicious advisers are seldom wanting to carry tales of what each party has done and said, and so add fuel to the flames, and the quarrel spreads, and others are drawn into it, even against their will. It is marvellous how the most peaceful and innocent people are drawn into these storms in tea-cups. They may not have the slightest wish to annoy, or offend anyone, and yet they are accused of doing so; a sympathetic friend or acquaintance finds out a reason for the imaginary affront, and there are all the materials necessary for a good station squabble. There would be many fewer of these senseless and annoying *brouilleries* the parties concerned would refuse to listen to any third party, but ask each other plainly in what they have offended. How often the answer would be, "so and so says that you said so and so," &c., &c., when no such thing has been said.

Not unfrequently the time-vexed question of precedence gives rise to grievous heartburnings, and although the subject is one that generally concerns the fair sex, strange to say, it is one that the gentlemen frequently feel aggrieved about: Mr. A. would like to know why Mrs. B. was taken into dinner before his wife, and so on, and so on. Any one

who has tried to pour oil on the troubled waters of these petty and ridiculous, but never ending quarrels, must know what a hopeless task it is. It is exceedingly difficult even to steer clear of them, but the surest way to do so is to believe nothing and repeat nothing of the ordinary station gossip ; and if any coolness arises, go direct to the offended party and ask the reason of the coolness ; if it arises with a friend whose friendship you do not care to lose, and if it is not, why let the matter pass, but be careful neither to talk of it, nor listen to anything about it, except from the parties themselves.

Concerning the subject of gossip and scandal, there is little to be said. " Ill weeds grow apace," and these weeds of Indian society appear to thrive and assume large proportions in every district in India. Who the originators are, and whether the many hurtful and annoying scandals that get spread about are the result of malicious falsehood, or of innocent gossip, that gathers moss, or rather mud as it rolls, is never found out. All scandal is put down to the ladies' account, but a large amount of it could with justice be accredited to the clubs, chummeries and mess-rooms. That every piece of scandal that is once afloat, is caught up and repeated, is hardly to be wondered at, considering how appetising a well seasoned dish of scandal is to most people, even to the nobler sex, especially when it is contrasted with the very weak and tasteless topics of conversation that are usually dished up for their edification.

There are certain subjects of conversation—if it can be called conversation—that ought to be tabooed at all social gatherings, so heartily tired are most people of hearing them ; and yet they are always being brought forward. The servants, the boxwallah, the bazar, and the children, ought to be excluded from polite society and kept for the private edification of those who wish to hear about them. The subject of children and their perfections are interesting only to their parents and very intimate friends ; the boxwallah's boxes may be full of the greatest household treasures and bargains ; the bazar rates may be never so dear or so cheap, and the servants never so troublesome, or so invaluable, but it is wearisome to listen to, or to be obliged to talk of these subjects always.

It would surely be better to talk *up* to the tastes of the well-educated, intellectual portion of the community, or even to listen to them, than to talk *down* to the level of that portion of it, who are content day after day to ring the changes on these few and uninteresting topics. It is wonderful with what renewed interest they are brought forward on all occasions : a few remarks on general news, a few grumbles at the rate of exchange, and insensibly the talk slips into the old grooves.

unless, indeed, there is a savory dish of scandal to be discussed, a poor victim, probably an innocent one, to be sacrificed by the scandle-mongers.

There would be fewer of these pests of society if there were fewer idle people. Idleness tempts many to break the eleventh commandment: ("Mind your own business, and let your neighbour mind his,") who if they had plenty of occupation would have no temptation to do so. Most ladies keep a tailor at work all the year round, and unless their family is a large one, have no occasion to do much plain needle-work themselves. It is much better for a lady who has only her own needlework to do, not to keep a tailor; where there are no children it is an unnecessary luxury, and leaves more time on her hands than is advisable in a country where there are so few means available of occupying it profitably or agreeably. There are many hours in the day, especially in the hot weather, that have to be got through somehow; the busy housewife, who has children to look after and work for, and who is not rich enough to employ a numerous staff of ayahs, bearers, and durzies, finds no difficulty in getting rid of the hours. But what can those who have no children and plenty of servants do during the long hours when their husbands are in office, or on their factories? They lead an idle life, and not unfrequently a useless life.

With no excitement in their lives, and little, if any change, unless they keep themselves well employed, and occupy themselves with more wholesome subjects than those already mentioned, *viz.*, their servants, &c., &c., and the shortcomings of their neighbours, their tone becomes perceptibly lower, until at last they do not even care for any more rational method of passing their time, and allow all their talents to become rusty and useless. How often is the request for music or singing met with the unsatisfactory answer: "I used to play, but I am quite out of practise."

In the case of those who have not the means to indulge in a life of idleness, the result is too often the same, although the end is reached by a different route,—a different, and a very much less blameworthy, but a very much less easy one.

The woman whose whole time is occupied with household matters, and the care of young children, can hardly be blamed for allowing her piano to remain unopened, and her sketch book untouched; if all her energies are devoted to making her husband's income cover their expenses, and her talents to the cutting out and contriving of small garments, it is not to be wondered at that in time her thoughts and ideas rarely rise above these matters. There are a number of English-women in India who lead as busy a life as any English house-

wife, with many more discomforts and annoyances, and none of the healthy pleasures of English home life. The trials and troubles of this numerous class are so many, that they must have a chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER II.

THE general idea amongst the friends and relations of Anglo-Indians who have no experience of India themselves, is, that everyone living out here is well off, and leads a life of ease and luxury. It is hardly necessary to say that this idea is a false one. For every "Burra Sahib" who draws good pay and can afford every luxury that is to be had for money, there are a dozen "Chota Sahibs" whose pay, although it appears to be very good in the eyes of his home people, is barely sufficient to keep him in even a moderate amount of comfort.

When a young girl marries a man whose income is not less than Rs. 500 a month, her friends and relations naturally think that that sum is sufficient to ensure her having a very comfortable home, and when the amount reaches Rs. 700 or 800, they conclude that she and her husband are very well off. If there are no children, and no old debts to be paid off, they are, if not rich, at least very comfortably off, but otherwise they cannot be said to be so.

In the first place, Rs. 700 does not represent £70 as it used to, and as most people at Home still calculate that it does. They would appreciate the difference if for every £70 of their income they received only £57. Even this in the eyes of the good folks at Home, who probably married on much less, for very few professional men start in life with that much income, is a good one; but in India it dwindles away until it is so small, that the amount of comfort derived from it is quite disproportionate to the amount of hard work and the hardships that have to be gone through to obtain it. There are many expenses to be met with in India that do not occur in England.

In the first place, all Anglo-Indians are exiles, and must pay a heavy tax for being so, as when their leave is due, they have to take a long and expensive journey before they reach their home, and they must put by some portion of their income every year, to enable them to go to Europe and back, if not for their own sakes, for that of their wives and children. English children, that is to say, children born of pure European parents, cannot stand the climate of India, they sicken very quickly, and even if they live, they grow up weak and feeble not only in body but in moral strength as well. The income that was ample when the young couple started in life, is no longer so when the expense of sending three or four or even one

or two children to Europe has to be incurred. The income does not increase in proportion to the expenses. The children have to be sent home and kept there at a ruinous cost for a poor man, suitable provision has to be made for them in case of their father's death, and the subscriptions to the funds are some of them very heavy. A subscription of Rs. 70 per month does not ensure by any means a large amount for a widow and three or four children, in the usual pension or insurance funds, but what man in England would think of paying that amount out of an income of from £ 500 to 800? If the wife, as well as the children, live in Europe, and the husband has to live sparsely and lodge poorly to provide for them, he may well regret having ever married, but if his wife remains with him, and takes upon herself—as a good wife should—the burden of all household economies and worries, their Indian home may be a very happy one, although it is nothing like the luxurious one that their home-folk imagine it to be.

But how often does it happen that a wife remains with her husband the full term of his service? The few—the very few—who do so are, without doubt, the happiest wives in India. Their marriages are generally those of affection, and having chosen their husband from affection, and not from interested motives, they stay with him, as a matter of course, without allowing the thought of a possible separation to disturb their happiness, and who never hesitate—when the time comes for their children to require a change to a healthier climate—to part with them, rather than with their husband. They marry the husband and not the children, and they can find many people in Europe to take care of their children (in consideration of being handsomely paid for so doing), and to bring them up as well, perhaps even better. (although no mother will admit it) than they can; but who can take care of the husband? Who will attend to those small comforts that he has grown accustomed to, or nurse him in sickness, or make his home, probably a lonely one in some small out-station, bright and cheerful, and by entering into all his cares and troubles, lessen their power to depress and dishearten him? Who will do this—if a wife deserts her post, and leaves him to bear the “heat and burden of the day” alone?

The struggle in leaving the children is a very hard one, and can only be fully understood by those who have gone through it themselves. Good and loving wives are generally good and loving mothers, and to part with their children for the best and brightest years of their life, is a trial that nearly breaks their hearts. The touch of those soft little hands, clinging to theirs, the sound of the merry voices, or the piteous look in the tearful eyes when the last farewell was—not spoken—for a farewell such

as that cannot be spoken, but pressed on the soft clinging lips, will haunt them for years, long years of absence during which they are deprived of all a mother's delight in seeing their little ones, and caring for them themselves. The mother knows that she will never see those *children* again; they will be nearly grown up when she meets them, and she will be almost a stranger to them; she knows this, and feels it deeply, and yet she also knows and feels, that deep as her grief may be at being deprived of her children, it would be still deeper if she had to be parted from her husband, and that her conscience would keep her on the rack, fearing all manner of evils for him, in the years of their separation.

That she also fears for her children is true, but the consciousness that she is away from them from no fault or choice of her own, but because her husband's lot, and consequently her own, is cast in a country in which they cannot thrive, makes the fear she entertains on their behalf, less unendurable than it would otherwise be. The very effort required to restrain, to a certain extent, the outward expression of her grief, lest by giving way to it she should make her husband think that she regretted having left them, helps her to subdue it; and, having remained with him, she is too generous to let him feel to the full extent the sacrifice she has made, or to allow her longing for her children to sadden his home, and prevent her from making it cheerful and bright.

Although ill-health is the usual reason for making a change to Europe "absolutely necessary," to most of the ladies who crowd the decks of the Homeward bound steamers, very few cases can be found where the woman who has nobly and unselfishly remained in India with her husband throughout his service, has suffered more than those who have wasted their lives and their substance in running backwards and forwards in search of health, although they have been exposed to the evil effects of the climate for many more years. In the end they are no doubt greatly broken down in health, but so also are many of those who have sought to avoid this natural consequence of a residence in such a climate as that of India, by running away from it every now and again.

The cost of educating children in England lays a heavy burden on the parents in India; at the rate of exchange that has prevailed of late years, it not unfrequently leaves them with barely enough to live upon, and the necessity of saving enough to defray the cost of the few journeys home that are possible and unavoidable, compels them to practise so strict an economy, that the "luxury" of an Indian life is beyond their reach.

As a rule, parents are very unselfish, and deny themselves a great many comforts that in their younger days they considered

indispensable, rather than run the risk of their children being less well educated and cared for than they would wish them to be, by placing them in cheaper, and perhaps less reliable, schools or families. What really careful or loving mother hesitates between the new dresses, &c., that she most certainly requires, and the extras that must be paid for her girl every now and again, or what father does not curtail his tailor's bills until his wife's ingenuity is taxed to the utmost to hide frayed edges, and worm seams, that his son may be kept at a first, instead of a second class school.

This life of constant self-denial and economy in every detail of household expenditure, however noble the motive of it may be, has an injurious effect on those who have to practise it year after year. The men do not, or at least should not, suffer from it to the same extent as the women, as the petty details of housekeeping do not fall to their share, and they have more change and variety in their lives. The perpetual struggle to make both ends meet, added to the sickness and anxiety that falls to their lot, causes most women to age very quickly. It is very seldom that they are 'fat, fair and forty,' unless "their lines have fallen in pleasant places," or they have no children.

Where there are children there must be anxiety, and although their presence in the house tends to brighten it, and give it a charm that is never present in the house that is without a child, the difficulties of rearing and training these tender little plants, in an atmosphere that is morally and physically unfit for them, is great; especially where there are not the means to admit of European nurses being employed.

In some parts of India the native servants are much better than in others, but nowhere are they sufficiently trustworthy to justify a mother in leaving her children in their charge. The best of them have no sense of truthfulness or honesty, and will yield to a child in everything, no matter how wrong it may be, and the worst of them are fiends who, to save themselves trouble, or to gratify themselves, will neglect or drug their little charges without the slightest compunction; and the mother who would not care to run the risk of having her child drugged to make it sleep soundly at night, or bathed in scalding hot water, or plunged into a cold bath, or otherwise ill-treated, must keep it with her at night, and bathe it herself, and never leave it in a native woman's charge more than she can possibly avoid.

In the case of elder children, it is not only their bodily health that has to be cared for, it is even more difficult to keep their minds healthy than their bodies. The whole moral tone of native servants is so low, as to render it a matter of necessity that children should be left with them as little as possible, if the parents wish them to retain their innocence and freshness.

Even the women have no idea of common decency, and will carry on a conversation of the lowest description before children. The difficulty in teaching Anglo-Indian children to be truthful, honest and straightforward, is only to be overcome by keeping them from the native servants, and this is not always easy when there are several of them, or when the mother is not strong.

The dread of seeing her little ones grow up with the taint of the country on them, and the misery of seeing their little faces grow thinner and paler year by year, often induces a mother to give in to the general custom, and go home for ~~their~~ ^{her} sakes, and it serves in a great measure to reconcile her to the subsequent separation from them.

But the trial above all others that wrings a mother's heart is to see her child fading, gradually but surely, and to hear the kind doctor, who has wisely and considerately withheld his usually welcomed advice of "go Home," (knowing the difficulties in the way of its being followed) until he feels that he cannot conscientiously do so any longer, acknowledge that it is the only hope for the child's life; and yet be unable to follow it for want of the necessary funds.

A heavy debt is then added to other difficulties, for the money has to be borrowed, or the child's life sacrificed. If no English-women went home but those who were obliged to do so from some such urgent reason and not for every ordinary illness, and if they would resist more steadily the mistaken idea that all ailments are to be cured by a voyage to Europe, there would be fewer men living solitary and perhaps unsteady lives, and fewer sickly wives, wandering about in search of health and filling the pockets of the P. & O. Company's shareholders with their husband's hard-earned money.

For those who go home without very sufficient reason there is no excuse. There are many such to be seen on board the homeward steamers, languid, used-up invalids when they weep pathetic adieu to their too indulgent husbands at Garden Reach or the Appolo Bund, and bright, lively companions, ready to join in all the amusement that are going on before their tears are well dried. There is no sight that tends to make men more sceptical as to the virtues of womenkind, and the blessings of matrimony, or that lowers women more in their eyes than that of the easily-consoled wife, who laughs and chats gaily as she goes on shore with her last new admirer, to telegraph a touching message to her deserted husband. Of such as these the less said the better.

When once the difficulty of educating the children in Europe is over, and the sons are started in life, or the daughters can be brought out to live with their parents, the latter can enjoy

life far more. The Indian home that is blessed with fair young daughters, is perhaps as happy a one as there is to be found, and it is a pity that it is so soon broken up by their marriage; for well-educated, carefully brought up and lady-like daughters do not remain long unmarried in India, and although the general idea is that parents are never content until they have settled their daughters comfortably in life, many of them would prefer their remaining with them a few years longer, and settling in England, and not in the land of their own exile; which they themselves are only too glad to leave, and shake it dust from off their feet.

AN ENGLISH-WOMAN IN INDIA.

ART. VIII.—MEDIÆVAL INDIA.
THE CHAGHTAI CONQUEST.

THREE weeks after the victory at Panipat, Bábar took possession of Agra, which the Lodi monarchs had made the capital of the Empire. Here he found Humaiun engaged in making friends, among whom were the family of the deceased Raja of Gwalior. From them, among other offerings, the conqueror received the *Koh-i-nur* Diamond, which, until it passed into British hands, was always believed to bring ill-fate on its possessor. Bábar extended his protection to the refugees; also making provision for the mother of the deceased Sultán, Ibrahim, and for her household. Nevertheless the Mughols were, for some time, most unpopular, and the surrounding country broke into chronic rebellion. The ills of climate were superadded; the hot weather had begun, the fields were desolate, there was neither food for man nor fodder for beast. The foreign troops, accustomed to the fresh breeze of the Afghan hills, were prostrated by heat and decimated by apoplexy. Many of the officers proposed to retire towards Kabul: but Bábar arrested the movement by a manly expostulation. Ultimately only one chief was found to abandon his leader.

To add to all this trouble, the terrible Sang Rám or Sanka, the Rána of Udaipur (who had affected friendliness so long as the Patháns ruled at Agra and the Chaghtais were afar) now appeared in arms and captured a fort held by a chief friendly to Bábar. Encouraged by this success Rána Sanka advanced towards Agra, with the intent to contest with the Mughol the possession of Hindustan.

In their mountain fastnesses the chiefs of his race had presumed their independence, but their traditions regarded the people of the Northern mountains as the hereditary foes of the Aryan races, and as their destined supplanter in Hindustan. Rána Sanka defied the augury and formed a confederacy of the Rajputs to strike a blow for empire. The year 1526 wore away in minor operations. Humaiun conducted a successful campaign in Bahár, occupying Jaunpur. Bábar was put in possession of the Fort of Gwalior. Having thus swept his immediate field of action clear of Muslim rivals, Bábar assembled all his available forces; and in the month of October, marched south-west from Agra to relieve Biána which was threatened by the Rajput army.

By comparison of Bábar's narrative with that of Tod, the historian of the Rajputs, we find that some time was now wasted in negotiation. The Mughol army was encamped at Sikri,

about half way between Agra and Biána ; and Sanka had long been in the habit of corresponding with Bábar, whom—as already mentioned—it had been his interest to conciliate as long as their common foes, the Lodis, were in possession of the Empire. Whether or no Bábar still hoped to preserve friendly relations with him, and through him with the Rajputs, correspondence appears to have been still proceeding when the accidents of proximity brought it to a sudden end. One morning a young and zealous Mughol officer, named Aziz, being in temporary command of the advanced guard, precipitated events ~~by going~~ within ten miles of the Rajput camp at the head of fifteen hundred horse. The enemy's pickets gave the alarm and a large body of his cavalry attacked Aziz. Confusion ensued ; a yaktail standard was taken, and many Mughols were made prisoners. Bábar hurried reinforcements to the front. The retreat was covered by a superior officer named Mahammed Ali Jang. Bábar in person bringing up some guns in further support.

Bábar was now seriously anxious. As at Pānīpat, he entrenched his army and protected his artillery. At the same time he bethought him of his sins, and resolved to abjure wine. The whole of the plate used in drinking festivities was ordered up, everything was hammered to pieces, the fragments were distributed among the needy. This public act by no means added to the spirits of the troops ; on the contrary, despondency and desertion became common, and Bábar found himself compelled to adopt the most solemn means of appealing to the zeal of his followers, and Swore them on the Koran to conquer or to die upon the field. At the same time he, for the first time in his life, allowed his beard to grow on the chin.

Thus wore away the pleasant cold season of those regions. On the first day of the Persian year—all Bábar's civilisation was borrowed from Persia—active steps were adopted. It was Tuesday the 12th of March 1527 when the adventurers, finding the Hindus hanging back, resolved to assume the offensive. The camp was broken up, and an advance made to Kánhwa, a march nearer to Biána. Here, once more, the guns were ranged in front, the musketeers being behind them, and the cavalry upon either flank. Some further skirmishing took place, and a last attempt at negotiation ; and then, on Saturday the 16th, Bábar attacked in person at the head of his cavalry, having by that time arrived within four miles of the enemy's camp. The danger, as is often happens, melted on being faced ; the Hindus were paralysed by the fire of the guns to which they had nothing to oppose, and by the weight of the men-at-arms mounted on Turkman and Afghan horses, by whom—according to Bábar's usual tactics—they were enveloped on flank and rear. They broke after a fierce struggle which

lasted all the day ; many of their chiefs and leaders fell ; a great number of prisoners were taken ; the doughty Sánkā saved himself by flight. The pursuit, however, was inefficient, and Bábar takes great blame to himself for not having conducted it in person. A pyramid of the enemy's skulls, the usual Turkmán fashion, commemorated the fight.

Among the chiefs who had fallen on the side of the Hindus had been Hassan Khán, who had succeeded to the government of Mewát over which his family had held a quasi-independent sway for nearly two centuries. The country was to the south-west of Delhi, a group of confused hills, about ~~Kewari~~ and Alwar. It is not clear what were its precise limits, but it must have been of considerable extent, since Bábar says that the revenue was over three "crores," meaning, apparently, about two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our money—more than the whole land-revenue of the province of Agra as given in his memoirs. At this period, we are told, that the usual capital was Tijára ; but Alwar was one of the chief fortified towns, and at that moment the seat of Government. Hassan Khán's son submitted and was pardoned with an assignment of land. Tijára was conferred upon one of the Turkish nobles and Alwar on another.

Having made these arrangements, Babar advanced into Rajpután, lent upon striking a final blow at the Rána of Udaipur, the redoubted Sánka. But a very strong place barred the road ; Chandairi, which had fallen into Sánka's hands towards the end of the Lodi dynasty, and was now held for the Rána by one of his men named Medini Rao, with a garrison of over 4,000 Rajputs—"pagans," Bábar calls them ; with him the Hindus are always "pagans," the native Muslims "Afghans," and his own people "Turks." His own officers he designates by the Turkish title of "Beks," using the generic Persian title "Amir" for all officers, whether his own, belonging to the native Muslims, or Hindus. What he was himself it might be difficult to say. His secretary Shekh Zain calls him "the Khakán," an old Tartar title. His true position was something between that of dacoit, or leader of bandits, and that of Emperor of Hindustan, which he, *de facto*, may be said to have attained at the time of his death some three years later on.

He was now, in the latter part of the year 1527 A. D., approaching Chandairi, but the approach was through a difficult country. He had to cut down the woods and to make a road for his guns and wagons as he proceeded. It took him six weeks to reach Chandairi. He found it a place of some strength. The town was fortified, the walls running along the slope of a hill, on whose summit stood the fort or inner citadel.

The artillery of the assailants was placed on an opposite mound, upon ground prepared for the purpose. Scaling ladders and screens having been prepared, the place was summoned, but Medini Rao refused to surrender. In a week's time all was ready, when suddenly a letter arrived from the eastward, announcing that the Turkish army had been defeated, driven out of Lucknow, and forced to fall back upon Kanauj. Bábar seems to have kept the news to himself for the time, and pressed on the assault. By night time his men had stormed the town and driven the garrison into the citadel. Next morning, having examined the locality, he found that there was one comparatively easy access to the gate by a path or covered way, leading down to the water that ran at the foot of the hill. Here, therefore, he placed his body-guard and the centre of his line, and at once commenced a simultaneous attack on all sides, of which that by the covered way was to be the most serious. The Rajputs made a stout defence; but a Beg named Sháham Nur found a bastion of the citadel joining on to a part of the town wall, and by climbing this he effected an entry. The force of the garrison posted at the covered way was driven in, and other parts of the walls were scaled. Then followed the horrible heroism habitual to a conquered Hindu garrison of those days. The defenders having slain their own women and children, stripped themselves to the skin, and rushing out sword in hand, renewed the fight. But the sally was in vain; the steady valour of the disciplined Mughols (to give them their proper name) prevailed. The survivors of the garrison fell on one another in Medini's quarters; ere the day declined the whole place was in the conqueror's hands.

Raising his customary pyramid of heads Bábar proceeded to call a council of his Beks. Chandairi was made over to Ahmud Sháh, the son of the Afghan, from whom Sánka had taken it. News came that Sánka was dead, and Bábar thinking the Afgháns of the East his more pressing danger, resolved, with the acquiescence of his council, on marching against them before taking further measures against the Rajputs.

Chandairi had fallen on a Thursday on the Sunday following, the army was in motion. Crossing the Jumna at Kinar, just below the confluence of the Chambal, he sent on a party of light troops to procure intelligence, and marched the main army with all possible despatch towards Kanauj. When within a short distance of that place, he met his scouts who brought information that the enemy was posted on the left bank of the Ganges, just below Kanauj, prepared to contest the passage of the river.

Bábar adopted the measures of a good officer, laying hands on

all procurable boats he found himself in possession of a number sufficient to throw a sort of pontoon bridge over the stream. It was now about the end of winter, a period when the rives in Upper India, deriving their supplies from the Himalayan snow, are at their least width and volume; a circumstance which must have much facilitated Bábar's operations. Planting a breastwork up-stream which he filled with matchlockmen, and placing a heavy gun upon an island below, he protected his men while they were at work. In less than a fortnight the bridge was completed; and on the third day after (a Friday), the army effected the passage and established itself on the left bank, though resisted by the enemy. Bábar admits that, having obtained, this measure of success, he ought to have at once gone on; but he sacrificed his plans to a puerile crochet. For some unintelligible reason he resolved to fight on Sunday, thereby losing a day. The enemy profited by the delay to decamp, and Bábar had to be content with occupying Lucknow and the surrounding country.

From this expedition Bábar returned to Agra, whence he went on a visit to Gwalior. While there he received a messenger from the son of the late Rana Sanka, whose speedy submission showed the wisdom of the determination to deal vigorously with the Afgháns and the prestige that had been gained by the success of that campaign.

In the beginning of 1529 more bad news came from the eastward, and once more the indefatigable leader, riding in one day from Gwalior to Agra, put himself at the head of his army. It is to be noticed that the Pathán Chief, Sher Khán—soon to become so famous—had absconded from Bábar's Court, and about this time appeared in the ranks of the Native Muslim insurgents whom he was afterwards to lead to temporary triumph. For the time, however, the Mughol star continued to ascend; Bábar marched down the Duát, raised the siege of Chunár by the mere alarm of his approach, and reached Ghazipur by forced marches. Here he opened negotiations with the Musulmán King of Bengal, and on these failing, gave him a sound chastisement after a long engagement in which the Bengalis appear to have fought with their backs to a river, and supported by a fleet of boats. The story is confused and of no great importance, for Bengal was left unmolested.

Early in September 1529 Bábar returned to Agra, and his charming autobiography comes to an abrupt end. It may be that his health broke down, and that the rest, thus at last realised, left him without spirit to continue the work of writing. He was now truly Emperor, and of a vast though incoherent Empire, extending from Badakshán and Kunduz, beyond the Hindu Kuah range including all Afghanistan, the Punjab,

Hindustan, Rajpután and Bahát. On the 26th of December 1530 he died peacefully at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age, having nominated as his successor his eldest son Humaiun, then in his twenty-second year: "Do not slay your brothers," he said at their last interview, "but watch them with care." He was buried in the beautiful garden on the left bank of the river, just above the city of Agra, known in modern times as "the Kám-bágh;" but his remains were in after years removed to Kabul, near which city his tomb is still to be seen. [For Burne's description of the tomb and its site, Erskine I, 517.]

Judged by his own record, Bábar was amiable, social, enduring of privation and labour, yet prone to pleasure; with small care for moral obligations, and but little taste for the civil duties of a ruler. No doubt has ever been thrown on the *Memoirs*—the *Wákiát*, or *Tuzak* of Bábar. Originally written in Chaghtai Turkish, they were translated into Persian by a member of the family in the reign of the author's grandson, the Emperor Akbar. They have been translated into French, in modern days, by M. Pautet de Courteille; an English translation of the Persian version has been made by the late Mr. W. Erskine, and copious extracts given in the fourth volume of *Dorson*. The book is one that can never fail to please; being no less than the "confessions" of a mediæval adventurer, who combined qualities not often found together, and whose speech is candid, while his observation is direct and genuine. Although professing Islam, Bábar is no bigot, and instead of "sending infidels to hell" is ready enough to negotiate with the *Rais* and *Kánas*, and to maintain them in dignity and usefulness. His opinion of the Hindus and their land was, however, decidedly and trenchantly unfavourable.

"Hindustan," says the conqueror, "is a country that has but little to recommend it. The inhabitants are not good looking, they have no idea of the pleasures of society; they have no genius or generalising talent, neither polish of manner, amiability or sympathetic feeling, neither ingenuity nor mechanical invention, nor knowledge or skill in architecture; they have no decent houses, good fruit, ice or cold water; their markets are ill-supplied; they have neither public baths nor colleges, neither candles nor candlesticks. If you want to read or write by night, you must have a filthy half-naked fellow standing over you all the time with a flaring torch."

This extract is not only interesting as a description—perhaps a little pessimistic,—of the state of Hindustan in Bábar's time, but as showing the comparatively high standard of his own notions of civilisation. In the copy of the Persian translation of the *Memoirs*, which belonged to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, there are about one hundred coloured drawings, which strongly

confirm this estimate. The portrait of the author and hero, in which the likeness is preserved throughout, is that of a thoughtful gentleman, with pale, oval face and small pointed black moustache, not unlike a Russian officer of Hussars of our own times.

The weaknesses of his administration have been pointed out by a very able contemporary. It has been mentioned that an Indian Muslim, named Sher Khán, had been at one time in the suite of Bábar, whom he left during the Chandairi campaign to take part in the rebellion of his countrymen in Bahár. He justified himself in these words:—"If work and fortune favour me I will drive the Mughols from India; for they are not our superiors in battle, or in single combat; but we Afghans have let the Empireship slip through our fingers by our own dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughols and observed their conduct, I have seen that they lack order and discipline. And their leaders from pride of birth and station neglect the superintendence of administration and leave affairs in the hands of officials in whom they blindly trust. These men act on corrupt motives in every case, whether it be a soldier's, a cultivator's, or a refractory zemindar's. From lust of gain they make no distinction between friend and foe."

The shrewd observer who made this diagnosis was now in something like the position occupied by Robert Bruce in Britain at the death of Edward Longshanks. The heir of Bábar was Humaiun, a Prince not destitute of chivalric qualities, but idle and dissipated, whose Bannockburn was awaiting him. For the first few years of his reign he conducted tedious and ultimately unsuccessful campaigns in Guzerát and Málwá, and in the intervals devoted attention to building a new fort in a part of Firoz Sháh's city near Delhi, to which he gave the name of Diorpan. Meanwhile the Afghans were fighting among themselves in Bahár and Bengal. In these quarters Sultan Mahmud, brother of the deceased Ibrahim Lodi, was still paramount; and being acknowledged by the majority of the Afghans as their ruler, was able to command for a time the allegiance of the Khán. With their united forces they occupied Jaunpur. This circumstance drew Humaiun into the field from which he was to retire after a struggle of three years, worsted and discomfited. It may, therefore, be taken as the occasion of saying a few words of the remarkable man to whom he was opposed, the fact in regard to whom having been recorded after his death, and the downfall of his short-lived dynasty may be regarded as free from exaggeration and oriental flattery.

Sher Sháh was originally named Farid: he was the grandson of an immigrant (of the Sur tribe) who came from the Afghán province of Roh—on the spurs of the Salaiman range—the

same from which the "Rohillas" afterwards got their name. The date of his birth is not to be found, but it must have taken place in the last ten or fifteen years of the fifteenth century. He was sent to Jaunpur for his education and gave proofs of early ability. While yet young he obtained charge of a district of Bahár. Here he displayed the originality of an earnest reformer, and laid the foundation of the system which was to become so great under Akbar. The union of humanity with energy is most exceptional in Asiatic statesmen, for their conduct is usually the result of impulse, and determined by the prevailing turn of individual character. All that Sher Khán (or Sháh) is known to have done shows reflection and principle. On taking charge of his first district he assembled the officials and the heads of the community. To the former he said that he had set his heart on the welfare of the tract, so that their own interests would be as much concerned in that object as his reputation could be. In the last resource success depended on the humble peasantry, who notoriously suffered from the corruption and oppression of those in authority. He had, therefore, determined on assessing the revenue on the measured area of the land, rewarding the collecting officials by a commission. The payment might be in cash or in kind, at the cultivator's pleasure. "I accordingly warn you," he said to the officials, "that if the people complain that you take more than what is so fixed, I shall myself take part in the audit, and shall debit the excess to you." Then, turning to the cultivating headmen, he added that the revenue would be collected with the utmost strictness; but so long as they paid a lenient assessment with punctuality they might always come to him with their complaints; he would allow none to oppress them.

Family troubles driving him from home, he went to Delhi and Agra in search of employment and patronage. Shortly before Bábar's conquest, he got an extended charge in Bahár, and it was about this time that he acquired the title of "Sher Khán." In the earlier part of Bábar's career, Sher Khán supported the Lodi cause in the eastern provinces; but in 1528 he joined the Mughol camp. As we have already seen he formed an unfavourable opinion of the character and habits of the adventurers. Perceiving his aspiring and energetic character, Bábar meditated his arrest; but the wary Afghan anticipated this, withdrawing from the camp during the Chandairi campaign. After various wars and intrigues he espoused the cause of Sultán Mahmud about the end of the year 1535, while Humaiun was engaged in Guzerát. Humaiun entertained thoughts of attacking him, but was glad to change his mind. Amusing the Emperor with insincere negotiations, the politic Afghán got possession of Chunár, and the Emperor turned

once more to his efforts in the West. Sher Khán, having leisure to work out his own plans, soon got rid of Sultán Mahmud who retired to Gaur in Bengal. Sher Khán persuaded the Mughol officers in Bahár of his loyalty, and for some time was left unmolested. At length (1537) Humaiun, having been entirely unsuccessful in Guzerát and Máwá, resolved to move down east and look into matters there for himself. Chunár, a strong place on the Ganges, resisting him, was taken on the 8th of January 1538. The circumstances of the siege are related with amusing detail by the equerry Jauhar (V. Dowson, 138 ff.) The time occupied must have been considerable, for we are told that the General in command occupied himself for no less than six months in constructing a floating battery, so as to complete on the water-side the investment that had begun by land. The garrison ultimately capitulated and much to Humaiun's displeasure, were treated with severity; but the offending commander was shortly after poisoned by some of his own officers whom he had offended.

While the Mughol army was thus employed, an officer of Sher Khán's had taken Gaur the capital of Bengal. At the same time that Chief himself got possession of Rohtás in the hilly country of Bahar, and congratulated himself on having, in these two places, gained more than he had lost in Chunár. He then turned towards the pursuing Emperor, who was no match for him in age or experience, and whom he deluded by false shows of submission. Humaiun agreed to return to Agra, leaving Bahár and Bengal as tributary provinces in the hands of Sher Khán. But the Emperor was as quickly diverted from this purpose by the arguments of a fresh negotiator in the person of the Lodi Prince Mahmud, who shook his faith in Sher Khán, and persuaded him to march upon Bengal. Sher Khán was equal to the occasion, and was favoured by fortune, as is the way with the bold. Mahmud died at this juncture; the Emperor was caught in a trap between Patna and Monghyr, when he lost his baggage, carriage, tents, and all the men in charge, and was blockaded for a month; after which, although he occupied Gaur at last, it was a barren triumph, from which he only gained fresh trouble after wasting four months there in luxurious repose.

About the end of the year 1538, news reached Humaiun at Gaur that trouble had arisen at Agra which required his presence there. Meanwhile Sher Khan, having gained the unanimous confidence of the too-often divided Afghans, had collected a compact force with which he resolved to attack the unfortunate Mughol monarch. Once more terms were offered, this time by the Emperor; but Sher Khán after allowing the Imperialists to pass by him, resolved, by the

advice of a clerical counsellor on breaking the truce, and suddenly falling upon the Mughol camp at a place called Chaunsa, where the Karmnása falls into the Ganges, drove them off in the direction of Agra. The Emperor and his staff fled with such precipitation, that their families fell into the enemy's hands. The Empress and other ladies were treated with all courtesy, and the conqueror was proclaimed King by the title of "Sher Sháh Sultan-i-Adili"—("Just Lord.")

In April 1540, Humaiun, having patched up the revolt at Agra, returned to the eastward. The two armies met at Kanauj, on the opposite banks of the Ganges, very low at that season of the year. Then took place the last negotiation. Sher Sháh, as he was now called, sent a herald to the Emperor to propose, not peace but terms of combat. If his Majesty preferred he would cross first, and if not, he would await his Majesty's pleasure where he was. The Emperor replied scornfully, that if "Sher Khán" would but make room, he would cross and give him battle. The Afghan Chief had thus gained his end, that is, his enemy would do battle with a river behind. Retiring about five miles he, with every appearance of courtesy, permitted the Imperialists to pass the river. When the passage was complete he reconnoitred and entrenched his army on the enemy's front. But the Mughols were weakened by desertions, and disheartened: "let us go," they cried (according to the testimony of one who was with them), "and rest in our own homes."

Skirmishes took place day by day, till the heat grew to a dreadful height; and the Ganges, swollen by the melting of the snow, began to run with a full current behind the Mughols. It was just the middle of May, and the early rains set in with unusual violence, so as to flood their camp which lay on the river-meadows. On the morning of the 17th the Mughol army moved out, resolved to take higher ground, if they had to fight for it. In the matter of fighting the Afghans were ready to indulge them. Leaving their intrenchments they moved out in a long line, the Sháh himself leading the centre. On the Mughol centre rode the Emperor, but he was ill supported. Twenty-seven chiefs entitled to *Tughls* (yak, or horse tail standards), who led the left of the Imperial line, concealed those insignia from fear of attracting the enemy. "From this," says Haidar Mirza who had a command among them, "conduct of the officers may be formed some notion of the courage of the men." Sher Sháh's force was estimated by this observer at no more than 15,000 horse; while the Imperialists were 40,000 strong with abundant artillery. But each chief was surrounded by pampered pages

and light-armed followers, who were absurdly placed in the front ; these were at once routed, and in their route hampered the advance of the men-at-arms of their side. "Before the enemy had discharged an arrow, we were virtually defeated, not a man being wounded, either friend or foe, not a gun was fired." The steel-clad horsemen clattered into the mud, and plunged into the brimming stream ; and the only deaths that happened were, when they were drowned. Humaiun was led to the river by an unknown cavalier in black who seized the bridle-rein. Here he found an elephant on which he got across, being helped out on the other side by some bystanders. Hurrying to Agra he made but a short halt there ; his mind was disturbed ; he spoke of supernatural beings who had appeared on the Afghán side. Arrived at Lahore he met his brothers, but one of them, Kámram who had deserted before the battle of Kanauj, was determined to hold the Punjab and Kábul on his own account : and the alarm of pursuit becoming urgent, the luckless Humaiun was fain to depart hurriedly to Sind.

We need not follow his wanderings. For nearly fifteen years he disappears from the history of India ; and our only present concern with him is to enquire into the reasons of the revolution. The first and greatest is the character of his opponent. Sher Sháh was an extraordinary man, and to a genius, such as his, all things are possible. The ingrained faults of the Páthán character are perfidy and disunion ; but as he was never perfidious towards friends, he was able to win confidence, and out of confidence to build union. On the other hand, the Emperor was young ; he had characteristic weaknesses, and laboured under the heavy disadvantage of having been born in the purple. His followers, too, were fine gentlemen, above all work except fighting, till at last they were unequal even to that. And the kingdom of Kábul, whence he might have expected to draw reinforcements of hardier men, was in the hands of the unfaithful Kámram ; so he was overthrown and driven out. After a series of toilsome and perilous wanderings—which are narrated with pathetic simplicity by his constant attendant Janhar—he found an unquiet asylum with the Shia King of Persia by whom he was forced to embrace his heretical creed. Meanwhile his successful rival built up anew the throne of Hindustan, which he finally ascended at Delhi on the 25th of January 1542.

The whole of his brief administration—he must have been by this time a man of nearly sixty—was based on the principle of union. A devout Muslim, he never opposed his Hindu subjects. The disputes of his own people he suppressed with all the energy of his nature. He laboured day and night. For, he said, "it behoves the great to be always active."

In the first hour after sunrise Sher Sháh performed his devotions, and then turned to the business of the day, beginning with a parade, after which he conversed with his officers and men. He then went over his accounts, and gave audiences. After two and a half hours of such work came breakfast, in the society of pious and learned men ; then more business. After the noonday prayer, he took a little rest ; on rising he read a portion of Scripture, and then fell to work once more. He divided his territory into hundreds, in each of which were local officers whose place it was to mediate between the people and the officers of the crown. Not content with the administrative side of social reform, he went beyond most Muslim rulers and attempted a certain crude legislation. The nature of the attempts attributed to him shows that a critical moment was passing in mediæval India. His ordinances touched on almost all the primary parts of administration, and evince a real care for the people's welfare. Thus, if thefts or robberies could not be brought home to the actual offender, the heads of the commune in whose borders the offence occurred, were called on to satisfy the authorities that the criminals had not found harbour with them, and to trace them to another village. This may seem a rude method ; but it has been used in later times, and has worked well in similar circumstances. Still more was such responsibility enforced where the crime had been complicated with bloodshed. Protective methods were not neglected ; walled enclosures were provided along the roads for travellers to rest in at night with their property secure about them. If any such died upon their journey, the property they left was taken care of till the heirs could be found. Customs were only levied twice on merchandise, once on the frontier, once in the market ; bad economy, but preferable to the usual practise of taking toll at every possible opportunity. All these regulations were well calculated to protect a nascent system of inland traffic. Of the Sháh's system of land-revenue we have had a glimpse, and need only add that he continued *qualis ab incepto*, the intelligent protector of the humble peasant on whom, as he said, the prosperity of an agricultural realm must ultimately depend. One great source of discontent and unthrift among eastern cultivators is due to the exactions of officials on tour, and of marching troops. To reduce this evil to a minimum the Sháh, on his progress, inspected the wayside crops, and placed mounted guards over them. When fields were wantonly injured, he had been seen by eye-witnesses to take vengeance with his own hand ; the owners were immediately compensated. These things seem to show that the usual population was still sparse, and the tillage dependent on a scanty supply of labour, necessitating care for the comfort, and contentment of the peasantry.

Even in marching through an enemy's country, the people were not to be molested, "for," said the Sháh, "if we drive them away our conquests will be of little profit."

All this has an importance extending beyond the immediate time. After the Mughol restoration, Sher Sháh's officials passed into Akbar's service; the faults imputed by the Sháh to what he called "Mughol" administration—but which are common to all Turks—were prevented; and this far-sighted man even after his death and the subversion of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by mediæval Indian rulers for the good of the people.

Especially did the Sháh watch and control his subordinates. Officials from his Court were strictly associated with local officers, and were compelled to pay for their own articles of consumption at full prices in open market. No officials were allowed to remain in the same place more than two years.

And so, for this brief space, "the land," as the Sháh himself boasted, "had peace from the borders of Oude to the Sutlej river." A royal highway ran from one point to the other, crossed by one from Agra to Burhanpur on the limits of the Deccan; and daily posts carried letters from one end of each to the other. A third road ran from Agra across Rajputan, and a fourth connected the cities of Multan and Lahore. Lastly, the Sháh made a point of completing the new fort of Humaiun at Delhi, where he built a mosque, that is still standing, the pride of the later Pathán school of architecture.

On the 22nd of May 1545, this marvellous man met the "petty fortress and the dubious hand" from which no hero can count on safety. He was besieging Kálinjar when he was struck by the splinter of a tumbil near which he was standing, when it was exploded by a shot from the ramparts. Taken into his tent he lay for two days, conscious and thinking of his duty to the last. On being remonstrated with for giving way to low spirits, he said he had three or four regrets. He was sorry that he had not moved the tribesmen from the hills of Roh (mentioned above as the cradle of his family) to be a military colony in the Eastern Punjab and watch the attempts of the Mughols from the direction of Kábul; next, he ought to have destroyed Lahore which was sure to be the base of the next invasion; thirdly, he meant to have provided facilities for Indian believers making the pilgrimage to Mecca; lastly, he should have built on the field of Panipat a monument in honour of Sultan Ibrahim, and another to the Mughol lords who had perished in the wars.

Sher Sháh's second son succeeded him by the title of Islám Sháh, and reigned nine years. He was an able but arbitrary and cruel ruler, under whom the old contentiousness of the Patháns, or Indian Afghans, revived; so that

the whole period was consumed in fruitless intrigues and fights, and in the constant depression of the nobility, without corresponding advantage to the people. Islam Sháh, Sur, died in November 1554. His son was murdered by the brother of the deceased ruler's wife, the boy's maternal uncle; fresh broils and rebellions followed. To such a pitch of imbecility had the Pathán aristocracy fallen, that the chief command of the army fell into the hands of a Hindu chandler named Hemu.

In the meanwhile Humaiun had become the father of a son, and had obtained the mastery of his refractory brothers. Kámrán, the most hostile, was taken and, after some hesitation, deprived of his eyesight, that precaution which, in this and other reigning oriental families, was held to incapacitate for the throne. Humaiun descended from Kábul in 1555 and took possession of Lahore. He then justified the prevision of Sher Sháh by making that city his base, from which he sent forward a force towards the banks of the Sutlej. Early in the year this force was met by the Pathán forces near Ambála, and at once advanced to the encounter. The Pathán leaders were in the very crisis of a quarrel, and failed to co-operate. Still the force that remained available was considerable. The first battle took place at Machwára on the banks of the Sutlej, where the Mughol advance was led by Bairám Khán, a Persian Turk, who had been captured and released by Sher Sháh in the sequel of the Kanauj campaign, and who had joined Humaiun during his wanderings. Crossing the river without being molested (or even perceived) by the negligent foe, Bairám caught them in a village which was set on fire during the action. All the early part of the night Bairám plied them with arrows and fire-arms, galled by which, and by the conflagration, they retreated, leaving the Mughols in possession of the country on both banks of the Sutlej down to Hariana, and leaving Delhi itself exposed. A second battle followed, in which the youthful Akbar took part, and was rewarded by his father.

The Sur family had now but one stay left, the Hindu above mentioned, who was at this time engaged in a campaign to the eastward. But enough had been done for the present, and the long-enduring Emperor contented himself with proceeding to Delhi. He made his entry on the 23rd of July, and at once began enjoying a brief repose soon to become—had he but known it—sound and long enough.

Our last glimpse of Humaiun is in peaceful worship. Within sight of the mosque of Sher Sháh, in the Dinpana, is an octagon building three storeys high, whose walls still show traces of painting, and which is traditionally known as "The Library

of Humaiun." Here, as the clear winter evening was gathering, the restored monarch was seated on the topmost terrace when he heard the Azán, or call to prayer from the neighbouring mosque. Rising suddenly to turn towards the western sky, he slipped in leaning his staff upon the polished floor. He fell upon the stair-head and was precipitated down the first flight of steps. The external hurt received must have been slight, for he walked home. This accident has been differently related. The account in the text is taken from the best authority and verified by personal observation on the spot.

The Emperor had been injured inwardly, and died after a few days' illness, on the 26th of January 1556, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His character was thus described by a friend and kinsman:—

"I have seen few possessed of so much natural talent and goodness; but, having dissolute and sensual servants, and associates of mean and profligate character, he contracted bad habits,—such as the excessive use of opium—and the work that devolved on him as a Prince he left entirely to them."

It must be added that his troubles, however attributable to faults of character, were borne with a bright and elastic mind, until the aid of able companions enabled him to bring them to an end.

How the Chaghtai conquest was completed and a period of peace and prosperity given to Hindustan of which Sher Sháh's brief reign had been the harbinger and dawn, that is a tale as wondrous as it is cheering to those who love human nature; but it belongs to a fresh period and demands a fresh chapter.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IX.—THE OPIUM QUESTION, OR “IS INDIA
TO BE SACRIFICED TO CHINA?”

- I.—*All about Opium.* Sultzberger, 1884. 110 Cannon Street, E. C.
II.—*Truth about Opium.* Biereton. Allan & Co.
III.—*Truth about Opium-smoking.* Bromhall. Hoddes & Stoughton.
IV.—*Friend of China.* Dyer Brothers, Paternoster Row.
V.—*Christlieb: Indo-British Opium and its Effects.* Nisbet, Berner Street.
VI.—*Vindication of England's Policy.* Haines, 1884. Allan & Co.
VII.—*China Yellow Book Opium.* II. Special Series No. 4. Shanghai, 1881.
VIII.—*England, China and Opium.* Fry. 1873. Bumpus Holborn.
IX.—*Opium Question Solved.* Arnold. Partridge & Co., 1882, Paternoster Row.
X.—*Opium Question.* Moule. Seeley, Fleet Street, 1877.

IN the midst of loud declamation and plenteous abuse, the Anti-Opium agitators neglect to grapple in a practical manner with the subject, or suggest any feasible remedy for the alleged evil. It is natural that this should be so, for, not understanding the formidable complications of the disease, how can they prescribe for the patient?

Not one word of ill-feeling shall pass from my pen: the problem is too solemn. If the agitators urge, that China is not to be sacrificed to the financial wants of India, the whole body of Anglo-Indians rise, as one man, to maintain that India shall not be sacrificed to the moral weakness of China. England has no direct interest in the matter: every rupee of the vast sums spent in the culture of the poppy, the manufacture of the drug, and its export by sea to China, is supplied by natives of India, or Anglo-Indians transacting business in India.

Let us clear away sundry topics which only cloud the discussion, and divert the mind from the real issue, which is—What shall be done in 1885?

I. The war of 1841-42 may, or may not, have been connected with opium in its origin (which is doubtful), or have been wicked (which is also doubtful); but whatever it was, it is an accomplished fact and a matter of history.

II. The war of 1857 arose entirely from the capture of a small vessel, and had nothing to do with opium. Be it recollected that Parliament was dissolved, and the matter was laid before the country, and the war was the direct result of the votes of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland. The people had the matter before them, and decided upon it. India was not consulted.

III. Peace was made, and certain ports were thrown open to all merchandize, opium not being mentioned. Beyond those Treaty-ports China is absolutely master of the situation, and nothing can pass out of those ports without paying an arbitrary excise duty, which can at discretion be made prohibitory. I have ascertained this fact from the most competent authorities, and, if there were any Treaty compelling China to admit opium beyond the Treaty-ports, I should join in the petition to have that treaty repealed. It is very true that if the Chinese were to forbid the passage of opium out of the Treaty-ports, smuggling would be resorted to along two thousand miles of coast by men of every nationality; but England, if it attempted to exclude French brandy, would run the same risk, and the Navy of the United States was not able to exclude the blockade runners during the cotton famine.

IV. The injurious effects of over indulgence in opium-smoking is admitted. But every nation has its prevailing vice, which must be attacked by moral arguments, not by the *Aim of the Flesh*. The Bishop of Peterborough rightly said that it would be better for men to be drunkards than slaves. The people of England extract twenty-eight millions annually from the intemperate habits of the English nation. There are worse things in China, a far greater moral contamination than opium-smoking. Why do the citizens of the United States, who admit all nationalities to their territory, exclude the Chinese? Because they bring with them a contamination which decent words cannot express.

V. If the habit of opium-smoking is so destructive of body and mind as the agitators say, it would tell upon the population. China, on the other hand, is like a full bowl, overflowing into every land—Australia, New Zealand, the Indian Archipelago, South Africa, and America. Other vices bring with them sterility, poverty, and national weakness. China is a power of unwieldy but gigantic strength: it has recovered all its lost ground on its North-East frontier, holds its own against Russia, and is holding its own against France, and

there are no signs of a decay in its arts, manufactures, or national power.

VI. If unhappy Ireland had a culture, a manufacture, and an article of export, which enabled the tenant to live in comfort, the landlord to receive his rent without fail, the State to levy an excise of eight millions on the export; if the population much larger than that of Ireland were indebted to this culture for social and undemoralized happiness and content, would the Parliament of Ireland consent to destroy this culture, and arrest this manufacture, because the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands or South America, were so uncontrolled in their appetites, and so abandoned in their proclivities, as to destroy themselves with overlibations of whisky? Yet such is the state of many millions in British India, to whom the culture of the poppy is as the wand of Fortunatus. Landlord and tenant welcome the arrival of the Opium Factory Agent, who pays upwards of a million in advance without interest, under contract, for delivery of the poppy juice, thus protecting the cultivator from the exactions of the village banker, and enabling him to pay his rent to his landlord, and enabling the landlord to pay his land-tax to the State.

VII. If India were a constitutional colony (and one excellent result of this agitation will be, that constitutional powers will be conceded to it for self-protection from selfish Englishmen), would it be expected that the Colonial Parliament would throw to the winds a revenue of eight millions, because irresponsible men in England take up one side of a question, and, forgetting the drunkenness of England, and the frightful injuries inflicted upon Africa by the English commerce in arms and liquors, sympathise with the debased Chinese opium-smoker, and its debased and mercenary rulers, who fill their despatches with moral saws and tolerate ineffable abominations?

VIII. "Begin at home" is a maxim which applies both to the English agitator and the Chinese Government. China will soon become, if it is not already, the largest opium producer in the world, and some even think that ere long it will export opium. Of one fact, however, there can be no doubt, that travellers in remote regions find the poppy cultivation and the opium pipe among tribes never visited by European, or accessible to the Indian drug. It is not clear that opium-smoking ever has prevailed outside China: in India it is totally unknown.

IX. With our streets at home inundated with intoxicating liquors, with our manufacturers sending out annually arms, ammunition, and rum to every part of unhappy Africa, so as to enable the aborigines who have survived down to the nineteenth century, and have outlived the foreign slave-trade, to destroy themselves by internecine war and drunkenness, of which they were ignorant before the arrival of the white man:

with human sacrifices and cannibalism still practised in marts to which our traders resort : with many forms of frightful cruelty and horrible crime rampant in countries to which we have access, are we to throw away the Empire of India in the vain and fanciful idea of keeping back a heathen Chinaman from his pipe, while we have failed to hold back a Christian Englishman from his pot ?

X. It is notorious that the surplus income of British India over the absolute necessities of the State are supplied by the wonderful and heaven-sent windfall of the opium revenue, and out of this surplus fund the Bishops with their Chaplains, and the grants-in-aid to the Missionary Societies for the Education Department have, for many years, been paid. If then this source of revenue be so tainted as the Anti-Opium agitators would have us believe : if it be an accursed thing, like the price of blood, the wage of the prostitute, the cost of a brother's soul, and the incense offered to Mammon, how is it that these holy men, these societies so outwardly blessed by the Almighty, can accept a part of the spoils and mingle it with the pure offerings of Missionary love and thanksgiving ? It is their duty before God and Men to reject the contamination. The Missionary Societies know very well from what source the surplus income of British India comes, and yet they do not hesitate to take their share.

XI. Amidst the agitators there are two camps—the platform orators, and the prudent Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, who must sometimes start at the utterances of the extreme members of his own party. We have heard the opium-trade likened to the slave-trade. What does this mean ? No doubt the slave-trade was a curse to the country which despatched the slaves, and a heavier curse to the country which received the slaves ; but the sympathy of the world was with the slave himself, a man of like passions to ourselves, and with an immortal soul. But the opium trade is one of the choicest and richest blessings to the country which exports it, blest at every stage of the transaction, and to every one concerned in it : to the country which receives it, it has neither brought depopulation, nor poverty, nor sterility, nor weakness, though to a large number (about two millions out of a population of four hundred millions,) of the debauched members of that nation it has supplied an opiate, more carefully prepared and of greater intrinsic excellence than the culture and manufacture of his own country can produce, or at least has as yet produced, for, in the ports of Mongolia the Chinese indigenous opium has driven out the Indian alien drug. We can scarcely suppose that any sympathy is felt with the fate of the opium ball : so the analogy with the slave trade falls to the ground.

XII. Then comes the question. The agitators sometimes urge that it is an Indian, sometimes an English question; but I never heard any one urge seriously that sevenpence in the pound should be added to the English Income-tax to make up for the loss of Revenue to British India, and that compensation should be given to the landlords and tenants and chiefs of Central India for the terrible loss caused to them by the abandonment of a profitable culture. Yet, if we have the strength of our convictions, we should rise to the dignity of paying the forfeit of our own misconduct. Sydney Smith gives an anecdote of the Bishops on one occasion feeding the starving populace with the dinners of the Deans and Canons, while they kept their own. When slavery was abolished, the twenty millions of compensation were paid by England and not by the West India Islands. An extremely moral sensitiveness should not be sordid, and attempt to make a scape-goat of a subject-empire to satisfy its own scruples, not shared by the people of India. A much larger sum (perhaps five-fold) than twenty millions would be required to supply the compensation to the agricultural and commercial interests wantonly injured by the Exeter Hall moralists. Nor would the Chinese be any the better for this Quixotic insanity.

XIII. Another line of argument brought forward in Exeter Hall is, that the suppression of the trade would cause India no loss at all. It is stated, with charming simplicity, that the area of culturable soil now occupied by the poppy would be at once transferred to cereals, which would be equally profitable and be a safeguard against famine. How little do such advocates know of the infinite trouble taken, during the last thirty years, to introduce into India other and more profitable products than cereals? How little does he reflect that a glut of cereals is the ruin of a country, unless the means of export are at a very high stage of development, which requires capital? Besides land under poppy culture pays its land-tax to the State, and rent to the landholder; and it will have to do the same if under garden-crops or sugar-cane: but over and above the land-revenue and rent, the opium pays an export duty of eight millions to the State, and who would dare place an export duty on any other crop? There would therefore be a dead loss to the State, but the landlord and tenant, in losing the poppy culture, would lose all their profit upon a profitable culture with a certain demand, and in the provinces under the Bengal monopoly, they would lose the opium advances, which fall annually in a shower of silver over the fortunate districts suitable for the cultivation of the poppy.

XIV. Herod and Pilate are reported to have become friends

on the occasion of the condemnation of an innocent prisoner. This reflection rises in the mind when we read of Cardinal Manning and the Earl of Shaftesbury joined in a strange alliance. In the Papal Bull of 1882, the British and Foreign Bible Society is described as the eldest daughter of Satan, and all Protestant Missionaries as propagators of lies, and yet the evidence which has convinced the Cardinal is supplied by these Missionaries. On the other hand, the Earl of Shaftesbury has over and over again denounced the Pope as the Father of Lies, and yet on the extremely complicated question of morality and politics, he appears on the platform and exchanges compliments with the Cardinal. The astute Cardinal would keep the monopoly which the Anglo-Indians are longing to get rid of, until he can find an opportunity to cut the culture, manufacture, and trade down root and branch: he would in fact cut off the heads of the poppy, as Rome once did of the martyrs, and as she would do again if opportunity offered. Lord Shaftesbury, as a practical statesman, would get rid of the State monopoly as a glaring offence, and leave to time and public opinion to correct the greater evil, which is inextricably entwined with the great cardinal principles of liberty, freedom of culture, freedom of trade, and freedom of export. Still the independent observer cannot but look on the sudden alliance of the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Primate with the Cardinal in a matter, the whole gist of which is mixed up with the efforts of Protestant Missions, as inauspicious and suspicious. Over and over again it is asserted that the opium traffic is the chief obstacle of Protestant Missions, and the Missionaries' Societies take it up as such without going into the question. Such being the case, the Cardinal was a strange ally: "*Nontali auxilio.*" I remark that Herod and Pilate met also to attack the Surgeons on the platform of the Anti-Vivisection Society.

I would not willingly say an unkind word against any Missionary: I am a Member of the Committee of the Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, and take an active interest in every attempt to evangelize India and China, assisting the work by addresses on platforms, by my writings, my subscriptions, and the devotion of the best part of my time to Committee work. Their motives are pure and above suspicion: their hostility to the opium-trade is inspired by respectable but mistaken feelings, roused by ignorance, or misconception of the real state of the case. The plummet line of their investigations does not reach the bottom. They do not appear to advantage in this controversy, as going out of their proper sphere, and displaying a narrow-mindedness, which is re- and markable. Some of them are indeed great men, of whom the world may be proud, but the majority are men of self-devotion

and probity, but moderate ability. Many of them who have rushed into this great controversy are not such as one would consult in the matter of the purchase of a horse, and still less rule an empire on their advice.

In their phraseology the great kingdoms of India and China, with their population of seven hundred millions, are often described as the kingdom of Satan : those of us who have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the people of India, know how untrue that description is of them, and it may be assumed to be equally untrue of China. The kingdom of Satan, if it were localized, would probably be found in some European capital. They fix on some particular evil which strikes their eye, and attribute to that evil their want of success in their field, forgetting that in other fields, where their particular evil does not exist, there is not much greater progress. For instance, caste is denounced in India, opium in China, cannibalism and slavery in Africa, and polygamy and idolatry everywhere. As a rule, owing to the necessity of acquiring the vernacular language, the transfer of a Missionary from one field to another is not possible : so a Chinese Missionary lives and dies with the conviction, that, if he could get rid of his bugbear opium, his way would be clear. Nor are those, who chronicle the works of Missionaries in Europe, wiser, for we read in a pamphlet by Dr. Christlieb, that he would recommend the English Government at once to throw up and abandon the millions obtained for India from the export of opium, *and trust to God to supply the deficit*. I write with all reverence, that empires are not built up and maintained on such principles. It is a pulpit utterance, not the counsel of a ruler. The Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Madagascar cannot see the impropriety of their employing slave-labour in their families. One of the last speeches made by the late Sir Bartle Frere, in a Religious Society, was to implore that Society to discontinue this encouragement of slavery, and selling of slaves, but in vain, for he was met by a Canon of St. Paul's with quotations from St. Paul to Philemon. I mention this only to show the extreme narrowness of view entertained in Missions, both in what they denounce, and in what they allow, for no other Christian Mission in Asia, Africa, America, or Australasia tolerate the existence of such practices as are justified in Madagascar by Missionaries of the Church of England.

Nor do the Missionaries recollect the famous words of Prince Kung—"Take away from us your Missionaries and your opium." Sir Rutherford Alcock has publicly stated that the enmity felt by the Chinese to the importation of foreign opium sinks into nothing, and will not bear comparison with the hatred felt and openly expressed for

Missionaries of all denominations and their doctrines, and it has been a constant trouble to the Ministers of the French, English and American Governments. Only this very year (1884) I read that at Fuh Chou placards were stuck up against the Missionaries. I do not justify the Chinese rulers or people, but I state facts, and it is reasonable to believe, that, if China recovered its independence, it would sweep away all treaties, and get rid of both subjects of annoyance. The Missionaries have, in China and elsewhere, directly and indirectly, done infinite good, and it would be wiser and better if they would not meddle in politics, leaving to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, and devoting themselves to the things of God. And I can truly say that throughout the length and breadth of India, with very rare exceptions, such has been the practice of Missionaries of every denomination. Unhappily in China the Missionaries have taken up political agitation, with very little advantage or success. Could these excellent men, whom I love even in their weaknesses, have a term of five years in Africa, how gladly, on their return to China, they would accept the Chinaman with his pipe, and try to win him by moral influences and the public press, could they be rid of the savage and the cannibal, the sorcerer and the executioner, whose presence weighs down the spirit of the Missionary on the Victoria Nyanza and the Niger?

The agitation has been re-echoed by a certain class in England. So long as the principle of repressing the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs is not adopted by the State for the people of England, it seems mere mockery and hypocrisy on the part of Englishmen to apply it arbitrarily to a nation not under their control. The Chinese, who are the consumers, and the Indian, who also is the producer, must laugh at the hypocrisy of a nation, of which drunkenness is the notorious blot, and urge it to begin its moral reform at home. In one of the reports of the Society I read that the Chinese Government desire to stop opium-smoking among their own soldiers, and they are quite right to do so; but it is shocking to think that for the first offence the punishment is slitting, or excision of the upper lip, and the second offence is visited with decapitation. In all our wars we have refused to accept as allies tribes who scalped their prisoners. The Anti-Opium Society does not hesitate to ally itself with the rulers of China, who openly avow such barbarous practices.

I was reading a short time ago the Report of the Anti-Vaccination Society, and but for the title, it might have been supposed to have been the Report of the Anti-Opium Society: there were the same speeches at public meetings, the same complacent self-assertion, a general abuse of all Governments,

who were fools, or knaves, or both, and a disposal of a most intricate and difficult question in an off-hand manner. The Reports of the Anti-Vivisection Society are moulded in the same mould. Many of the discussions have the character of a College Debating Society, for the Society is spoken of as "the English nation," and one individual, writing from Calcutta, vouches for the opinion of the Hindu people, some hundred and ten millions; another correspondent, who had never left Hong-Kong, undertakes to express the opinion of the Chinese people. About twelve men seem to do all the speaking, for their names appear at all the meetings, and the same arguments are used with variations of inaccuracy, reiteration of abuse, and strange inconsistency. Can a tree at the same time bring forth good and bad fruit? Can the long succession of Indian Viceroys and Governors, whose praise is in the lips of all parties, whose lives are sold by thousands of copies, all have been deceived, or were they purposely blind and base in this one particular? Most of the speakers on this subject are of third and fourth rate calibre, and some really good speakers when they handle the opium pipe, fall short of their usual excellence, as if out of their depth or uncertain of the drift of their policy: occasionally, really great men have stepped down into the arena. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone were at one on this issue: the former statesman remarked, in a somewhat bantering tone, that the deputation "raised a very large question when they asked them to interfere in any way to discourage the action of private enterprise in supplying a drug which the Chinese preferred to take. He could not hold out any hope that any legislation in that direction was probable. If he were to assign a time when such legislation might be undertaken, he should say it would be subsequent to the time when a Bill was passed preventing the sale of spirits in England." But Mr. Gladstone, in 1880, raised the question above its usual level and touched a higher chord: he said—"Do not let it be supposed that I am treating this subject with indifference. The charge is that this subject has been approached from a very low level of morality (hear, hear). Let us see, then, whether we can escape from this low level of morality and resort to the high level of morality which is recommended. If we are told that we must abolish this traffic, then the charge has no meaning at all, unless we assume the obligation on the part of the people of England. Either we are to assume the obligation on the part of the people of England, or content ourselves at the present moment with giving a promise that something will be done in the future. It would be a very high level of morality indeed, in one point of view, if we were prepared on behalf of our constituents to put 3*d.* or 4*d.* on the income-tax and assume

"the payment of these seven millions. That would be taking our stand on a high level of morality. But that is no part of the debate. That is not proposed; therefore that is not the level of the morality. It must be some other level of morality, and let us see what it is."

And how injudicious, and impolitic, and indeed un-Christian has been the mode of agitation adopted. Hard words and gross insults have been heaped upon a body of men, who for a long series of years have watched over the interests of the great Indian people. No close Corporation, no City Guild, no Company of Merchants has been fattened by the opium export-duty. It is notorious that the Government of India is renewed every five years by both the great parties of the State, and a long line of illustrious statesmen have made India their study and delight. Some, like Lord Elgin, have brought Chinese experience to India, others, like Lord Napier of Magdala, have served in both countries. There has been a Government at home independent of the Government of India, and yet there has been an absolute uniformity of opinion on this great question, shared by every one of the servants of the Queen, who had studied the subject. Nor have the distinguished representatives of England in China arrived at a contrary opinion. I have myself taken the opportunity of personally consulting members of the China Diplomatic Body on their return to England, and I have received always the same reply. To shew the length to which this abuse has gone, I mention that in my presence a Member of Parliament, at a great public meeting, asserted that "a Sovereign was large enough to hide the name of God," as if any of the distinguished champions of the policy pursued by the Government of India for the last forty years, had the remotest pecuniary interest in the matter. They were not slave-holders fighting to retain their slaves, or monopolists struggling to retain their monopoly, or rack-renting landlords to maintain their right of eviction, but persons totally uninterested in the issue, but convinced that an attempt was being made to force a policy contrary to the rights and interests of the people of India.

Let us consider the matter from the Chinese side of the question. I am not careful to defend the use of the drug, or to assert that opium-smoking is innocuous. I lived a great many years among the Sikhs of the Panjab, who habitually took opium-pills, and a finer, manlier, more prolific race cannot be found. In "China Millions" I find at page 32, 1879, that opium was plentiful in Yunnan, and yet the people had a well-to-do appearance and good houses, and yet the narcotic, home-grown, could be purchased for a trifle. Mr. Cooper remarks, that it would be death to a large portion of the

population suddenly to stop the supply, and that the Chinese Government, in wishing to stop the Indian opium, were acting, as they generally do, without any idea of the welfare of the people. I read in the "Friend of China," 1883, page 221, that the elders of a village begged that the cultivation of poppy might be stopped in their village, remarking that about one per cent. would smoke Indian opium, while twenty per cent. smoked home-grown opium. The greatest anti-opium agitator is obliged to admit that no reliance could be placed upon edicts from Peking, as they meant nothing, and were only bland expressions of Confucian morality. Moreover they are known to mean nothing; and subordinates in high office smoked opium, and collected excessive bribes for opium. took bribes to permit home-grown opium to grow, or to stop cultivation, or destroy cultivation, not really caring. It may even be that the Chinese themselves, while their rulers were denouncing the trade of the Europeans, were exporting opium from Yunnan to Hainan. There seems little doubt that the amount of home-grown opium far exceeds that of the imported opium, and the real intention of the Chinese Government was to the actual denial of opium from China to the holders of trade concessions abroad. It is no wonder that the Chinese Government levy an excise upon home-grown opium, exceeding one million, and levy a differential duty on the imported with the native.

But of all this, the idea is to be deterred of making China a *corpus vitæ* upon which benevolent nations are to inaugurate a policy, which they are to try to make to enforce at home. One authority reports that opium-smoking is a pleasure, which it is quite possible to enjoy in moderation, and take in the same way as the Scotchman takes his whisky; and a Chinaman addicted to opium is a much less terrible person than a Scotchman excited by whisky. Setting aside, however, such considerations, there is no doubt that the violent extirpation of opium-smoking in China is as impossible as that of gin-drinking in England. When men are persuaded that the practice is undesirable, the fashion will die out, but attempts to compel them before they are so convinced, can only lead to aggravation of the ills complained of. Why should an enlightened Government, such as the English, recommend the tottering dynasty of the Chinese Empire to interfere with the private habits of the people? This would be dangerous even in England, where the people are educated and enlightened. We should never attempt such a crusade in India. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his late work "*Man versus the State*," shows that we are advancing too far in that direction in England, and over-governing, and therefore mis-governing. The Sikh Government, which preceded us in

the Panjab, forbade the use of tobacco, or the slaughter of kine, but as a compensation tolerated the burning of widows, the killing of female infants, and the burying alive of lepers. Mahometan rulers forbid liquor shops, and the cutting of the throats of animals, while they tolerate polygamy, and punish an abandonment of the Mahometan religion by death. In the Papal States change of religion, and matrimony to a large proportion of the people were forbidden, but there was no objection to lion rhogues. Leave the people in their pleasures and their habits alone, so long as they refrain from breaches of the peace, and appropriation of the property of others. Leave it to moral precepts, and education, and general advancement, to control, diminish, and eventually eradicate the particular moral weakness from which no one nation is free, though they differ in character and degree. It is very easy to notice a very bad thing, the introduction of opium into Japan, to see that the Japanese are not addicted to the drug. It is still easier for the Government of the United States to make a treaty forbidding the export of opium from North America, and to see that no opium is grown in the length and breadth of the United States—whether American citizens abstain from the use of the Chinese seas remains to be seen. So numerous are the objections that it is a relief to find that no one has yet persuaded the Indian Government with introduction and cultivation of the poppy into Western China, for other and more numerous motives of mischief, to complete the proof that any Government consisted of men who were honest, brave, and wise. The import of opium from Persia has nearly ceased, but no opium up to this time is only a possibility. On the Zanguebar, in East Africa, the Portuguese have commenced the cultivation, and send the opium to India. One of the chief resources of the Dutch Government in the Indian Archipelago is opium: it is sold to the Chinese, and forms one-tenth of the revenue of the colony.

It must be recollected that the Chinese Empire is overflowing like a full bowl, and sending colonists literally all over the world, and they take their pipe with them, and it is asserted, that they recommend with success the custom to the inhabitants of the country where they settle. This fact does not bear on the subject of importation of Indian opium into China, and is only mentioned by the Anti-Opium Society by way of aggravation. There are, however, colonies of Chinese in Singapur, the Malay States, the Islands of Sumatra and Java, the French Settlements of Saigon, and the Kingdom of Siam, as well as in Peru and California. They all smoke opium, and are beyond the influence of the Chinese Government, but they intercept a portion of

the Indian opium shipped for the China seas. The Chinese at Singapur are robust, hearty and energetic beyond other Eastern races, and yet beyond doubt they are all smokers. Is it expected that in Australia, Hong-Kong and Singapur, English Colonies, the crime of smoking opium is to be punished in the Courts of Law? It is whispered that the practice has commenced in London.*

There is little doubt that the Chinese Government is false throughout. In spite of the high moral seasoning which distinguishes their arguments, the real taste of their *flesh* is sometimes discovered. The Grand Secretary argued to Sir T. Wade, that the fair thing would be for the Indian Government to divide the enormous profits on the export of opium with China, share and share alike. He declined to give up his revenue on home-grown opium. In fact, he showed himself to be a ruler of men, and not a member of an irresponsible voluntary association. The Mandarins and the Governors of Provinces smoke themselves, and make a profit upon the drug. The real solution of the difficulty will be to deal with home raised and foreign opium upon an equitable adjustment of excise and customs.

Let us consider the matter from the Indian point of view. I took the opportunity of stating, at a meeting of a great Missionary Society, that the Government of India had nailed its flag to the mast, and that I rejoiced that it had done so. The Viceroy in Council has recorded his opinion that the loss of the opium export duty would cause insolvency: they state this in language not capable of misapprehension: other sources of revenue are not available, and reduction of expenditure is impossible. The abolition of the export duty would confer a very doubtful benefit on the Chinese, who would be supplied with the drug from other quarters, but it would do incalculable harm to the millions of India. Perhaps this is overstated, as empires and nations have survived heavier losses. Personally I am sorry that an attempt was made to increase the cultivation in the North-West Provinces, but it proved to be an utter failure. The cultivators stated that they had been badly used in old days, that they did not now understand the cultivation, and had other crops which paid as well, and they wanted no change. The improvement of communication enabled more bulky produce, such as sugar-cane and potatoes, to be carried to distant markets, and the poppy is driven to inferior lands. It is satisfactory to know that the area of 500,000 acres, now occupied by the poppy, will not be enlarged.

* Opium-smoking has much more than "commenced" in London. For the last twenty-five years there have been opium dens in the East End of London. EDITOR,—C. R.

It appears that not more than only £200,000 is realised from opium sold in India at the different Collectorates. India abounds in stimulants and narcotics, and opium is only one of many. The Arian nations seem to prefer to swallow the drug, the Non-Arian to smoke it, while the Turk is said to chew it. I have often as Collector superintended the sale of the opium to the local retailers: if a prisoner was found to be addicted to opium, he had to be supplied with daily decreasing doses, so as to wean him of the habit without endangering his life: only once I came upon two men from the Himalayas (whence also much opium is imported into India) who were hopelessly addicted to the practice, and were miserable objects. In the early days of our rule in the Panjab, where the cultivation has never been restricted, post, or concoctions of opium, was sold openly in shops licensed for the purpose. The Anti-Opium Society will scarcely find proofs, that with such vast stores of opium available in British India, we have attempted to raise revenue by encouraging our subjects to indulge vicious habits. We have raised the largest possible revenue out of the sale of the smallest possible supply.

There is not the least probability of the present policy being abandoned or modified, but it is as well to consider what is possible or the contrary. We might abandon the export duty, and set the Indian opium as free as indigo and grains. The consequences would be an enormous increase of the exported article, an excessive fall of the price of the drug in China, and such a defalcation in our revenue, as would cause insolvency for the time at least. If an attempt were made to impose other taxes, we may imagine the indignation of the people of India: the mass of the population is very poor: the salt tax ought to be reduced: to impose further burdens merely to gratify a moral whim would be a cruel injustice, and arouse a keen sense of wrong wilfully and widely inflicted.

We might abolish the monopoly, and disconnect the State with the manufacture and sale of the drug. To some tender and uninstructed consciences this monopoly aggravates the evil, and, as a rule, all monopolies are wrong; but if the State withdrew, its place would at once be occupied by a gigantic Company, and very serious considerations would arise. So inexplicable are the reasons which guide good men in their actions, that it is possible, that some of the loudest denouncers of the National Sin,—as the opium trade is called,—might be found among the shareholders of this new Company. On the death of an advanced total abstainer a few years ago, he was found to have shares in a hotel, which held a liquor license, and his family could not see the inconsistency. But the abolition of the monopoly cannot be looked upon only from

the financial point of view, but as a measure affecting the well-being of the people of Bengal. A great Company, seeking only a good dividend, would flood the country with opium, with great injury to the people, and loss to the revenue of the State. It is true that no monopoly exists in the West of India, whence nearly half the export duty is collected, but the poppy cultivation is entirely within the territory of Native States, whose system differs entirely from our own. It is obvious that a State monopoly is the severest of all fiscal restraints, and those who really desire the export to be reduced, should not seek to destroy the monopoly, however scandalized they may be by its existence.

We might forbid the export, in the same way as the Government of Italy forbids the export of works of arts, but it would be very difficult to prevent smuggling with so large a seaboard. The people of India would resent the, to them, unintelligible policy of interference with a profitable trade, contrary to all the well-established principles of political economy. The cost of the preventive force would be very heavy, and the interference with other trades very annoying. In fact, such a measure scarcely comes within practical politics, but we should have the Native Chiefs of Central India to deal with : they derive a large revenue from the drug : the prohibition of export would entirely destroy this, and they would demand compensation, and so would the Landholders of Bengal. Who would satisfy these lawful demands arising from inconsiderate legislation ?

That we should prohibit the culture of the poppy within British India is a thing that is not possible. It would be a law unworthy of an enlightened Government, and would be incapable of execution. It is true that we can restrict the culture to certain regions which are most suitable to the crop. I have had considerable experience in the North of India from the river Karamnasa to the Indus, and consider it impossible to forbid absolutely any culture, and I cannot imagine that it would be feasible in Bengal. If the culture were prohibited in British India, and allowed to continue in the Native States, the production there would be stimulated : the attempt to prohibit the culture in the Native States would either be illusory, or, if enforced, lead to very serious consequences, and peril to the very existence of our Empire in India.

And at the same time that India was thus exposing herself to perils, and expenditure in the maintenance of repressive establishments in a fight against nature, equity, and common sense, the Chinaman would be smoking his pipe with opium supplied by his own country, or other opium-growing countries,—not such good opium perhaps, but much cheaper, and in much larger quantities ; and it is not obvious that if the Anti-Opium

Association has any definite ideas of its objects, it will have gained anything, for all the sad pictures of the debased and ruined Chinaman would be as true, or as deficient in truth as ever, and the Missionary would be met with the same harrowing scenes, and would realise that it is not that which goeth into a man defileth a man, but his own fallen and corrupt nature.

We must recollect that there is now a respectable Free Press in every part of India and in every language, and the Press would have a word to say on such an insane policy. I do not think that the Government of India would entertain it for a moment, but I wish the Anti-Opium Society to understand the ultimate consequences to which their ideas would lead.

I intimated this summer to a friend, who like myself is a Member of a Committee of a Missionary Society, that I intended to write a paper defending the Indian policy in this matter. His remark was that I should be soundly abused for so doing. Sir Rutherford Alcock felt himself compelled to stand forward and enlighten the public mind, and mercenary motives were at once attributed to him in connection with the new Borneo Company. It is the old story. When a man has a bad case in a court of law, his only resource is to abuse the attorney of the opposite party. I admit that those who oppose the Indian policy, are actuated by the highest and purest motives: having myself no interests whatever except the promotion of Missionary enterprise, I claim the same admission in my own favour, nor do I rush into the controversy hurriedly, as I have had it under consideration for more than five years, waiting for some further *dénouement* of the Chéfú Convention, which appears to have disappeared. Let it be clearly understood that under no circumstances would the Government of India admit into its treasury income, of which the sources are tainted, such as the produce of lotteries, a tax on Hindu pilgrimages, offerings to idol-temples, the price of slaves, the earnings of slave-labour, the profits of immoral establishments, whether gambling, as at Monaco, or brothels, as in some European States, any more than it would accept the hire of the assassin, or the *premium pudoris* of the unfortunate classes who infest the great cities. The line of demarcation of lawful, and unlawful, income is quite clear. The kindly fruits of the earth, blessed by the hand of the Creator, are intended to be gathered. In the case of the poppy they are thrice blessed, supplying comfort to the cultivator, rent to the land-owner, land-revenue to the State, and over and above, a magnificent export-duty. Neither in morals, nor by the law of nations, can a legitimate commerce be impugned. If fanciful and romantic objections were admitted, the Quakers would object to villainous saltpetre, as being the component of gun-

powder. The total abstainer would object to hemp, sugar and rice, whence intoxicating liquor is distilled. It is mere hypocrisy in a nation, which exports rum, gin, and gunpowder in such enormous quantities from English ports to Africa, and which, among many noble qualities, is noted for the drunkenness of its people, to feel such a tenderness for the besotted Chinese. It would be much easier for those, who think with me, to sail with the wind, and throw overboard the interests of the people of India. Be it noted that Sir Wilfred Lawson is the only consistent antagonist, for he would go to the root of the matter, and place opium and alcohol in the same category, adding a plea for mercy in favour of opium, as the opium-smoker is not a wife beater, a ruthless murderer, a breaker of the peace, and a public nuisance.

It may be distinctly asserted that the opium trade is not based upon force: the Chinese are quite strong enough to exclude it if they chose, and their being ready to resist the French, on a much less important grievance, proves that they could do so, and they know, as every one knows, that England would never attempt to force the drug into China by war. But when "force" is so vigorously denounced, have the leaders of the movement reflected upon the meaning of the term which they so often use? By force of character and of arms, England has raised herself to her present lofty position: by force she vanquished the Spaniards, the French, and the Russians, subdued vast kingdoms in Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, and brought under subjection a large portion of the world. Our Indian Empire is based upon force: our prestige throughout the world is based on our potential, or stored force. I have been pelted by little boys in the towns of Turkey, and have walked alone at my ease, and respected, in the great cities of India: this was owing to the force stored up in our cantonments. It was not the outcome of treaties, but of conquest.

Some years ago I described to Guiseppe Garibaldi, the Italian Liberator, our system in India: he remarked that we were no better than the Austrians after all; and this has often led me to reflect upon our inconsistent position, for in Europe we are the champions of every State which seeks for political liberty, and in Asia we are ourselves despots. The only reply is that we are *there*, and it is not practical to leave India, but, while we are there, we are bound to stand up for the people of India, and be their champion against the Manchester manufacturers; against the sentimental philanthropist; against our own countrymen, who came to fill their pockets, and go home again: we are bound to protect the Indian in the enjoyment of his laws, customs, lands, and civil rights: if we cannot give him political liberty, he shall have every thing

short of it : if he cannot have a Constitution like the colonies of Great Britain, he has a strong phalanx of men who have known India from their youth, and loved the people, and are ready to resist any attempt to oppress them, deprive them of equality in the courts of law, or of free trade, and free commerce. If the Chinese do not like the products of India, they can let them alone. The Indian ports are open to every possible product of Chinese industry. If the Chinese prefer their home-grown opium, be it so, and India will seek other markets, and develop other industries ; but it will do so by its own spontaneous action, and not under the threats of benevolent enthusiasts in a distant country.

However dark the colours may be with which the opium trade is painted, it is there, and if the Government of India abolished its monopoly, and remitted the export-duty, and set the cultivation of the poppy free, the trade would not be diminished. It is said of King Henry V, that he intended, if he had conquered France, to destroy all the vines with a view of arresting drunkenness. The late Maharaja of Patiala allowed no distilleries and dancing girls within his territory ; but the extent of his administrative capacity may be measured by the fact, that I tried in vain, in a personal interview, to persuade him to allow me to open a post-office in his dominions. It is, however, beyond the power of Viceroys, or Parliaments, or even Philanthropic Associations, to fight against Nature, and exclude from culture and commerce one of the richest gifts of the earth. By restricting the culture to certain tracts (of which the soil is most suitable to cultivation), we can create a monopoly, and forbid the culture beyond certain limits ; but as to forbidding it altogether in the central poppy region in our own territory, it is impossible, and, if it were possible, it would be a difficult and costly operation to war against Nature and freedom of culture under the influence of a mere fancy. Still less feasible would any attempt be to arrest the culture in the territory of the independent Chiefs of Central India. It is possible that if prices fell, the culture would be given up in outlying districts, and other staples would prove more profitable ; but this matter would be settled by the cultivator himself, and not by the State.

The people of China will soon have unlimited supplies of home-grown opium. The action of the Anti-Opium Society has helped to open the eyes of the Chinese authorities to the policy of this counter action, which will arrest the export of silver, and still supply the much coveted drug. India will suffer for the time, but it is not clear what the morals of the Chinese will gain. The Chinese Government now thoroughly understand that no force will be used to introduce the Indian

drug, and they are anxious to share the vast revenue raised by an excise. If a few millions make use of the Indian imported opium, which does not penetrate far into the country, scores of millions will learn to smoke the home-grown opium manufactured in their midst. When the Indian export trade has, under the inexorable laws of Supply and Demand, shrunk into nothing, it is not obvious whether the Anti-Opium Society will congratulate themselves upon the extinctions of the so-called National Sin, or feel like engineers "hoist with their own petard," when they contemplate the enormous increase of opium-smokers in China.

In the meantime the march of events seems likely to extinguish the opium trade, and the Anti-Opium Society in one common ruin. I quote the last accounts :—

"There cannot be any doubt but that the foreign drug will be driven, slowly perhaps, but steadily, by native competition, from the China market. The records of the foreign Customs, and the Consular service, the testimony of travellers and missionaries, supply evidence on this point which cannot be doubted. The three northern ports, in one year, show a loss amounting to 27 per cent. of their total imports. The native drug has so much improved, that it is there driving the foreign article from the market, even though the foreign prices had been reduced from 9 to 24 per cent, from those of the previous year. Ssuchuan opium is fast supplanting the foreign on the Yangtze, the distribution being largely carried on through boatmen and foot travellers, who tell no tales. In Formosa and South China generally, though the decline of the opium imported through the Customs is marked, the consumption is said not to be largely on the decrease—owing presumably to contraband supplies—nor does the native article as yet interfere largely with the foreign drug. The reason for this is simple. The opium of Yunnan and Ssuchuan cannot yet compete with the Indian opium, adulterated, as sold at the ports of Formosa, Amoy, Swatow, Pakhoi or Hoihow, where it is delivered, principally by means of junks from Singapore and Hong-Kong, mainly, of course, the latter place. It resolves itself into a simple question of cost of carriage.

"Among the reasons assigned for this decrease are the action of the authorities towards discouraging the practice, and the depressed condition of trade. The latter is undoubtedly a factor in the case, but I have no faith in the former. That the authorities are taking any serious steps towards the suppression of the drug is not to be credited, least of all by any one who has travelled in Interior China. Like the Abbé Huc, from personal experience gained in Chinese travel, I can say :— ' Pendant notre long voyage en Chine, nous n'avons pas rencontré un seul tribunal où on ne fumât l'opium ouvertement et impunément.' It is found, in the opium provinces, growing under the walls of nearly every *yamên*, or courthouse. All travellers are agreed in this, that Yunnan and Ssuchuan opium is rapidly increasing in quantity and improving in quality. It is fast forcing its way to the seaboard ; being already brought there and shipped along the coast, although as yet in small quantities. The poppy is spreading over other provinces, and as the value of the crop is double that of wheat, it is fast replacing that dry-weather crop. The use of the Indian drug, since the improvement of the native article, is becoming, slowly but surely, a luxury only for the more affluent trader or official. Perfected still more, fashion will give its *imprimatur* to the native article, and then the foreign drug will be doomed."

The owner of a mine finds that the ore is exhausted, and he has nothing to blame himself for: he has done his work scientifically, but the gift of Nature is exhausted. So will it be with British India. It made good use of the advantages which fertility of soil, industry, and commerce supplied, and when one of them fail, there is nothing for it but to let the export-duty die out, and strive to face the financial difficulty. This is something very different from abandoning without cause an abundant source of revenue. But this decay of resources will be a work of time, and the opium trade with its shower of silver upon India will, though perceptibly diminishing, scarcely disappear in this generation. The Missionaries in China will restrict themselves to their proper duties, sadder at the spectacle of the awful increase of opium-smoking, perhaps wiser in having learned that it is idle to fight against Nature, free-trade, and the liberty of each man to control his own actions in things not forbidden by the laws of civilised nations. The Government of India will have to restrict its many plans of usefulness. The Anti-Opium Society will cease its exertions, unless, under the guidance of more thorough and earnest leaders, it turns its attention to rum and French brandy, exported from or consumed in England.

My own feeling has ever been in favour of getting rid, at as early a date as possible and at some sacrifice of revenue, of the monopoly, because a monopoly in itself is wrong, and in this case a scandal to some minds, and it seemed feasible to arrive at the same results on the East side of India, which have spontaneously arisen on the West side; but I am convinced now that the abolition of the monopoly would be prejudicial to the best interests of the people of India, and that is with me the paramount consideration. I have already stated that, if I were satisfied that opium was introduced by force into the Provinces of China *outside* the Treaty-ports, I should join the opposite party. Five years ago I called, with another member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society by appointment on Sir Harry Parkes, then Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Japan, and satisfied myself that this allegation was not true. Only this week a Missionary from China told the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Chinese Government systematically neglected the provisions of the treaty as regards religious liberty. I made him repeat those words, and then asked him, why then it was alleged that they were afraid to do the same with regard to opium? His reply was that the Chinese were afraid of the merchants, but not of the missionaries. But this very day that I write this, I read in the *Times* (October 23, 1884) "that for the last nine or ten years the Chinese Government has been allowed to encroach on treaty rights, and have levied with impunity heavy excise (lekin) duties, which have virtually nullified the treaty

“advantage, and proved disastrous to the sale of Manchester goods in the interior.” This is the statement of a Hankow merchant. In the face of such statements, and the fact that the Chinese Government is not afraid to go to war for ancient and shadowy rights over Tonkin with the French Government, how can we believe that the Chinese Government is not able to raise the excise (lekin) duties upon opium to such an extent as to raise the price, and restrict the sale? Is China not strong enough to put down smuggling if the attempt were made?

Nor can I, after calm reflection on the whole case during the last fifteen years, acquit the Anti-Opium Society of being the cause of the miserable end of the contest, which has injured the people of India by the destruction of a profitable industry and trade, and has yet multiplied the vice of opium-smoking in China beyond any previous calculation. What was their object? Did they desire to arrest the vice in China, or only to free the Government of India from the imputation of pandering to that vice? If we desired to wean the English public of their taste for alcoholic drink, we should scarcely commence a crusade against the importers of brandy, or the distillers of gin. The line which the Anti-Opium Society adopted of indiscriminate abuse had two effects: it stiffened and hardened the views of the Government of India. The statesmen who were or had been Viceroys, and the meritorious public servants who were or had been Governors and high officials, felt injured by the gross insinuations which they felt that they did not deserve: they at least understood the nature of the problem, but upon the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society there was not one Anglo-Indian of experience, nor was it likely that there would be one: a general feeling of resentment at, and contempt for, the movement was felt in Indian circles both in India and England. But their proceedings had another effect, not contemplated, but equally real. The eyes of the Chinese rulers were opened to the exceeding value of the trade, and to the firmness with which the Indian Government held to it. They saw also how feeble were the efforts of the Anti-Opium Society, whose motive was not the welfare of the Chinese, but the alleged discredit attaching to the English name. Opium cultivation was found to be as acceptable to the Chinese landowners, the local Governors and the State, as it has proved to be in India. It was not clear what results the Anti-Opium Society desired: it is clear what they have obtained.

LONDON, *October 1882.*

ROBERT CUST.

ART. X.—CASTE AND CUSTOM. I.

THESE papers are intended as a plea for the systematic study of Hindu ethnology and sociology. The subjects are of deep interest, although at first almost repellent in their vastness and variety. They concern a mass of people numbering two hundred millions, and a tangled web of races and creeds, the different threads of which patient enthusiasm can alone unravel. We very soon get over the impression that all Hindus are of one religion, or that all Hindus are of Aryan race; but it takes time accurately to appreciate the intricate complexity which actually exists. If three deaf and dumb men with their eyes open were to start from Bombay for the Peninsula, the Deccan and Rajputana respectively, and if each were asked on his return to describe the religious features of the country through which he had travelled, their tales would very widely differ. The first would have seen the carvings of Ganpati by the roadsides, the snake-stones wreathed often with sacrificial thread and set up beneath the pipāl trees, the village gods—frequently carved naked, but with their nakedness often covered by a cloth; and if he had penetrated into the sanctuaries, he would have found in many three images—the god, his wife and his brother, or the god, his wife, and his mistress. The traveller in the Deccan, on the other hand, would have been struck with the lingam stones within and without the little shrines, and generally faced by a small stone bullock, by the carved monkey-god underneath the big pipāl tree in each village, and by the red-daubed stones in the jungle. The visitor to Rajputana would have noticed the ancestor-worship evidenced by the necklace-pendants, the peacocks tame as crows, and the curious regard for animal life in the towns. Diversity of this kind is not apparent, but real; and we only need to observe accurately, and to make our enquiries at first hand, in order to begin to appreciate both the scope of the field for investigation, and the paucity of our present knowledge concerning the religious and social life of the Hindu masses around us.

In his recent work on the Indian Empire, Dr. Hunter gives a *précis* of the results of researches into early Indian History; and although the outline might have been lengthier without entering far upon topics of controversy, still its very brevity reminds us of the scantiness of our information. The written history of India has, until recently, rarely been little else than a history by its conquerors of themselves and their own doings.

The annals of the Musalmans tell us little, save that which directly concerns themselves, their wars, and their regulations: the works of the Brahmans tell us little, save that which directly concerns themselves, their creeds, and their philosophies. Musalman and Brahman alike had too hearty a contempt for those who opposed them to deem them worth studying.

The problem, therefore, stands thus: India is a land inhabited by a large diversity of peoples, cut apart from one another by lines other and (in one sense) deeper than those which separate one European nation from another. Of some few we know the origin and the history: but in respect of the vast numerical majority we know nothing on either point. Take, for example, the chief religious divisions of the people as given in the recent census tables. We know how the Christian population came into India: we can trace the Syrian, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant elements in their origin and influence. We know how the Sikh religion arose and how a sect of peaceful fanatics became transformed into a formidable nation. We know the story of the recent Brahmos, and something also of the origin of the Parsis. We have the history of the Musalmans in India from Mahamúd of Ghazni onward: we can trace their origin indeed more clearly than we can trace their increase; we know that they proselytise, but of the exact extent to which their ranks have thus been recruited, we have no precise knowledge. Concerning the Jains our knowledge is more imperfect: doctors still disagree as to whether the Jains are earlier or later than the Buddhists, or, in other words, as to what was the precise original relationship between the two sects. As for the Buddhists themselves, we know that the religion has disappeared—a disappearance so complete as to suggest a doubt whether the term Buddhism, when applied in those early days to the religion of all India, must not have been as vague and inexact as is the term Hinduism, used in the sense of Brahmanism, when similarly applied at present.

But the great mass of the people of India are those classed as Hindus and Aborigines. The dividing line is very vague if it exists, and any attempt to define it would certainly be futile. Hinduism as a religion does not possess any absolutely indispensable or universal dogmatic formula: and its utility, as a term of religious nomenclature, is marred by its much more intelligent and consistent use as a term of national nomenclature. The word as commonly used by the natives of India is applied to all inhabitants of the country, save and except the descendants of those who have, from the seventh century onwards, entered it by sea or by the north-west frontier; although even from this application must be excluded the Cochin Jews and all perverts to Islam, while on the other hand the term

covers converts from Islam to the various phases of Vaishnavism. The very exception however made in the case of perverts and converts, bears evidence to the use of the term as one of national nomenclature, for the pervert in either case abandons his natural family just in the same way as does a Hindu adopted son, and the use or discontinuance of circumcision perpetuates the new connexion. Hinduism enumerates Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu : it has drawn within its pale the Jain god and goddess of Pandharpur : it disputed, with Islam, possession of the body of the mystic weaver Kabir. It is of this mass of people, with what M. Barth calls their 'complex, manifold and outrageously confused' religion that we have so little ethnological knowledge. It is of course obvious that the invaders of, or immigrants into, India, together with the autochthones, or earliest traceable dwellers in the land, must, taken together, be the ancestors of all whom we now find in the country ; though the tribal names of the invaders may be counted almost upon the fingers, while the names of the castes and tribes now in the country are to be reckoned in thousands. How have the few people multiplied and disintegrated into the many ? and can we, to any extent, trace back the latter into the former, just as we trace back the twig into the branch, the branch into the limb, the limb into the stock of a tree ? We know that the fissiparous process still continues, and the laws of its present development give us some clue to those of its past growth : can we by this or other means trace back the different castes or tribes with which we are acquainted, into the larger and less differentiated bodies from which they have issued ? We know something regarding the invasions of India, and we know something of the people now here ; in other words we hold both ends of the chain : how far can we trace the connecting links ?

The break in our knowledge is brought into full relief when we more carefully compare what we know of the origin with what we know of the present condition of Hindu castes and tribes. Dr. Muir was of opinion (*Sans. I. vol. II. p. 448*) that there had been four great invasions of India, which he thus arranged in order of time :—

(1) A Kolarian immigration from the north-east, the evidences of which may be seen among such forest tribes as the Kols, Bhils and Santhals ;

(2) An invasion of Dravidian immigrants from the north-west, who either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the Peninsula, or were driven onward by the pressure of subsequent hordes, and who in the Satpura mountain, crossed the earlier stream of Kolarian immigrants ;

(3) A Scythian invasion, also across the north-west frontier,

of immigrants whose language afterwards united with Sanskrit to form the Prakrit dialects of Northern India ;

(4) And lastly, the Aryan invasion.

But since the publication of the Sanskrit Texts, our knowledge has been considerably extended by researches in the realms of philology, archæology, and numismatology. The mountain chain of the Himalayas forbids land invasions except by the N. E. corner, that is, down the Brahmaputra valley, or by the N. W. border through the passes of the Safed Koh, the Sulémán, and the Hálla Hills. Immigrants from the N. W. were wont to take one of two routes after reaching the plain country : some struck to the east towards the valley of the Jamna and the Ganges : others travelled southward down the country watered by the Indus. The latter route lay between hills on the right hand and the sandy plains of Rajputana on the left : so that when pressed on closely by fresh immigrants in their rear, the only route open was by a sharp turn at right angles, after which came the choice of turning north-eastwards in the direction of Delhi, as Krishna is said to have done, or of holding straight on for the Kattiawar country and thence to Gujarat. Here the Vindhya and Satpuras wedge into the plain country, and turn part of the stream of immigration to the north and part to the south. This range of hills, running across India, cuts off the Deccan from Hindustan, just as the Himalayas cut off India from the rest of Asia ; and immigrants into the Deccan could only find routes through the plain country on the extreme east or the extreme west. It is as well to bear always in mind the part which the physical configuration of India must thus have played in determining the routes taken by new settlers. Of those who came by the North-Western frontier, the bulk must have passed into or through the Panjab ; and General Cunningham divides the population of that province into three strata. These are (1) the early Turanians or aborigines, (2) the Aryas or Brahmanical Hindus, and (3) the later Turanians, or Indo-Scythians. The early Turanians "include all those races of undeniable antiquity who do not belong to any one of the three classes of Aryas." To this class the General assigns the Taks or Takkas of Sind and the Panjab. Descended from Takshaka, the founder of the Naga race, they gave their name to Attock, and made their capital at Taxila near to Rawal Pindi. They came to blows with the Pandavas of ancient Delhi, and worsted them in battle about the year 1400 B. C., killing or assassinating the Pandava king Parikshita, the grandson of Arjun. His son however gave them no peace, and at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements. Part of the tribe migrated to the south and took refuge in Sindh ; whence "they are

mentioned by several writers as one of the three aboriginal races of that province. The main body continued their warlike career, extending their conquests until about the year B. C. 500, the period of their chief activity being a century earlier. They pushed as far down as the Magadha kingdom of Behar, according to Elliott (vol. i, p. 108), where they founded a dynasty which lasted for ten generations. Here, however, we get into the region of doubtful inferences and conflicting theories, which it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss. Suffice it to say that their career thus far had been such as would enable them to arrogate the rank of Kshatriyas, and that for men in such a position as theirs, Brahmans have always been ready to overlook and explain inconvenient or troublesome facts in their previous history. They are sometimes held to be the ancestors of the Tagas of to-day, a tribe found chiefly in the Meerut district, but also extending through Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Bijnor and Moradabad in the North-West Provinces and the adjoining districts of Delhi and Karnal in the Panjab. The total number of the Tagas is 115,920; but according to their own traditions, they came from Bengal. Those in the Panjab are said to be probably the oldest inhabitants of the Jumna Khadir: "about three-fourths of the total number have adopted Islam, and ceased to wear the sacred thread" which the Hindu portion of the tribe still wear in token of their claim to Bramanical descent.

The only other tribe which need be noticed and which is referred to this stratum, is that of the Megs, who in old time were called Makhs or Maghs, who dwelt at the time of Alexander's invasion on the banks of the Satlaj, where the river leaves the hills. The Megs of to-day, called also Mengs in Rawalpindi, are found for the most part "in the upper valleys of the Ravi and Chanab, and their stronghold is the sub-montane portion of Sialkot lying between these two rivers." They "have a tradition that they were driven from the plains by the early Muhammadans." They are weavers as well as leather workers, and in social status rank slightly above the Chamars. They number 38,467: but Meghwars (567) are also found in Baroda and in Gujarat (14), and possibly larger numbers exist in Sind, Rajputana and Central India. The name is also found as that of a subdivision of one of the Banjara tribes: and it may be worth noticing that the first Mang was called Meghya, and that Maghaya is a subdivision of the Doms.

The second stratum of population is that of the Aryas or Brahmanical Hindus, the twice-born classes of Aryan blood, among whom General Cunningham apparently intends to include Brahmans and Rajputs generally. Among the latter alone,

there are at least three large groups, the Solar race, the Lunar race, and the Fire-worshippers who, according to Colonel Tod, entered India at different times, but in the order named. The Suryavanshis occupied the country on the north bank of the Ganges, from Oudh almost to the Brahmaputra. The Somavanshis appropriated the whole of the Ganges valley above the Delta, and the valleys also of the Indus and the Jamna. Then came the great war, about B. C. 1426, followed by a redistribution of territory. The Aryan name, however, can be strictly applied to certain only of the Rajput tribes, and probably not to all Brahmans. There are others, however, who have a claim to the name. Among these General Cunningham enumerates the Janjuhas and Awans, two tribes of the Salt Range in the Panjab. The former are Rajputs and Jats and number 46,999; the latter number 532,855. From the place in which he finds the Awans, and from the fact that they appear to have been settled there for many centuries, the learned archæologist identifies them with the Jūd race of the Emperor Babar, who with the Janjuha, "two races descended from the same father," had from old times been rulers of the hills of the Salt Range. According to his view the Janjuhas are most probably Anavas, or descendants of Anu, the second son of Yajati, founder of the Lunar race. Their name in the spoken dialect would then be Anu or Anuwán: and as this latter form appears to be the original name of the Awán tribe, and as "the district which the Awáns now occupy was colonized by the Anuwán or descendants of Anu" the learned General thinks the identification of the two tribes to be very probable. It is reasoning of this airy kind which called forth the lament of Mr. Beames on p. 112, vol. I, "Races of the North-West Provinces." Lepel Griffin and Abul Fazl set the Janjuhas down as Yadubanshis, Yadu being the elder brother of Anu; while the Janjuhas themselves claim to be Rahtors, "descendants of Raja Mal 'Rahtor who migrated about 980 A.D. either from Jodhpur or from Kanauj to the Jahlam and built Malot." They now, as at the time of Babar's invasion, hold only the central and eastern parts of the Salt Range: they once held the whole, but were ousted by the Gakkars in the North and the Awáns in the west. The latter race appear to be of Ját origin, and to be of more recent date, having come through the passes west of Dera Ismail Khan, they rank socially below the Janjuhas, as the Janjuhas rank below the Gakkars. The Janjuhas forbid the remarriage of widows, while Játs allow Karewa.

The only other tribe mentioned by General Cunningham in this connexion is that of the Bháti or Bhatti, the royal race of Jaisalmir and the largest Rajput tribe of the Panjab. In this province alone 242,831 Rajput Bhatís and 95,858 Ját

Bhattis were enumerated; and the subject population of Bikanir and Jaisalmir are also largely composed of the same tribe. The Bhattis are "Yadavas of acknowledged descent through the far famed Krishna." Building his theory on a "generally accepted tradition of the race" General Cunningham thinks that for several generations before the invasion of the Indo-Scythians, the Bhatti tribe reigned at Rawalpindi, the ancient Gajipur, being ultimately driven across the Jahlam river, and unable afterwards to win back their former realm. Yet now-a-days the Bhatti wherever found, know nothing of this ancient kingdom in the Upper Panjab, but trace their origin "almost universally" to Bhatner in Bhattiana, or its neighbourhood—Bhatner, the ancient city "on the banks of the long dry Ghaggar, in the Bikanir territory bordering on Sirsa."

The Solar and Lunar Rajputs, the Janjuhas and Awans, and the Bhátis are the only races mentioned in this connexion by General Cunningham as being of Aryan descent. His inclusion of the Awans is of very doubtful accuracy; and his exclusion of certain other castes, even when dealing only with the Panjab, is still more open to censure. In this action he is apparently influenced by his very loosely expressed views as to the exogamous system of Rajputs being the test of Aryan descent. In speaking, for instance, of the Gakkars, he remarks that they have "at least one peculiar custom, which is quite repugnant to Hinduism. A Gakkar will give his daughter to none but a Gakar, whilst a Rajput is positively debarred from giving his daughter to one of his own class." For this theory, however, the General is very deservedly and very vigorously castigated by his own lieutenant, Mr Carlleyle,* who points out that the rule is not universally observed even among Rajputs, as numerous families of Yadu descent at the present day "marry women of the same tribe; and they give, as their reason for doing so, that the ancient Yadus, in the time of Krishna, married women of their own tribe." But it is easier to point out that omissions or mistakes exist than to supply or correct them. General Cunningham probably would not exclude Panch Gaur or Paunch Dravid Brahmans: although some of those included within, and nearly all Bramans outside these ten divisions, are of doubtful ethnical origin. In his work on *Orissa*, Dr. Hunter pointed out that Brahmans have, at sundry times and at divers places, been "amenable to social, perhaps to ethnical compromises," and that "so far from being an ethnical entity following an immemorial vocation, they contain within their caste every trade and calling. We have seen the Brahmans as shepherds, as ploughers of the soil, as potato-growers, as brick-makers, bricklayers and

* Arch. Surv. J. R. vols. XII, pp. 99-108.

petty traders ; as carpenters, stone-cutters, blacksmiths and village policemen, who in India rank very low in the social scale ; as the descendants of aboriginal fisher tribes ; as arbitrarily manufactured out of the promiscuous low castes ; as day-labourers and as menial servants." The Mahabrahman or Acharya, who performs funeral ceremonies, was included among Brahmans in the Panjab, but was excluded in the North-West Provinces at the recent census : Guraos and Golaks were included as degraded Brahmans in Baroda, whereas the former are pure Sudras, and the latter are half-castes, though born from a Brahman widow. The vast bulk of the Brahmans in India are of course Aryans, but the term " Brahman " like " Rajput " and " Banya * or Wani " is too vague and extensive in its application to allow of scientific accuracy in its use : and in the case of each of these three divisions, enquiry, to be profitable, should be directed to the individual castes or divisions of which the main body is composed. The Chola and the Konkanasth, the Chauhan and the Ponwar, the Agarwal and the Oswal—these are the units for enquiry or description ; and it by no means follows that what is true of the unit is also true of the Brahman, Rajput or Banya generally. The Gaur Brahman, for example, " sees with horror his Saraswat brother eat bread from the hands of others than Brahmans, and do a thousand things which to him would be pollution." And in Berar while Panch Gaur Brahmans will eat food cooked by a Goshain if ghee, though not if water, has been used, the Panch Dravids will not touch it in either case. As long as the question of common descent is still unsettled, differences of this kind are important ; and can only be ascertained by making our unit of enquiry as small as possible.

The Khatri caste is held by Sir George Campbell to have a well-founded claim to Kshatriya descent, although Rajputs refuse to eat with them. Their home is the Panjab, and more particularly the central districts and the Rawal Pindi division ; while the Roras, or Aroras, whom the same authority holds to be ethnologically the same people, are found in the lower valleys of the five rivers. Khattris and Aroras are alike shop-keepers, but are superior in physique, in manliness, and in energy to the ordinary trader. They are acute and energetic in character ; fine, fair, and handsome in figure. Akbar's celebrated revenue minister, Todar Mal, was a Khatri : " Diwan Sawán Mal, Governor of Multan, and his notorious successor Mulraj, and very many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries were Khattris. Even under Muhamadan rulers in the west, they have risen to high administrative posts." They produced Nanak and Govind,

* Cf Panj. Cens. Rep., para 532.

the founders of the Sikh religion, to which they still furnish priests and Gurus: although ninety per cent. of their entire number are themselves staunch Hindus. The Aroras, who are looked down upon by other Khattris, are supposed to be the "Khattris of Aior, the ancient capital of Sind, represented by the modern Rori." They worship Krishna and the Indus river. The Khakka is a smaller race "found in greatest numbers in the Kashmir hills lying along the left bank of the Jahlam": they also are of Khatri origin, but are now all (654) converts to Islam. The Rors (40,731) give the same account of their origin as do the Aroras, who are in fact often called Roras in the east of the Panjab: but the Rors practice *Karewa*, and their identity with the Aroras is doubted by Mr. Ibbetson. The Gaddis of the mountain range between Kangra and Chamba, are described by Sir George Campbell as being "an interesting race of fine patriarchal-looking shepherds," most of whom are Khattris, the sub-divisions of their caste corresponding exactly with those found among the Khattris of the plains. Khattris in the Panjab number 4,19,139; Aroras, 6,01,440; and Khakhas, 654. Khattris are also found in smaller numbers throughout the North-West Provinces where they number 47,288; in the Bombay Presidency, chiefly in the Gujarat division and the Bombay city, numbering 30,968; in the Central Provinces, 3,905; in Berar, 2,015; in the Ajmir Commissionership, 911; and in the Haidarabad State 11,290. The Khatri of the Deccan is, however, generally a silk-weaver; and it is quite possible that, though identical in name with the Khatri of the Panjab, he may be of different origin.

There are several other castes, whose claim to Aryan origin rests on a respectable foundation; but as it is the object of this paper rather to urge a certain method or system of enquiry than to summarise previous arguments, I pass on to notice the third stratum of Panjab population, drawing attention however, before so doing, to the following suggestive extracts from Mr. Carlleyle.*

"Firstly, we have no warrant whatever for supposing that Central Asia was entirely emptied at once of every single Aryan soul when the first Aryan colonists first entered India, or that all the Aryans came into India in one single lump or colony at first, or all at the same time, or that not a single Aryan, or no Aryan colonists or invaders ever came into India afterwards. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that there were plenty of Aryans still left in Central Asia, and that several successive Aryan colonies entered India at various different times; and that of these, the latest Aryan colonists

* Arch. Surv. J. R. vol. XII, pp. 101—6.

may have been driven into India at a very late period, by the first Turanian hordes pressing them from behind. And the last of these several Aryan colonies may have entered India after the older Aryan settlers had degenerated into effeminate, mongrel and exclusive Hindus, and after the laws of caste had been established." In which case the fresher and purer Aryans would hold aloof from their degenerated predecessors and from pure pride of race would refuse to intermarry, while the older Aryans in their turn would refuse generally, except here and there "from fear or compulsion, or from politic reasons for their own purposes and interests"—to incaste the new arrivals. "Modern or even mediæval Hindu ideas," continues Mr. Carlleyle, "customs, practises and characteristics are not ancient Aryan—nay, they are not necessarily even Aryan at all. They are neither ancient nor modern Aryan: they are simply Indian, the product of an Indian people, of Indian temperaments, and of an Indian soil and climate. The Brahminical system is entirely of Indian growth, and it is not Aryan. The caste system was repugnant to the independent feelings of free Aryans: it was wholly Indian." The whole eight pages (pp. 101-8) from which the above extract is made are a specimen of very vigorous and eloquent argument; although they contain much that is true but not new, and something also that is new but not true.

After the early immigrants from Turan and the hordes of Aryan invaders, came the later Turanians, or Indo-Scythians. These, like the Aryans, came not in one body, but made at least three distinct sets of inroads. The first set includes incursions made by the Gakkars, the Káthi, the Bálas, and the Sobii, or Chobia. Proceeding on his favourite grounds of identity of locality combined with similarity of name, General Cunningham identifies the Gakkars with Gargaridæ of Dionysius. Faith in the identity of locality is, however, apt to be shaken by the subsequent statement that there were two irruptions of Gakkars, the first colony, at least five centuries before Christ, settling on the banks of the Jahlam, and the second more than two hundred years later, in the valley of the Indus and its western tributaries. And, as regards the similarity of name, we are told that "the name Gakkar is most probably only a simple variation of the ethnic title of Sabar or Abar," so that "the Gakkars must have belonged to that branch of the ancient Scythians who were called Aparni and Sagarankæ, because their usual weapon was a club." The value of the whole chain of reasoning has been justly summed up by Mr. Thomson who says: "The Turanian origin of the Gakkars is highly probable; but the rest of the theory is merely a plausible surmise. On the whole, there seems little use in going beyond the sober

narrative of Ferishtah, who represents the Gakkars as a brave and savage race, living mostly in the hills, with little or no religion, and much given to polyandry and infanticide." While the Awáns and Janjuhas previously mentioned ruled the southern portion of the salt-range tract, the Gakkhars ruled the northern portion, and at one time (probably) overran Kashmir. They now number 31,881, and dwell "along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himalayas, from the Jahlam to Haripur in Hazára." Compact, sinewy and vigorous, they make "capital soldiers and the best light cavalry in Upper India; proud and self respecting, but not first-class agriculturists; with no contempt for labour, but preferring service in the army or police. Their race feeling is strong, and a rule of inheritance disfavours Gakkars of the half-blood. Colonel Cracroft notes that they refuse to give their daughters in marriage to any other class except Sayads—they are Shíahs by religion—that they keep their women very strictly secluded, and marry only among the higher Rajputs, and among them only when they cannot find a suitable match among themselves."

Leaving the Gakkars in the Rawalpindi division, General Cunningham comes to deal with the Sobii, the Kathæi and the Malli, three cognate races who, in the time of Alexander, held nearly the whole of the central and southern Panjab. The Sobii or subjects of Sophites he assigns to a district corresponding very nearly with Shahpur, and he identifies them with no special tribe now existing, but with the "Chobia" or club-men, who in the days of Alexander "wore skins like Hercules and carried clubs, and branded their oxen and mules with the mark of a club." The Kathæi dwelt between the Chenab and the Râvi, in the modern district of Jhang; and behind a triple pallisade of wagons, attempted to hold Sangala against Alexander. They are identified with the Káthi or Kathiá of to-day: while the Malli or people of Multan are identified with the Bâlas. In these instances similarity of name is not helped by identity of locality. The Káthis claim to be Ponwar Rajputs, and the Bâlas also claim a Rajput origin. The two tribes are connected, and the Káthi is undoubtedly of Scythian origin in name, physiognomy and religion. A few of them (5,850) are still found in the Panjab, but the bulk of their body seem to have gone southward into Sind about the year 500 A. D. When banished thence, they migrated to Surashtra in A. D. 642, and gave their name to Kathiawar. Their connexion with the Bâlas is perhaps the reason that one of their two sub-divisions in Baroda is known as the Wâla Káthi. Later on, they fought against the Bhattis of Jaisalmir, and also in the war between the Chauhans and Rahtors. Strong, robust and tall in figure, they

are still noted for their predatory and warlike instincts; and in the Baroda territory they are often outlaws. They still worship the sun, and adhere to their old abhorrence of child-marriage. In Baroda, where they number 3,325, only two girls under six years of age, and only 25 children under 15 years, are returned as married.

The next Scythian invasion was on a much larger scale. A large tribe, known by the names Su or Saka, held in the early part of the second century B. C. the provinces on the Jaxartes. The Su resembled the Parthians in speech, manner and dress. "In B. C. 163 the growing power of another horde, named the Great Yuchi, forced them to retire towards the south." They drove the Greeks out of Sogdiana, and established themselves there. But the Yuchi still pressed on them, and about B. C. 126, the Su tribe came swarming through Ariana into the Panjab. The Greeks fell back before them, and the Yadavas, who then reigned at Rawalpindi, were driven west of the Jahlam. Two tribes of the Su horde eventually settled in the Panjab, the rest remaining in the classical district of Ariana. The first of these is the Ját tribe who now number 2,643,109. General Cunningham identifies them with the Játii of Pliny and Ptolemy and the Zanthii of Strabo. The second is the tribe of Med or Mand which he identifies with "the Mers of the Aravalli range to the east of the Indus, of Kathiawar to the south, and of Biluchistan to the west." The Mers in their own district, Merwara, number 32,946; and although only 36 are found in the Baroda territories, there are probably considerable numbers in Rajputana and Sind. The Játs marched down the Indus Valley, followed by their rivals the Mers, and both tribes settled in Upper Sind. They "were found by the Musalmans in full possession of the valley of the Indus towards the end of the seventh century," by which time, however, they had become subject to a Brahman dynasty. Up to the close of the tenth century, the Mers appear to have remained in Sind, but the Játs had meantime been spreading up into the Panjab proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the eleventh century. By the time of Babar, the Játs of the salt range tract had been subdued by the Gakkhars, Awáns and Janjuhas." This story of the origin of the Játs and Mers, which rests on the similarity of names (Ját and Zanthii, Mer and Medii) is contested by many. The name Mer is the same as we find in Ajmir, Jaisalmir, Meru, &c., and means "hill," Mer as a tribal name being equivalent to Pahári and telling us nothing as to the ethnic origin of those who bear it. The Scythian origin of the Játs is questioned, on the score of their speech, by Dr. Beames, who however gives

no satisfactory explanation of the well-known custom (karao), whereby the younger brother takes the widow of his elder brother to wife. Mr. Beames says that "the hypothesis which is gaining ground among sound philologists, and which, moreover, rests on universal native tradition, makes the Jâts either Rajputs who have lost caste, or the offspring of Rajputs and some lower caste. In some parts of the Panjab they say they lost caste by crossing the Indus. They all say they came originally from the North-West Provinces, though they have some traditionary reminiscences of a sojourn in Persia." In discussing the same subject, Mr. Ibbetson says :—"It may be that the original Rajput and the original Jât entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Rajput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock"; which, however, is now by no means free from foreign elements. "And it is almost certain that the joint Jât-Rajput stock, contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent, though it is probably in the main Aryo-Scythian. Many of the Jât tribes of the Panjab have customs which apparently point to non-Aryan origin."

The men who drove the Jâts into India were the Yuchi or Tochari, a branch of the Eastern Tartars who, three centuries before Christ, had been the most formidable of all the Tartar hordes. One hundred years later, however, they had fallen upon evil times, and they split into two bodies. One body was the little Yuchi, afterwards known as the Ephialtes or White Huns. They marched off to Thibet, and six hundred years later founded a dynasty; and later on again, were vanquished by the Turks, not however before they had themselves "vanquished the Persian monarch and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus." The five tribes of the great Yuchi, who had been left by their comrades on the banks of the Ili, marched down in a south-westerly direction towards Yarkand and Kashgar. They ousted the Su or Saka tribe and settled themselves in those provinces, extending their sway and consolidating their power. A change of name now occurs, and the Yuchi become the Kushan. The tribes now (B. C. 70-58) turned their attention to the Panjab and began to make conquests to the south and east. Their supremacy in the Panjab continued unbroken until the third century when it began to decline, and it would appear to have been finally overthrown by the White Huns in the beginning of the fifth century." As the Kushans, about 300 A. D., occupied the

Southern Panjab, and as three Gujar princes were reigning somewhere—possibly in the same country—more than a hundred years later, General Cunningham thinks that the Kushan and the Gujar may be identical. According to this theory the Gujar princes reigned during the fifth century at Bálmer in South-West Rajputana, *i.e.*, the country west of Jodhpur and south of Jaisalmer. They were ousted in A. D. 505 by the Bálas who reigned until they, in their turn, were ousted by a Brahman dynasty (742-711.) The Gujars of Bálmer went southward and settled in Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. Another body of Gujars founded a kingdom, the local limits of which correspond very much with the Gujarat district in the Panjab. The period of their widest sway, however, was under their kings Hima Kadphises and Kanishka the Buddhist in the century before Christ, when their realm reached from Kashmir down to Muttra and the Vindhya.

At the present day Játas and Gujars are found chiefly in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces and Rajputana. The Játas are remarkably compact: they dwell for the most part in the country between the Ravi and the Chambal, and in that part of the North-Western Provinces, which lies north and west of a line drawn from Agra to Moradabad. The Gujars are found in the same provinces as the Játas (and also in Central India), but their local distribution is different. In the Panjab the Játas occupy the south-eastern tract, but the Gujars are found north of a straight line drawn from Peshawar to Delhi. In the North-Western Provinces the two castes are found, generally, side by side; and except for those found in Indore, Bhopal, Narsinghar and Rajgarh, Gujars like Játas, are rarely found south of the Chambal. Across the river, for the first three centuries of our era, lay another Scythian kingdom, that of Narwar or Nalapura, stretching to the Rávi river on the east, and ruled by the Naga dynasty. The Jamna was their northern boundary, and the upper course of the Narbada their southern; but the chief point to be noted is that the Chambal divided the two kindred nations.

South of the Naga kingdom in Central India, and south also of the Gujar Territory in Sind, lay that of the Ahirs, a race cognate with Játas and Gujars. They were in possession of Gujarat when the Kattis arrived there. They had followed the usual route. Before the Christian era they were found near the north-west frontier; they passed down through upper to lower Sind and thence to Gujarat. Early in the fifth century we find them settled in Nasik and Khandesh: and the fortress Asirgarh was according to local tradition built by Asa, an Ahir or Gaoli, "the tank and temple of Asa Devi, outside the fort on the south being named after his sister, Asáwari Devi." The forts of Gawilgarh (*i. e.*, Gaoli or Gwalagarh) and

Narnala, also in the Satpuras, are likewise attributed to the Ahir kings, who ruled thence over much of the neighbouring Gondwana country. They were however nominally tributary to the Yadavas of Deogarh and the Hindu dynasties in Malwa; and when these ceased to exist, the Ahirs or Gaolis acted independently. But with the great influx of Kunbis up the Tapti valley, the Gaolis appear to have lost their old supremacy; and at the beginning of the 18th century, the Gonds deprived them of their hill fortresses. But beside that part of the original body which turned down southward through Sind, and whose fortunes have thus been outlined, others went east. At the beginning of our era, an Ahir dynasty reigned in Nipál. From this is supposed to have sprung that Pala dynasty of Buddhist kings who, from the middle of the ninth century, ruled for two hundred years over Northern and Western Bengal; and who then, being driven out from the northern districts by the Sena dynasty, restricted themselves for the next 150 years to the western districts, and made Mungher their capital. This however can only have been one branch of the great body of Ahirs who moved from the Panjab eastward down the Ganges valley. That body has three well-known sub-divisions, the Jadubans, Nandbans, and Gwalbans. The Jadubans are the most northerly sub-division, to which nearly one-half of the Ahirs in the Panjab belong. Then come the Nandbans of the Central Doab; and below them again the Gwalbans of Benares and the Lower Doab. The first sub-division, which is the most friendly with Játs and Gujars, claims a descent from the Yadava Rajputs. The Nandbans division holds aloof from Játs and Gujars, and the Gwalbans rarely meets them. To this last division belong the Gwallas of Bengal. The caste is also known as Gaoli and Gawári, and those who were retained by the Gonds in their own service are now known as Gaolans. The total number of the Ahir or Gaoli race is nine millions. The exact figure is 9,151,011; but this includes some Golas in the Hyderabad State, and in the present state of our ethnological knowledge, it is certainly unsafe to assume, notwithstanding the similarity of name and occupation, that the Dravidian Golas and Idaiyars are the same people as the Gaolis of the Deccan. Gaolis and Ahirs form more than four per cent. of the total population of Hindustan and the Deccan, and muster strongest in the Central Provinces, Bengal and the North-West Provinces (including Oudh). In the last mentioned provinces, the districts they affect are Mainpuri, Etah, Etawah, and all the districts north of the Ganges and east of Lucknow. They muster still more thickly in Behar where they form nearly one-fifth of the entire population of the Bhágulpur division, and nearly one-quarter of the Patna division. In Orissa they

form 15 per cent., and in Chôta Nagpur 13 per cent. of the population. These figures are important, both for a reason which will afterwards appear, and also because they show that the region of a tribe's former exploits is not necessarily the region in which we shall find them now, two thousand years afterwards, and that identity of locality is therefore untrustworthy unless supported by other good evidence. The Ahirs do not form ten per cent. of the population in the Narbada valley : they have almost disappeared from Sind, Kattiwar and Gujarat : they do not form even one per cent. of the population in the Muttra district, the region to which they themselves point as their home. And although the Pála dynasty are supposed to have been Ahirs, still this is a point by no means free from doubt. One noteworthy point of resemblance between Ahirs and Gujars may be noted here, and that is their susceptibility to the proselytising influences of Islam. There is certainly no caste of good social standing in the Deccan which supplies so many converts as does the Gaoli caste.

The invasions of the Játs and Gujars are placed by General Cunningham prior to the Christian era, and the incursion of the Ahir tribes must have been anterior to them again. But Scythian invasions of some kind are supposed to have continued during the first six centuries of our era. Summing up the results of investigations already outlined, we have for the North-Western frontier :—

(*a.*)—A Dravidian invasion, which—whether this be merely another name for an early Scythian or Tartar invasion or not—has this marked peculiarity, that the invaders have retained their speech, and that that speech belongs to a different family of languages from those known as Indo-European or Aryan. This Dravidian invasion must have occurred at a very early date.

(*b.*)—Then follows, possibly, a period of early Scythian or Tartar immigration.

(*c.*)—Then comes the period of the Aryan incursions, extending over several centuries, and probably including many distinct immigrations of various peoples.

(*d.*)—Lastly, we have a broken period of about one thousand years, during which Scythian or Tartar tribes made their way into India. Here also we know little or nothing as to the number of the separate bands of immigrants or their names.

Dravidian, Aryan and Scythian are therefore the three main sources to which that part of the population whose ancestors came in at the North-Western gateways of India may be traced back. It has nothing to do with the present purpose of this

paper that Scythian may, as it were, fade away into Aryan, or that Dravidian may be an earlier and Indo-Scythian a later development of one original stock. It is enough that we can recognise certain main characteristics of each of the three as being distinctive. The Dravidians made a clean sweep down to the Peninsula, taking their language with them. Traces of Dravidian influence are frequent, but they increase in number and intensity as we approach the present seats of the Dravidian population. They do not mark the route by which the original immigrants travelled. But the chief feature characteristic of the Dravidian immigrants is the retention of their language. By this we can connect the Gond and the Toda, distinguishing them from the Kol and the Santhal. Why the Scythian immigrants, on the other hand should, despite their numbers, have lost their language, is a mystery which neither Colonel Tod nor General Cunningham have attempted to solve. It is enough, as already stated, for our present purpose that certain characteristics distinguish races referred to the one, and are absent in those referred to the other.

I have dwelt thus in detail upon the immigrants from the North-Western frontier, both because they account for the mass of the population, and because the so-called Scythian element is the most puzzling and undetermined factor in the problems of Hindu ethnology. When we come to the immigrants who have entered India on the north-east, the ground is much simpler. These may be divided for ethnological purposes into two groups,—(1) the Kolarian, and (2) the Thibeto-Burman; and the tribes which belong to each group can, for the most part, be accurately distinguished, just as the Dravidians can, by the test of language.

There remains a large group which, for want of a better name, may be called the aboriginal or autochthonal group: and this completes the list of "ultimate genera" to which Hindu castes and tribes must be traced back. Summing up we have—

(a.)—Immigrants from the North-West.

1. Aryans, and
2. Scythians.
3. Dravidians.

(b.)—Immigrants from the North-East.

4. Kolarians.
5. Thibeto-Burmans.

(c.)—6. Aboriginal tribes.

In introducing his remarks on the ethnology of the Panjab, General Cunningham describes his purpose in the following words:—"Under the head Ethnology will be described the various races which have been settled in the Panjab from the earliest times down to the Muhammedan conquest, and an attempt will

be made to trace the downward course of each separate tribe until it joins the great stream of modern history." It is, on the other hand, the object of these papers to suggest an enquiry which shall be the complement to one made on the lines laid down by the Archæological Surveyor, an enquiry which, instead of tracing each separate tribe downward, shall endeavour to trace it upward, by means of distinctive or differentiating customs, from its present position to its proximate source. If in any single instance each enquiry proved complete and satisfactory, then the one would be the verification of the other: but in the vast majority of instances, all that can be looked for is that the one enquiry should, to a certain extent, confirm or discredit the other. The scope of the enquiry and its method will form the subjects of the remaining two papers: but it may here be remarked that certain cases will occur to which this method of inquiry will be inapplicable. Of the numerous tribes in India mentioned by Greek and Sanscrit writers, some may altogether have died out; and others may have dwindled in numbers until they are no longer strong enough to withstand the moulding influences of other caste-customs around them. There can be no doubt that a small tribe does in this way tend to lose its individuality. There may, on the other hand, be numerous castes at the present day, of whom it is impossible to predicate even their proximate source. Our knowledge, however, of the comparative ethnology and sociology of Hindu castes is still most meagre, and it is impossible to say what results systematic and scientific enquiry may not bring forth. Such an enquiry to be efficient, must needs be minute, conscientious, and laborious; although to those who have once put their hand to the task it generally becomes a labour of love. It is a matter which cannot well be made the subject of ordinary official enquiry: the most intelligent native official is, as a rule, utterly indifferent to all caste matters and customs, save those which concern him personally; and with this indifference there co-exists an ignorance which would lead him to reject as untrue any details which seemed to him strange or unlikely. There are of course exceptions to this rule; but generally, and to a certain extent among Europeans also, an enquiry of this nature can only be made by the man whose bent lies in this direction. To him it presents no hardships; and he will get his facts at first hand. A chat with the *shikari* when to-morrow's plans have been settled, a friendly talk with a stray villager or two near the camp, a little interest shown in their fasts and festivals, will put an officer on quite a new footing with his people, and will cause them to regard him as something more than a mere revenue-collector or impassive official.

EUSTACE J. KITTS.

ART. XI.—THE CORE OF THE RENT BILL.

THE Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, before it is too late, again appeals to the Government of India to impose an ultimate check on the enhancements of rent, which this Bill will stimulate and compass." Probably very few of our readers have waded through the seven hundred pages, which formed the extra supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th of last October, but those whose duty it is to do so, will find in the abundant dissertations therein contained no more weighty words than those of Mr. Rivers Thompson quoted above. The plain fact is that the new Rent Bill, far from in any degree justifying the wild charges of confiscation and semi-socialism in regard to landed property, which have been directed against it, is in danger of becoming the most powerful engine ever placed in the hands of a landed aristocracy for the enhancement of rent. If, indeed, the wise appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor is disregarded, the Rent Bill is, and must be, in effect the legalization of the very practise of the great landlords of Behar, which has reduced the Garden of India to be the bye-word that it is. What that practise has been is known to every one who has lived a week in Behar or has studied its social condition for a day. It was supreme in its simplicity. A succinct and summary order went forth from the Managing Office of the Zemindar that a *beshi* or enhancement of two or four annas in the rupee was to be demanded from his tenantry all round and the thing was done. Half a sheet of Queen's size note-paper would contain the whole monstrous illegality half-a-dozen times. It seems hardly credible, but it is the fact that it is a procedure of a very similar though more elaborate character that sections 8, 41 and 45 of the Bill develop and legalize. When one anathematizes the *thikadāri* system, as every high authority in India has done, he is only calling down the wrath of legislating men on the practise, which, in the legal language of the future, will be called enhancement by amicable settlement. The supposition always is that the tenantry are consenting parties, whilst the truth is that the enhancement is inflicted without their being even consulted. As to the *thikadar*, his position is equally fictitious. In name he is an independant land-speculator, but in fact an underling of the landlord, who pretends to accept the enhancement as a reasonable and realizable one, and then proceeds by force, intimidation, and other unlawful means to extort it. The sections of the Bill mentioned above, if unamended and unchecked, would permit, and by permitting, give the

full sanction and approval of Government to almost exactly similar enhancements made without the regulating intervention of any public authority and amounting to 25 per cent. every fifteen years. We can only say after a lengthened acquaintance with the management of Behar estates, that we have rarely known any landlord in that land of extortionate landlords, who proposed to augment his rental in this wholesale fashion, which we hope will never receive the *cachet* of the Viceregal Council. The only difference, indeed, between the old and new systems would be that the Zemindar could under the Bill dispense with the *thikadar* and all his illegalities and rascalities, whilst obtaining the same pecuniary profit for himself by strictly legal means.

It is true the framers, or more properly the emendators, of the Bill have endeavoured to fence round the dangerous provisions covered by the above sections with certain safeguards and minor limitations ; but, as we shall hereafter show, in the opinion of the most experienced officers these so-called safeguards must be futile and inoperative in practise. In actual rent transactions in backward and ignorant Behar, the sole fact that will ever reach the tenant's knowledge is, that the Legislature has unequivocally sanctioned the hated periodic enhancement of four annas in the rupee.

Before it is too late, therefore, we also venture to urge the Legislature to listen to the appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, as he tells us, "cannot divest himself of the apprehension that not only will these limitations on rent be worked up to, but that in the near future they will become the ordinary measure of rent." The tenantry of Bengal cannot too warmly thank Mr. Rivers Thompson for his firm and outspoken declaration that "the margins of enhancement given in sections 8, 41, and possibly in section 45 of the Bill, are excessive. Unless the Bill gives them a *quasi*-title to do so, few landlords in these Provinces now-a-days would venture to ask for an enhancement of 25 per cent. on rents of old arable land every 15 years. Be it remembered, that such enhancements would *quadruple* the rent in less than a century—a result which the Lieutenant-Governor cannot think has been sufficiently realized." "Mr. Rivers Thompson," the admirable minute of the Revenue Secretary tells us, "dreads these wide margins to enhancements of rents, which over large areas are already too high. *He dreads them more out of Court than in Court*, notwithstanding the attractive guise of amicable settlements, for he knows from experience that when scrutinized these 'amicable settlements' too often stand forth in less pleasing colours." As exemplifying such experience His Honor draws attention to the real facts of the

rent disputes in Maimansingh, which have been so largely used in an utterly distorted version to colour a picture of wronged and ruined zemindars, beaten to earth by the lawless combinations of fanatical Wahabi tenants.

We must confess that till very recently we were amongst those, who in our hearts regretted that the new Rent Bill was being applied beyond the limits of Behar. In our ignorance, we fear we must admit, we would gladly have followed the principle of *laissez aller* in Bengal Proper. We were so engrossed by the pitiable condition of the Behar ryot that we failed to observe that the zemindars of Eastern Bengal had themselves brought about a state of things that no Government could overlook. The excellent report of the Collector of Maimansingh, Mr. R. M. Waller, has entirely changed our views. No one, who has not read his irrefutable arguments, can have any idea how solely and absolutely the zemindars are responsible for the confusion and crime, which have made that district notorious for years back. "A review," this officer writes, "of the history of the policy of the zemindars towards their ryots in the Maimansingh *pargana* shows that, so far as this portion of the Lower Provinces is concerned, there might almost as well have existed no rent-law at all since 1859, for the provisions of that and subsequent Acts passed by the Legislature for the regulation of the relations of landlord and tenant seem to have been entirely ignored. *Rents have been capriciously enhanced from time to time, and the objectionable system of farming out portions of the estate to the highest bidder seems to have been the rule.* The zemindars, whilst obliged to admit that this has in fact been the result of their management, plead that it having always been the custom of the *pargana* to revise the rent-roll at short intervals, they were perfectly justified, notwithstanding the provisions of the Rent Acts, in preserving the *status quo* ante 1859 and trying to prevent the accrual of rights of occupancy." The simple English of which is that the landlords, having defied the law for quarter of a century and having wiped their feet in its most vital provisions, are now posing as the victims of a tenantry, who, forsooth, have at last refused to pay absolutely illegal rents.

Pargana Maimansingh is the largest fiscal division in the north of the district. Rent troubles are by no means its peculiar portion. Its relative position is taken in the south by the great estate known as *pargana* Kágmari. Mr. Waller gives a large tabular statement showing the rates of rental village by village in the property of its five-anna sharholder in the Bengali years B. S. 1285, 1286 and 1289. We regret that its length prevents us reproducing it in full, but Mr. Waller's summary and comment may suffice. "By the settlement of B. S. 1286," he

states, "the gross rental, which in 1285 was Rs. 70 000, (and not very long before had been Rs. 40,000, while it had been held in *ijará* for some 30 years) was raised to the sum of a lakh and a quarter (Rs. 1,25,000), and in 1289 to a lakh and a half (Rs. 1,50,000.)" That is to say the rental of this property has been, in absolute contravention of the law, forced up 300 per cent. within a very few years, and actually doubled in four years. "The rates," Mr. Waller remarks, "speak for themselves, and together with the short period of the settlement and the terms of the *kabúliyats* seem quite sufficient to account for the present refusal to pay rent." Mr. Waller then gives, in the form of appendices, the statements of several ryots from different parts of *pargana* Maimansing in regard to the rental, past and present, of their holdings. The following are a few instances of enhancement appearing in them. We admit we have chosen the worst cases, because a system, which almost insolently rejects all reform on the ground of its inherently immaculate character, may fairly be judged by the maximum amount of mischief it is calculated to inflict. In the course of 21 years one ryot's rent had been increased, first from Rs. 27 to Rs. 54, a couple of years later to Rs. 92, and finally to Rs. 141, at which point he rebelled and joining a local combination became one of those wicked recusant tenants, who are driving the most loyal class in the country to beggary and despair. On the same estate the rents of three other ryots were increased *per saltum* at a single enhancement from Rs. 85 to Rs. 150, from Rs. 9 to Rs. 29, and, as a climax of zemindari justice and moderation, from Rs. 24 to Rs. 160. We also find a rental of Rs. 6 increased to Rs. 18, of Rs. 9 to Rs. 26, of Rs. 15 to Rs. 56, and of Rs. 30 to Rs. 111. And this is evidence collected, sifted and commented on with singular calmness by an officer of unquestionably conservative opinions.

When the Lieutenant-Governor with his long and wide experience of Bengal definitely expresses his "dread" of so-called "amicable settlements" or *kabúliyats*, as they are called when reduced to writing, we may reasonably anticipate the existence of some very strong evidence in support of such grave apprehensions. From Maimansingh the Collector writes: "As regards the Kágmári ryots it is true that they have refused to pay rents they gave registered *kabúliyats* for; but the terms of these *kabúliyats* are such as it is impossible to believe a body of *khud-khúst* ryots could have willingly and knowingly agreed to, barring, as they do, not only the accrual of rights of occupancy, but making those already possessed of them renounce all claim to them and become tenants-at-will liable to eviction at pleasure. *It seems to me, therefore, that the zemindars of Kágmári have no one but*

themselves to blame for the state of things that has arisen on their estates." It was one of these gentlemen, as we noticed above, who, in a few years, increased his rental for Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 1,50,000. Mr. Waller, it will be observed, seems to believe that these extraordinary "amicable settlements," which, by the way, were duly registered in our offices by the hundred, were obtained under some form of pressure, or were signed by the ryots in utter ignorance of their contents. That *kabúliyats* are actually executed under these unsatisfactory conditions is not a circumstance that redounds much to the landlord's credit. Such vicious agreements could have no value in a court of civil justice. Their worse than worthlessness, however, is strongly suspected. We find reference to personation at the registry office and local munsifs, native gentleman of impartiality and experience, have frequently rejected them as fraudulent and more than hint that they have in some cases been forged. So deeply is the first Munsif of Atiya, a sub-division of Maimansingh, impressed by the purely fictitious nature of these so-called "amicable arrangements," that he boldly declares that "*to allow the rent of an occupancy ryot to be enhanced by registered contract would be to afford him no protection at all.*" The chief Munsif of Barisal takes up a similar position and devotes a large part of his report to the description of a case, in which a Zemindar made three successive attempts at extorting *kabúliyats* by force, and finally succeeded in obtaining these "amicable settlements" at enhanced rates after he had secured the conviction, probably with the connivance of the police, of his principal tenants, whom he had wantonly provoked to so-called riot but real self-defence. The first Munsif of Baraset, the Munsif of Netrakona, and other native civil judges unite in depicting the hollowness and baselessness of enhancement by registered contract, which it is proposed to make the backbone of the new Bill. Indeed, there is nothing more pleasant for an advocate of the more extended employment of native agency in our administration than the sound, experienced, practical reports of the native judges of Bengal, when compared with the exotic theorizings of some very distinguished Anglo-Indian legal luminaries. We have not found in these documents, it is true, a single reference to "landholding" in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha or the United States of America, or even to the land systems of England or Bombay. These gentlemen know a great deal about Bengal—many of them as man and boy for fifty years—and they are satisfied with that knowledge when discussing a Bengal Rent Bill. As we will point out later on, the most practical, if not also the ablest, report by an executive officer comes from the pen of the native Magistrate of the District of Bakharganj.

Thus far we have attempted to draw attention to the great "dread" of the Lieutenant-Governor in regard to rent enhancement and the extreme reasonableness of his fears. We will now venture to put forward the measure, which, though not a panacea, Mr. Rivers Thompson regards as the sole preventive left in the hands of Government to resist the greatest evil this country is suffering from. The declaration of a maximum limit of rent in terms of the gross produce of the land is "The Core of the Rent Bill."

Some limitation on rent is in itself justifiable. Rent may in Bengal be regarded for the most part as the interest of capital invested in the purchase of land, and we find that the profits of capital are universally limited in all civilized countries by the condition that they must be consistent with the reasonable health and comfort of the labourers, by whose industry they are originally produced. The Factory Acts are based on this principle, and are in fact nothing more or less than a demand by the State that factory hands should be permitted to live and thrive as a condition precedent to the accumulation of profit. The laws for the protection of seamen undoubtedly diminish the gains of the shipping trade. The cost of working mines is greatly increased, and the dividends arising from the capital invested in them proportionately reduced by the interference of the Legislature in favour of the miner. Similarly the tenant is the labourer, by whose industry the landlord obtains the profits of his capital, the tenant's wages being the value of his crop in excess of his rent. Is it unreasonable or unjustifiable to give to the land-labourer some form of protection, seeing that he is very much less a free agent than the factory hand, the miner or the sailor? It is perfectly true that the limitation of rent is an utterly different form of protection from any given the abovenamed classes of labourers, but its effect on the capitalist is precisely the same. It reduces the interest of his capital in order to enable his labourers to live in ordinary comfort and health.

We are certainly not amongst those who bear any form of ill-will to the great holder of land. Amongst capitalists he is individually very much the most useful member of the body politic. In this country as an honorary magistrate or in other public capacities his leisure enables him to be a most useful citizen. When we hear of the sacred rights of property we recognize none more sacred than his. No form of profit is more justly the object of Government aid in its realization than rent, on the one supreme condition that the rent demanded is a fair and reasonable one.

The Lieutenant-Governor has pointed out that, under the so-called limitation clauses of the new Bill, which are really

“stimulants” to enhancement, rents may be quadrupled in less than a century. We venture to say that under a law, in which the action of these limiting clauses is not itself limited, fair and reasonable rents are impossible. It is a very remarkable fact that this view was maintained at the Conferences of the District officers of the two Divisions, within which rent difficulties and disputes are a source of constant care to the executive. The opinions of five of the Divisional Conferences held last July and August, namely, those of the Presidency, Rajshahi, Burdwan, Dacca and Patna Divisions were regarded as authoritative. It is, however, important to note that for many years back in hardly any of the districts of the two first named Divisions has there been any serious trouble arising from rent disputes. There is consequently a great deal of theory and *à priori* argument apparent in the deliberations of their officers. For instance, in the Presidency Conference the so-called rule of demand and supply was nakedly proposed as a reasonable guide to rent enhancement, the fact being entirely overlooked that it was never intended to employ it as a principle influencing legislative policy, except in regard to things capable of increased supply. If the supply cannot be increased, as is the case with land, and no public interest bars the application of the principle of supply and demand we talk of a monopoly or fancy price. The guardians of the common weal may regard with indifference such prices when demanded for furs or diamonds or the best suite of rooms in a Rue de Rivoli hotel, but it is quite a different affair when the object of monopoly is some great public convenience, such as railways, or in a still more important degree, land. The Legislature will have no railway rings and fixes fares to a pice. Even the poor hackney cabby submits his charges to the strictest regulation by time and distance. The landed monopolist must similarly learn to bend the knee to public necessities.

The Rajshahi Conference was remarkable for one fact quite apart from the charge made, with high authority, that it did not approach its deliberations with as much impartiality as might be desired. In one district of the Rajshahi division, Pubna, rent disputes have been dangerously prominent, and its Magistrate-Collector took the very same view of the question of enhancement that the Lieutenant-Governor now insists on. The Burdwan Conference, although its deliberations were marked by much ability and freedom from prejudice, seemed unable to keep out of sight the entirely exceptional condition of the Government estates in Midnapur. Its opinions, consequently, though locally of high value, are tinged by a narrowness of view that has detracted from their authority, particularly on the question of rent enhancement.

The experiences of the District Magistrates assembled at Patna and Dacca have been very different from those of their brother officers, who met at Calcutta and Darjeeling. It is a fact beyond dispute that the new Rent Bill would never have seen the light had their experiences been similar in recent years. It is unhappily the case that it is the bitter warfare waged between landlords and tenants in the Patna and Dacca Divisions that have made rent legislation the urgent question it is to-day. The opinions of the men, who have given the best of their time to keeping the peace between these angry contending forces, are deserving of a special regard. In the Patna Conference one officer, the Magistrate of Sarun, supported in a marked way, certain pretensions of the indigo planters, who have usually played the part of allies to the zemindars of Behar. We notice the fact with pleasure. It was desirable that this great industry should make its case fully heard when its interests were under discussion. We do not, however, intend to discuss any of the special points raised by Mr. Forbes in his advocacy of the indigo planter. We desire to draw attention to the circumstance that it is this gentleman, who first, at the Patna Conference, renewed the demand for a limitation on rent enhancement based on the gross produce of the land. He moved that the enhanced rent "shall not in any case exceed one-fifth of the estimated average annual value of the ordinary produce calculated at the price, at which the ryots sell at harvest time." Mr. Forbes justified his motion by the argument, which to us seems unanswerable, that "there seemed to be *no other effectual way of protecting* occupancy ryots from a gradual enhancement of the prevailing rate, till it will practically become rack-rent." "Even the best landlords," he points out, "are gradually raising the rents of the lands on which the ryots venture to grow special crops, year by year, on *the principle of leaving to the ryot as small a margin of profit as will suffice for his subsistence.*" Such being the practice of the best landlords, the recurring famines in Behar are immediately explained by the fact that the worse, and unfortunately more numerous class of zemindars, do not leave to their tenantry enough to keep body and soul together, except in unusually prosperous years.

Mr. Forbes gives us a grim ideal of his "best and most liberally-minded landlord" in the person of the Raja of Hutwa, who extorts Rs. 20 a *bigha* for opium land. We have often wondered how long the Financial Department will allow itself to be fleeced by this peculiar impost of the Behar landlords on the production of opium. The land itself has no special fitness. It is of exactly the same quality as the surrounding fields that bear rice or maize

or wheat. The only difference is that the tenant has obtained a Government license to cultivate opium. "A fig for your Government license," cries the Most Loyal Class in the country, "not a grain of opium seed will you put down till you have paid us a rent (or rather a special fee and tax) of four or five or six times the ordinary rent of the land. And look you here; if you go grumbling and complaining to the Opium Agent we will stop its cultivation altogether, and make your village over on lease to Mr. so-and-so, the indigo planter." To such a degree of power have landlord pretensions grown in Behar, and to such a humble condition have Government interests fallen. We would not venture to say how many lakhs of State revenue do not the loyal and public-spirited Maharajas of Behar transfer to their capacious coffers by this cool process of taxing Government, at a most exorbitant rate, for the growth of opium.

Mr. Forbes and several of his brother Magistrates at Patna found an one-fifth produce maximum the sole possible preventive of rack-renting. The Dacca Conference, including the Magistrate of Maimansingh, arrived unanimously at a similar opinion in the following resolution:—"When rents payable by occupancy ryots are enhanced by private contract, they shall not in any case exceed one-fifth of the gross produce of the land or any other smaller proportion that may be fixed by the Local Government for local areas." Thus we find the two best informed and most experienced executive conferences declaring for the very maximum, which the Lieutenant-Governor is now pleading with the Supreme Council to accept.

Of all the District officers who were called on to aid Government with their advice on this most difficult and vital question, there was only a single native of the Lower Provinces, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Magistrate of Bakharganj and one of the members of the Dacca Conference. In his case again we find that a life-long experience of the relations of landlords and tenants in Bengal have led him to precisely similar conclusions. In the 45th paragraph of his very able report, he almost repeats the language of Mr. Forbes before the Patna Conference: "I regret," he writes, "the exclusions of this maximum limit, because with that limit we have lost *the only one protection against rack-renting* which would be found *efficacious in practise*. All the other complex safeguards provided in the present Bill will be completely ignored and evaded in practise." After alluding to the persistent disregard of the existing rent-law in the districts, in which he has served, Mr. Dutt proceeds:—"Judging, then, from the ways in which rents are forced up by landlords, I have no hesitation in stating that the limits

now prescribed against excessive enhancement will be wholly inoperative against rack-renting. On the other hand, the rule of maximum rent in 'proportion to produce was *a simple and effective* rule which would have saved ryots from rack-renting. It would prevent much litigation ; it would prevent the fabrication of much false evidence about the rates of rent and the rise in prices, and its operation would have been wholesome and effective." The supreme necessity of the imposition of this maximum limit is, indeed, the most prominent idea in the report of the only native District Magistrate in Bengal. He recurs to it again and again. In a subsequent paragraph he writes :—" As the *only practically efficacious bar* against excessive enhancement—and the *only measure which can prevent rack-renting* in Behar and widespread disputes and ill-feeling in Eastern Bengal—the maximum limit rule should be enacted into law and should not be abandoned." Further on, Mr. Dutt plainly declares that "It would be better, in my opinion, to postpone legislation altogether than to pass this Bill without *the one positive check* it contained on rack-renting in Behar and rent disputes in Eastern Bengal." We would endorse this opinion in the strongest manner. If this all-important provision is excised from the Bill, that measure will become as useless a piece of legislation as the Irish Land Act of 1871, and we have not the smallest doubt but that ten years will not have passed away before the Legislature will have been forced to produce, under far less favorable conditions, a new Rent Bill containing the very provision now in danger of rejection.

It may be said that rent-suits now-a-days are exclusively tried by the Munsifs or native civil judges. When such cases come before European judicial officers it is almost invariably on appeal in connection with some point of law and not of fact. That is, the Munsifs are brought into intimate acquaintance with the merits of such suits, whilst the European judges are called on to exercise their higher skill in the application of the existing law. There can be no question of the comparative value of the two classes of knowledge so obtained when it is proposed to enact a new rent-law. The reports laid before Government bear out natural anticipations as regards their character. The European Judges' opinions are all that can be desired as regards procedure, the various legal "presumptions," the legal "status" of parties, the principles of "compensation," the "legal value" of registration, the most advisable forms of "execution," "distrain," "service," &c. The Munsifs go straight for the merits of the changes proposed as they are likely or unlikely to result in an improvement of the existing relations between landlords and tenants. They rarely refer to previous decisions of the High Court.

Their language is seldom even legal in its form. Their reports, on the contrary, are full of plainly narrated experiences from the daily routine work of their courts. They are in a word practical and, coming from native gentlemen of impartiality, education, and, above all, of the widest and minutest experience, invaluable to the Reformer. We will quote a few of them:

To begin with the near neighbourhood of Calcutta, we find the Judge of the Small Causes Court, Sealdah, a very senior and able officer, after describing the insurmountable difficulties surrounding the existing law regarding enhancement, declaring that "the gross produce test, in my humble opinion, was a more sure one. Unfortunately it has been abandoned by the Legislature. The ryots and the landlords are accustomed to it as could be seen from the existence of *bhowali* and *bhágjote* tenures. It would have given the courts *a tangible and satisfactory* way of dealing with such cases." The Munsif of Baraset adds his regrets on the omission of the maximum limit for exactly the same reason, "Rent in India was always a certain share of the gross produce." This is really the heart of the whole question. Years and years ago acting under the influence of English barristers and English ideas of land-holding, we revolutionized the whole land and rent system of the country. We created landlords in the English sense where there had been none, and we degraded the vast mass of the peasantry of Bengal from the independent position of a free-holding yeomanry, paying in rent a fixed proportion of their crops or its money value, to that of rack-rented tenants-at-will. There is only one thing left for us to do, and that is, to face right round and forgetting Merry England and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and the United States, take up the thread of native custom in regard to land-holding and patiently unravel it. The Musalman conquerors of India, with all their oppression of its old inhabitants, never permitted the zemindars to demand from the people more than one-fourth of the produce of their fields, although they themselves were forced to contribute ten-elevenths of their rentals to the public exchequer. At the worst we should not exceed this limit, whilst we would hope that our character for humanity would require a lower one.

There is little need of further adding to the mass of authoritative opinion reproduced above. We venture, however, to extend our quotations to a very few other important officials. The Munsif of Atiya, who holds his court in *pargana Kágmári* in the District of Maimansingh, one of the very centres of agrarian disturbance, gives us as the result of his special experience the statement that "It seems to me that one-fifth of the gross produce would be a very fair maximum rate; it is the limit which never ought to be exceeded." The

decision of the Select Committee of the Viceroy's Legislative Council to reject this limit is very ably met by another native civil judge, the Munsif of Baraset, and in much the same significant language as that used by Mr. Forbes and Mr. R. C. Dutt. "Instead of taking away *the only absolute check on rack-renting*," he writes "Government should be prepared to meet the difficulty—nay, it is its duty to do so, considering that it admits that it has neglected to protect the ryots for a very long number of years. The prevailing rate is retained as a ground of enhancement. But which is the more difficult to ascertain—the prevailing rate or the gross produce of land in staple crops? *Undoubtedly it is the former.* The gross produce of different classes of land may be ascertained, if not with mathematical correctness, at least, with sufficient accuracy to meet the purposes of the tenancy law." If there is any one point on which the judiciary of Bengal, European and native, is united in opinion it is that the ground of enhancement retained by the Select Committee is, and always has been, unworkable in practise in our civil courts. Even the Eastern Bengal Landlords Association declares "What is deemed the prevailing rate in each particular locality is one of the most difficult of questions." His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor does not hesitate to state that "the prevailing rate is condemned by the weight of authoritative opinion as illogical, unnecessary and mischievous." And it is this provision, which must be worse than useless in its effects, for it admits of being worked only through fraudulent and collusive methods, that is to take the place of the immemorial, simple, and just check on rents that every advocate of the tenantry demands.

For ourselves we have to say in conclusion that simultaneously with the adoption of measures for putting the rent system of this country on an equitable footing, there is nothing we would more strongly urge on the attention of the Legislature than provisions to assist the realization of just and reasonable rents. Such provisions we are glad to think will form part of the Rent Bill, whilst the proposed law which has been introduced into the Bengal Council for the Registration of Tenures and their subjection to a summary procedure in order to the realization of rent arrears is a very important step in the same direction.

We hold that the landlords of Bengal have a claim, and a very strong claim, on the Legislature for some simple and effective means of realizing their rents, which they have so soon to hand over in large part as land-revenue to the State, but we hope that they will never obtain such legislative benefits till they have taken to heart the great principle of doing unto others as they would others would do unto them.

C. J. O'DONNELL.

ROS SOLIS.—THE DROSERA : A CARNIVOROUS
PLANT.

1. A little simple plant it is—
The Drosera,—the Drosera
That hath destroyed my way.
O'er all the fields it scattered is
Alas ! and well a day,
For I had thought that Eden land
Existed still to-day.
2. They know it well, the wee Sundew
In Britain's distant fields
Familiar as the bell of blue
And side by side they often grew
By my most lonely way.
I never thought that Eden land
Would thus be stol'n away.
3. I looked upon the leaf yestreen
And eke upon the flower,
And what was there disclosed I ween,
Did sweetest sense o'erpower.
Alas ! and well a day,
For there I saw dear Eden land
Reduced to common clay.
4. There's a strife of law and life
Throughout all life's domain,
“ But surely,” to myself I said,
“ The flowers will sure refrain.”
Alas ! and well a day,
And had I found the thing I prayed
I'd happy been to-day.

5. But this I saw within the claw
Of Drosera—of Drosera !
Three beautiful;blue butterflies
That in her spells remain.
Their lives were ta'en, their bodies slain—
Upon thy leaf they lay.
6. And curse of man, and curse of God
Upon thee shall remain
Thou humble murderer of the clod
That beauty hath so slain,
Alas ! and well a day,
O ! Drosera—O ! Drosera*
That dwells upon the plain !

28th September 1884.

J. J. W.

* See my Uncle Toby's remark : " I am very sorry for him."

THE QUARTER.

THE principal Indian events of the Quarter have been—the departure of Lord Ripon ; the arrival of Lord Dufferin ; the publication by the Government of Bengal of their final Report on the Bengal Rent Bill ; the publication by the Government of India of a Resolution on the report of the Education Commission ; the Purneah outrage case ; the progress of the Afghan Boundary Commission ; the evidence taken before the Commission appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and the progress of our “ little war ” in the Zhob valley.

It is difficult, perhaps entirely impossible, to estimate with anything like accuracy the position which Lord Ripon's viceroyalty will occupy in the history of India. The policy of his administration has been bitterly assailed—it has been as enthusiastically lauded—and some considerable time must elapse before it can be judged in anything like an impartial spirit. We stand too near ; and when a whole country is divided as it were into two camps, those who are keenly interested *pro* or *con* in the legislation of the hour, it is certain, that the statesman responsible for that legislation will be judged with favour or prejudice, but not with justice. In the meantime Lord Ripon's most ardent admirers are constrained to admit that his administration has not been, practically speaking, a success, but they claim for that administration the *merit* of having been in advance of the time. Now it may be doubted, whether his claim can be allowed in any degree—and even if it is allowed—if it be conceded that Lord Ripon's measures only anticipated a time when they will be necessary or desirable—it may be reasonably questioned whether that fact can be regarded as a merit, and whether, on the contrary, it ought not to be regarded as one of the most serious faults which could by any possibility be imputed to the Viceroy's administration. To precipitate reform is to delay it—often to prevent it altogether, and Lord Ripon has probably been the worst enemy of the policy which he represents and the administrative changes which he tried to effect. Lord Ripon's admirers are convinced that the Ilbert Bill was a measure which, if it had been delayed, for say 15 years, would have been passed into law with no difficulty whatever ; would have been accepted by the European community as the logical corollary of all antecedant legislation

having for its object the equalization of the two races in the eyes of the law. If this is really the case we, the opponents of the Bill, owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Ripon. Any future attempt in the direction aimed at by the Bill has been rendered for ever impossible now.

Lord Ripon, before he left India, made a sort of triumphal progress through the country, and was everywhere received by the natives with every demonstration of enthusiasm and respect. This was as it should have been. The natives are perfectly justified in looking at Lord Ripon's administration from a native point of view, and Lord Ripon's good intentions towards them are altogether unquestionable. But it would only be too easy for Lord Ripon, and his admirers, to put a very false construction, indeed, on His Excellency's undoubted popularity with the millions whom he *intended* to benefit. The demonstrations in favour of Lord Ripon were calculated to emphasize and accentuate in the minds of the more ignorant and unthinking sections of the native community the profoundly erroneous impression, that Lord Ripon's opponents were, as a rule, men wanting in sympathy with natives and anxious to perpetuate race-distinctions and race-prejudice. This is the broad view taken of the question by millions of the natives themselves, but that view is altogether erroneous and utterly unjust. Mr. Rivers Thompson was opposed to the Ilbert Bill, but that opposition, so far from being conceived in a spirit of hostility to the native community, was dictated, from the first, by the sincerest regard for what he believed to be the truest and best interests of the natives themselves. He foresaw that the Ilbert Bill, if it was passed into law, against the feeling of the English people, would mark a new departure in the relations between European and natives, and that those relations would be marked by a revival of race-hatred, the consequences of which no man could foresee. With this conviction, looking at the question from this point of view, he voted against the Bill, and for this he, one of the truest friends the native community ever possessed, has to endure the scurrilous calumnies of the native press, and see himself pilloried in every Bengalee journal as the sworn enemy of India.

Lord Dufferin was received by all classes of the community with the most marked cordiality.

Lord Dufferin's appointment is significant of the political considerations which are pressing on the attention of all thoughtful Anglo-Indian politicians just now. Russia is practically in possession of Herat, and Herat is the key of India: She can march on Herat whenever it pleases her to do so, and is impossible to believe that our Government will remain

inactive in presence of a danger at once so imminent, and so serious. In the meantime Russia is consolidating her power in Central Asia. She has practically annexed Khiva, and she is pushing forward a system of railway communication which will enormously facilitate her designs on India in the event of a war between Russia and England. It is difficult to believe that Lord Dufferin has been sent to India to continue the disastrous policy of inactivity which has brought the Russians to our very gates. It is not yet too late to redeem much of what we have lost by that policy.

Lord Dufferin's antecedents as a diplomatist encourage us to hope that he is not insensible to the blunders we have committed, and to the perils we have invited. In his speech at Belfast he was very outspoken, indeed, about the Russian menace, and he took what we believe to be a perfectly just and accurate view of the requirements of our policy just now. Too much prominence has been given, too much importance attached, to what we may call for want of a better word, the individual-opinion element in connexion with the Central Asia question. The statements or opinions of eminent Russian diplomatists (disavowing Russian designs on India) have been accepted and paraded abroad by our Government as authoritative assurances, guaranteeing our safety and the innocence, and even friendliness of Russia's designs on India. Now, as Lord Dufferin seemed to imply, it is absurd to imagine that statements of this description, even assuming them to be sincere, can have any real bearing on the question one way or the other. What a nation like Russia intends to do, or will do, when she gets the opportunity, may, as a rule, be measured by what she can do. Can Russia invade India; that is the important question for us, and, from the position which Russia now occupies, it is indisputable that she can. Would the invasion succeed? This is another and entirely separate question. Russian ability to make the attempt is what we must recognise, and on this point General Skoboleff, in his conversations with Mr. Marvin, was candor itself. It was very doubtful, indeed, whether a Russian invasion of India could be carried to a successful issue. This was frankly admitted. No man could possibly forecast the military probabilities of such an enterprise, but the invasion, whether successful or not, could scarcely fail to be productive of enormous advantages to Russia. It would detain in India the greater part of the English army, not merely for the purpose of resisting the invasion, but for the purpose of keeping watch over the Native States, as it is extremely unlikely that the Native States will remain passive in the event of a war beyond the frontier. If at such a time Russia moved on Constantinople, is it credible that England would be able to put an army

into the field which in point of numbers would be equal to the task of defending India and giving any effectual aid to the Turks? This is the Russian calculation. On the other hand, there is no need for any over anxiety on our account. Our defensive position in India is an exceedingly strong one, and, with Candahar in our possession, could be made very much stronger still. If Russia has drawn nearer to India, so have we. There can be no doubt that the process of transporting an army by sea is, in these days, and especially for a great naval and commercial power like England, a far easier one than the transport of an army by land, and in a contest of this description, the inexhaustible wealth and resources of England would tell with tremendous effect in the event of anything like a protracted contest with a poor country like Russia, because, except in territory and numbers, Russia is a poor country. This is the situation with which Lord Dufferin will have to deal, and we have every confidence that he will deal with it in a manner worthy of his great reputation and experience as one of our most cautious and vigilant diplomatists.

As regards questions of internal administration, the general tenor of Lord Dufferin's observations at Belfast would seem to imply that he is coming to India to leave them alone. This might have been anticipated. His Lordship highly eulogised the Indian services and paid them impliedly the significant compliment of believing that the internal administration of the country might with great safety, and to a very large extent, be left in their hands. The Government which Lord Dufferin represents is pledged in principle, if not in detail, to Lord Ripon's policy, and a continuance of that policy, on more cautious and tentative lines, is certainly all that can be reasonably expected from the new Viceroy, so long as he represents a Liberal Cabinet in India. It is therefore almost certain, we believe, that Lord Dufferin's arrival in India will not mark any new departure in connexion with questions of domestic policy. It is, perhaps, as well that it should be so. What India wants, in connexion with internal administration, is rest. This is the real and crying need of the country. Judges cannot keep pace with changes in the law, or executive officers with changes in all the forms of executive administration, and of the multiplication of laws and forms there is no end. All we want is, breathing time to consolidate what we possess, and for an interval of one Viceroyalty, at least, to possess our administrative souls in patience and in peace.

The final report by the Government of Bengal on the Rent Bill was published during the quarter. The report is an exceedingly able one, and states the arguments in favour of the proposed legislation in a manner so masterly and so exhaustive, that the

opponents of the Bill will have a very hard nut to crack, indeed, in any attempt to upset Mr Rivers Thompson's reasoning. Will they be equal to the task? The report includes the various reports of the various official conferences which were held by order of the Government in connection with the subject. The Bengal Government propose certain modifications, some in the interests of the zemindars, others in favor of the ryots—of the provisions of the Bill as it left the hands of the Select Committee last March; but the great principle of the Bill—the necessity for granting in one form or other fixity of tenure at fair rents to the Bengal ryot—has been resolutely maintained, and will, as we sincerely hope, be maintained to the last. The Bengal Government maintain that consistently with the maintenance of this great principle the just rights of the Zemindar are so protected, that there need be no reasonable fear that the value of their property will diminish in the least. So for those who, like ourselves, believe that the Bengal Government have satisfactorily established that position the case in favor of the Bill is, in the main, an overwhelming one. And this would seem to be the opinion of the ablest and most experienced officers who have been consulted on the subject. It would be impossible for us in the space at our command to summarize these opinions; but to those who have time to spare, and sufficient interest in the agricultural prosperity in Bengal, to stimulate their curiosity, we would recommend a perusal of the reports of the Conference of Behar officers held at Patna and of the Legal Remembrancer to Government. Their reports seem to us to sum up every thing that can be said against the Bill, and afterwards to show in the most convincing manner that the arguments in favor of the principles of the measure greatly preponderate over those which can be adduced against them. Except on one point, namely, the transferability of occupancy holdings. On that point it seems to us that Mr. Rivers Thompson has with much success reconciled the claims of the agricultural community with the dictates of prudence. In concluding a remarkable State paper, Mr. Secretary MacDonnell thus sums up the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals. These proposals are:—

- I.—To modify the presumption as to fixity of rent by requiring proof of such fixity in all future cases from 20 years before the passing of the Bill.
- II.—To abandon the proposal to convert into a tenure-holder a raiyat who sublets more than half his holding. (The Lieutenant-Governor would maintain section 209, which provides that, on the registration of tenures under any law for the time being in force, the summary sale procedure of the Bill for recovery of arrears of rent shall apply to such tenures.)
- III.—To recognize the right of free transfer of occupancy holdings among the agricultural population in Bengal Proper; but in

Behar to leave matters to be regulated by custom as at present.

- IV.—To omit the pre-emption clauses of the Bill, and to substitute for them a system of compulsory registration accompanied by notice of the transfer to the landlord.
- V.—To give to landlords in Bengal Proper a veto on transfers if the purchaser be a person who does not derive his chief subsistence and income from agriculture.
- VI.—To recognize the principle that, in the absence of reason to the contrary, the courts shall regard a rise in the price of staple food-grain as entitling the landlord to an enhancement of rent.
- VII.—To fix the percentage by which the enhanced rent shall exceed the former rent at a definite proportion (one-half is suggested for consideration) of the percentage by which the enhanced prices exceed the former prices, the other portion going as an allowance for increased cost of production.
- VIII.—To assign to enhancements on the ground of landlords' improvements a maximum limit of double the former rent.
- IX.—To abandon the provision for enhancement on the ground of a "prevailing rate," experience having shown that no such rate exists, and that the position assigned to it in the present law, has led to the construction of collusive and fictitious rates for the purpose of forcing up rents.
- X.—To abandon fluvial action as a ground of enhancement of rent, but to recognize freedom of contract between landlord and raiyat in regard to new alluvium.
- XI.—To withdraw the arbitrary limitations on enhancements by suit on account of a rise in prices, and to allow contracts for enhancement of rent out of court up to a maximum limit of 2 annas in the rupee ($12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) of the former rent, and for a minimum period of 15 years.
- XII.—To withdraw all restrictions on freedom of contract in respect of the *initial* rent of all land which may lapse to the landlord from whatever cause.
- XIII.—To re-introduce the provision that the rent of the occupancy or non-occupancy raiyat shall not exceed one-fifth of the value of the gross produce calculated in staple food-grain.
- XIV.—To give the non-occupancy raiyat a right to claim compensation for disturbance up to one-fourth of a fair rental for each year of the tenancy.
- XV.—To withdraw all restrictions on freedom of contract with under-raiyats, subject only to the provision that the under-raiyat's rent shall not exceed the value of five-sixteenths ($31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) of the gross produce calculated in staple food-grain.
- XVI.—To strengthen the customary rights of ryots in *bastu* land by providing that rights of occupancy shall accrue under the Bill in all such lands.
- XVII.—To make action under the chapter for preparing Tables of Rates dependent on the application of either party, and not, as in the Bill, on the discretion of the Local Government.
- XVIII.—To retain the present law of distraint with sharper penalties for abuse of it.
- XIX.—To omit the section regarding *utbundi* and *halhasili* lands, to regard both classes as subject to the ordinary incidents of *ryotti* land.

This concludes the observations which Mr. Rivers Thompson has, on this occasion, to offer on what is undoubtedly the most important subject

which has, since the days of the Permanent Settlement, engaged the attention of Her Majesty's Government in India. The Lieutenant-Governor ought, perhaps, to apologize for the length to which his remarks have run ; but he was anxious on this, the last opportunity which may be afforded him before the final consideration of the Bill, to explain with necessary fulness the motives which actuate him in supporting this measure, and to defend its main principles from the misconceptions to which they have been exposed. It was also his wish to record, with due advertence to the opinions of his officers, and with such argument as the time at his disposal permitted, the reasons on which, in the interests committed to his charge, he bases claims for modifications in some of the provisions of the Bill. He now respectfully confides the question to the Government of India, in the assurance that the result of their counsels will be the enactment of a Tenancy Law in Bengal, which will restore peace where unrest now prevails, and ensure the growth of prosperity and contentment among all classes of the agricultural community throughout these Provinces.

The objections to the Bill are very numerous, and so far as those objections relate to questions of detail, well deserving of consideration, but those objections so far as they deal or attempt to deal with the principle of the measure, resolve themselves into one very easily disposed piece of reasoning indeed. The Rent Bill, so we are told, will entirely upset the existing conditions of land-tenure in Bengal. Sir Leicester Dedlock had the same objection to any extension of the franchise and conveyed that objection in very much the same terms, because the truth is that he looked at the question from very much the same point of view. An extension of the franchise would "open the flood-gates of revolution" to overwhelm the "framework of society" and the "bulwarks of the constitution." Of such are the platitudes by means of which ignorant and interested conservatism tries to escape from the inevitable necessities of change—even when change is demonstratively and imperatively necessary ; change which may be delayed or postponed, but cannot possibly be permanently averted ; change which if it does not come from above, will assuredly one day come from below, for it is impossible to believe that an "open sore" of this description can be kept open indefinitely without any attempt on the part of Government at remedial legislation.

And now in connection with the Bill, there only remains the final and important consideration—When will it be passed into law ? "*If 'twere done, when 'twere done, it were well it were done quickly.*" No accusation against the Government of precipitation, or undue haste of any kind, or in any direction, can with justice be urged as a plea for further and indefinite delay in connection with this most important measure. Mr. Rivers Thompson has been careful to secure the fullest and most exhaustive discussion of the Bill, section by section, clause by clause, almost word by word, and the last words of the Government of Bengal are now under the consideration of the

Government of India. Caution and delay are admirable legislative qualifications up to a certain point, but they can very easily be carried too far when caution means nothing more than a weary and endless reiteration of exploded fallacies, and delay may mean an agrarian rising. We have deprecated—we shall always continue to deprecate—petty and incessant changes in connexion with all the details of executive administration, but a great reform of this character is merely the acceptance by the Government of a great political responsibility, forced on them by all the circumstances and conditions of land-tenure in Bengal.

The Purneah outrage case was a very regrettable incident, indeed. There was nothing very extraordinary in the details of the case itself. A native thief tried to screen himself from detection by bringing a counter charge of theft (in respect of the stolen property) against his accuser. The accuser happened to be a European gentleman of position and respectability and the police authorities (accepting the fact that a *prima facie* case had been made out against Mr. Walker), caused him to be arrested in his own house, and brought into Purneah under a guard to answer the charge. The circumstances and manner, as well as the fact of the arrest, formed the *gravamen* of the charge against the Police Inspector. If it was necessary that Mr. Walker should answer the charge, a simple summons would have been sufficient and all the painful and humiliating accompaniments of his arrest would have been avoided. As it was, Mr. Walker had no difficulty in disproving the charge, his accuser was convicted, and the native Inspector who arrested him was committed for trial, tried, and very properly acquitted. The Inspector only obeyed orders, and the responsibility for Mr. Walker's arrest did not rest with him, but with the District Superintendent of Police. The whole case was simply a mistake, arising out of the fact that the police authorities acted on imperfect and untrustworthy information, and without due inquiry. It is certain that there was no race-feeling connected with the case one way or the other, and it seems a pity that the trial was taken advantage of in certain quarters to revive race controversies and recriminations.

The Afghan Boundary Commission has not yet commenced any important part of its intended work. In our issue for October we ventured on some observations concerning the Commission to which we may be pardoned for calling some special degree of attention at the present time. We pointed out that the Commission was at best useless—at worst a source of increased danger instead of additional security in connexion

with Russian designs on India. Since our article was written, there has appeared in the November number of the "National Magazine" an article on the same subject from the pen of Arminius Vambéry, the distinguished Central Asian traveller, and perhaps the greatest living authority on Central Asian politics. The view of the Commission, and the possible outcome of its labours, taken by Vambéry is identical with our own, and the language in what he conveys his view is almost word for word identical with that employed by ourselves. The physical peculiarities of the country, according to Vambéry, are such—the interfusion of nomadic tribes about the frontier line is so great—that precise boundary definitions will be all but impossible. The new boundary line must be created. It does not exist, and if it is created, it will be an entirely artificial line which may be observed with great respect in Downing Street, but which will have neither meaning nor existence for the tribes which frequent the wild countries on either side that line. This is our loss and Russia's gain. When Russia wants to push her advance beyond this imaginary line, she will only have to foment a state of affairs on the frontier which will give her the most plausible pretext for not respecting it. Summing up, as it were, on the whole question the objects of the Commission, and the means by which it is proposed that those objects should be gained, Vambéry concludes as follows—

And, besides, to whom can this projected frontier-cordon (which an Indian politician, Sir T. Madhava Rao, very justly described as a line "of length without strength") be of service, when the supervision of the farcical scheme is confided to agents so untrustworthy as Russian and Afghan *employés* are? Let us take it for granted that this Boundary Commission has carefully drawn out on paper the future boundary in its full length, and that, beginning at Khodja-Salih, as far as Sarakhs, or, rather, as far as Pul-i-Khatum on the Heri-Rud, all those points have been taken note of which on the one side belong to Afghanistan, and on the other to Russia—is not one justified in asking whether the English officials in Calcutta or London can be informed in time of the inevitable transgressions of the boundary laws of which aggressive Russian officials may be guilty? From whom would they expect the information? From their so-called Afghan allies, on whose dominions up to the present day no British officer can venture without exposing his life, and whose officials do not even inspire their own Sovereign with confidence?

The contemplated frontier might perhaps be of service if, at intervals along its line, five or six small English garrisons could be left behind as stations on guard, stations which, on one side, would be able to communicate with each other, on the opposite side with the posts pushed forward from Quettah: these would be the only possibly trustworthy sentinels. But as this plan, judging from the dangers to which the travelling Commission is exposed, seems, in the actual condition of Afghanistan, impracticable, we cannot refrain from repeating that this Boundary Commission, with all the expense and noise of its *mise-en-scène*, is indeed a laughable comedy. It is possible that the comedy, in a mere party point of view, may serve its purpose; but Mr. Gladstone's Government have not made the shadow of an attempt at solving the question of the future—that of the

possession of India. We would rather look upon this failure as an unpardonable want of foresight, than as a conscienceless piece of self-deception. For whilst public opinion in England is lulled by these palliatives into the torpor of security, Russia has the finest opportunity, backed by this illusory frontier-line, to prepare herself in silence for that leap which will deal her death-blow to Great Britain, great and powerful as she still is at this moment. For the last twenty years England has been planning the famous buffer which is to form a wall between herself and her rival in Central Asia, and has not yet discovered the extreme want of elasticity in the Afghan material of which this contrivance is to consist.

ARMINIUS VAMBERY.

The Resolution by the Government of India on the Report of the Educational Commission is a substantial acceptance of all the more important recommendations of the Commissioners. Higher education is to be encouraged, primary education greatly extended, the educational systems obtaining in the different Presidencies are, as far as possible, to be assimilated, and district educational administration is to be handed over to a great extent to the local boards. So far so good, but a very important recommendation of the Commissioners has been quietly shelved by the Supreme Government. The professorial organization of the Department is in a very lop-sided condition just now. Many of the senior officers came out to this country when the curriculum of university education was very different indeed from the present curriculum ; when such subjects as Chemistry, Physics, Botany, &c. &c. were not taught to anything like the extent to which they are taught at present. What is the result ? The senior officers have to a great extent lost touch of the "new learning" of modern education. But it would be utterly unreasonable to expect, or demand, that these officers should retire on the miserable pittance which is dignified with the name of a pension for the Uncovenanted service. So the Commissioners recommended some improvement in the pension rules of educational officers as a means of inducing, and enabling them, to retire. This recommendation is quietly set aside by the Government of India. The question is one which was settled about thirty years ago, and it is not desirable to "re-open it." A more absurd, impolitic, or unjust decision was never arrived at even by Lord Ripon's administration, which is certainly saying a good deal.

The evidence taken before the Commission appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of Calcutta has not, so far, thrown much additional light on the vexed question of Calcutta sanitation. The general result of the inquiry has been to confirm, in every important particular, the charges against the Commissioners. This result has been obtained in spite of the strenuous

actions of Mr. Cotton who, with an ingenuity and perseverance worthy of a better cause, tried to divert the evidence of every important witness—notably Dr. Payne—from the real object of the inquiry, to petty and personal side issues, which had no real bearing on it whatever. The syllogism which represents Mr. Cotton's logic is a very comical one indeed, and will scarcely stand the test of close examination : Dr. Payne had an animus against the Commissioners. Therefore, the charges brought by Dr. Payne against the Commissioners, being inspired by personal feeling, cannot possibly be true. Dr. Payne says the Commissioners are inefficient. This cannot be true. Therefore they are efficient. Mr. Cotton is, evidently, not very strong in his Jevons or Aldrich.

G. A. STACK.

The 20th December 1884.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1883-84.

Report on the Administration of the Land Revenue of Bengal, 1883-84.

THIS is a valuable and important Report at all times, but, in connexion with the Rent Bill controversy, it possesses a very exceptional degree of value and importance just now. The general conclusion arrived at by the Lieutenant-Governor after a review of the Land Administration in Bengal for 1883, is stated in the concluding paras of the Government Resolution :—

“The general conclusion to which the Lieutenant-Governor comes on this question of the relations existing between landlords and tenants is, that the landlords, wherever they are powerful and stronger than their ryots, are now taking advantage of their position to secure themselves against the effects of the Tenancy Bill in regard to fixity of tenure and fair rents. The tenants, who are mostly ignorant, are not in a position to resist. In this may be seen the source of future difficulty which the landlords are preparing for themselves. On the other hand, where the ryots are strong and united, the landlords are getting the worst of it, and are being kept out of their just dues. On all hands, it is a matter of emergent necessity that the present unsettled condition of things should be brought to a speedy termination by the enactment of a measure which shall place the rights and liabilities of all on a sure, intelligible and equitable basis.

“The remainder of the Board's report is concerned with matters of detail, which, though important in themselves, need not be reviewed here. It is only necessary to say that the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to find that greater attention is being paid to the important duty of office inspection, and that the training of young Civilians in survey and settlement work is being attended to.”

Progress Report, Forest Administration, Bengal.

THIS Report, according to the Lieutenant-Governor, is at once “full and exhaustive,” and “needlessly lengthy,” and “overloaded with detail,”—a neat equation of praise and censure in the same sentence. The general record for

the year is not one of very satisfactory progress. The general financial results are given in the subjoined table :—

YEAR.			Receipts.	Charges.	Surplus.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1883-84	...	...	6,94,334	3,87,813	3,06,521
1882-83	...	...	6,93,959	3,82,184	3,11,775
Increase	...	...	375	5,629	.....
Decrease	...	...	.....	.....	5,254

The receipts have been almost stationary, while the charges have risen, and the surplus has fallen in proportion. No reason is assigned in the report for this sudden cessation in the steady growth of forest revenue during the last ten years, except that the reserved forests in the Sunderbuns have yielded less profit. The increase in the charges is attributed to expenses on account of the Calcutta Exhibition.

*Financial Results of the Excise Administration,
Lower Provinces, 1883-84.*

FROM a financial point the Excise Administration for the past year, has been a great success.

PERIOD.	Revenue.	Charges.	Net revenue.	Percentage of charges.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Average of 1878-79 to 1882-83	83,79,996	2,89,118	81,10,178	3.2
1882-83	97,81,850	2,65,486	95,16,414	2.7
1883-84	1,04,23,171	2,55,087	1,01,68,084	2.4
Difference of the past two years	+ 6,41,321	— 10,349	+ 6,51,670	— .8

There was thus an increase in revenue of Rs. 20,43,875 over the average of the preceding five years, and of Rs. 6,41,321 as compared with last year. Moreover, there was a decrease of Rs. 10,349 in charges as compared with 1882-83. The largest increase of revenue occurred in Patna (Rs. 1,11,190), Chittagong (Rs. 57,126), Calcutta, Suburbs, and Howrah (Rs. 41,797), Shahabad (Rs. 37,890), Monghyr (Rs. 31,580), and Lohardugga (Rs. 31,025). Only seven districts show a decrease, *vis.*, Gya (Rs. 15,263), Nuddea (Rs. 6,305), Purneah (Rs. 3,172), Rajshahye (Rs. 2,786), Dinagepore (Rs. 1,648), Noakholly (Rs. 1,559), and Backergunge (Rs. 469).

But His Honor postpones to another opportunity any observations on the all-important question in connection with Excise Administration,—the outstill system. Has the increase in excise revenue been accompanied by an increase of drunkenness among the people? On this point we have very conflicting

opinions from the District officers, but the majority are certainly of opinion that it has.

*Report on the Administration of the Salt Department of Bengal,
1883-84.*

SALT is looking up. The figures for the year 1883-84 are very satisfactory.

“The total quantity of salt in stock at the commencement of the year was 14,16,637 maunds against 23,18,543 maunds in 1882-83. During the year under review, 94,62,565 maunds were imported against 84,46,014 maunds imported in the previous year, and 637,672 maunds were manufactured locally against 2,87,846 maunds locally manufactured in 1882-83. The total quantity available for consumption during the year thus amounted to 1,15,16,874 maunds against 1,10,52,403 maunds in 1882-83. Duty was paid on 94,64,307 maunds, including 5,16,498 maunds of Bombay salt passed free of duty. The stock in hand left at the close of the year was 20,00,056 maunds against 14,16,637 maunds in the previous year. There has thus been an increase both in importation and manufacture during the year of report.

*Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department,
Government of India, for 1883-84.*

THE science of Meteorology is in its infancy, but then it is a very thriving and promising infant indeed. The most interesting part of this Report is Mr. Eliot's remarks on the storms which occurred during the year :—

1. Storm of June 13th to 16th at the commencement of the south-west monsoon, and which gave the first heavy burst of rainfall to Behar. It formed near the Balasore Coast on the 13th, and advanced into Behar where it broke up on the 20th.
2. Storm of June 26th to July 4th. This was generated slowly near the Sandheads on the 26th and 27th, and was of considerable intensity, and remained nearly stationary until the 29th. It crossed the Balasore coast early on the morning of the 30th.
3. Storm of July 6th to 8th. This was formed at or near the Sandheads under similar conditions to the preceding, but was of small intensity. It crossed the Balasore coast on the afternoon of the 7th.
4. Storm of the 12th to 14th of July. This began to form on the morning of the 12th off the south Orissa coast, across which (between False Point and Gopalpore) the centre advanced on the evening of the 13th, or early on the morning of the 14th into the Central Provinces. It was of slight intensity.
5. Storm of the 16th to 18th of August. This was formed in the north-west angle of the Bay, and crossed the north Orissa coast near Balasore. This storm was very small, and of every slight intensity, and of no importance.
6. Storm of the 23rd to the 26th of August. This was generated further to the south than the preceding storm, and crossed the Ganjam coast between Gopalpore and Vizagapatam on the evening of the 25th. It was of slight intensity.
7. Storm of the 30th August to the 3rd of September. This depression

crossed the coast near Balasore on the afternoon of the 2nd of September and was of moderate intensity.

8. Storm of the 6th and 7th of September. This was formed immediately after the preceding, and followed along nearly the same track, crossing the Orissa coast to the south of Balasore on the morning of the 7th. It was of small intensity.

9. Storm of the 11th to the 15th of November. This was apparently generated in the Martaban Gulf, and advanced first in a north-westerly direction to latitude 16° N. and longitude $93^{\circ} 45'$ E. in the neighbourhood at Diamond Island, and then recurved slightly and moved northwards parallel to the coast and broke up in the neighbourhood of Akyab during the afternoon of the 14th. This was the most severe and intense storm of the year in the Bay, but was of very limited extent, and hence did not apparently affect the weather in the north-west angle of the Bay.

10. Storm of the 2nd to the 4th of December.

11. The above list of storms for the year 1883 presents two important peculiarities, which are both illustrations of generalizations and deductions, to which attention has been called in my cyclone reports. The first is the unusually large number of small cyclonic storms during the period when the south-west monsoon was in force at the head of the Bay and in Bengal. The south-west monsoon of last year was unusually weak, and terminated abruptly in the latter part of September. A weak monsoon is usually accompanied with heavier rainfall than usual near the head of the Bay, and with the consequent formation of a larger number of cyclonic storms or atmospheric whirls. The past south-west monsoon has apparently been a well marked illustration of this principle. The other important feature was the absence of storms during the period extending from the 15th of September to the 10th of November. After the abrupt termination of the south-west monsoon in Northern India, north-easterly winds set in almost immediately on the Coromandel Coast and gave heavy rain for several weeks, so that the commencement of the north-east monsoon in Madras last year was one of the most favourable for agricultural operations which that Presidency has experienced for some years. Heavy continuous rain on the Madras Coast during the October transitive period is, as indicated by the condensation theory of cyclones, unfavourable to the formation of cyclonic whirls on the Bay at that time. Experience confirms this, and indicates that a strong north-east monsoon on the Madras Coast, with heavy and more or less continuous rain over the land, is associated with an absence of cyclones in the Bay. The past year was a remarkable example of this principle. The October transition period was characterised by unusually fine weather in the Bay, and by the non-occurrence of a single storm until the 11th of November, when rainfall ceased for some time in the Madras Presidency.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Malleson's Battle-fields of Germany. London: W. H. Allen, & Co., 1884.

AMONG the most successful of literary Anglo-Indians, Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., occupies a prominent place alike by virtue of versatility and industry. From the Struggles of the French in India to the Wars of the Republic of Genoa is a wide step; and now,—after a brief but useful return to India in the biography of Clive,—the gallant author has turned to a new source of interest in the Military History of Germany, from the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War to the Battle of Blenheim. During that century of wonders, there were many reputations won and lost, much labour and heroism among all classes, with an amount of mischief, misery, and demoralisation from which Central Europe has hardly yet recovered. On this dark background the names of Banner and Toostenen, Pappenheim and Wallenstein, Sobieski and Duke Bernhard, Marlborough and Prince Eugene, Turenne and Condé, above all, the great and good Gustavus, King of Sweden, shine out in lurid splendour.

The events of this long and busy period are too numerous and important to be all treated with equal fulness in the compass of one volume. But Colonel Malleson has done what was wanted; and by the manner in which he has done it, has filled a blank on the shelves of European history. Narrating the great battles with a minuteness of detail due to thorough study both of books and of the localities, drawing the portraits of the principal actors with a spirited and yet impartial hand, he has linked them together with skilful literary art. His style, as is the case with all writers of ability, has gained with practice. It is more sustained than of old; with fewer "purple patches," and none of those stretches of somewhat common-place dissertation that occasionally occur in some of his earlier works.

II. G. KEENE.

The National Review for October, contains some noteworthy and remarkable papers. Lord Salisbury argues from a statistical

standpoint in favor of redistribution, and makes out an excellent case for his view of the question. Proceeding from a consideration of the redistribution question to a general review of Mr. Gladstone's tactics, Lord Salisbury says :—

"Formerly, it was in most cases only 'plundering' that an Opposition had to deal with. Occasionally there were wide divergences of principle; but the ordinary work of an Opposition was to convince the country that the Ministers were guilty of mistaken aims and incompetent administration, and the obvious, and, indeed, only cure they had to recommend was that they should be allowed to try their hands and prove their own superiority. This is the essential function of an Opposition under a system of party government, and must remain so as long as party government exists. Perhaps it tends to justify the old denunciation of party, 'the means of the many for the profit of the few'; but the means must be worked in no other way. It is not possible to remedy the blunders of a Government, except by changing the men who compose it. But in addition to this primary duty, the shifting of political issues has imposed upon the Conservative Opposition a totally different function, which can be limited at least to a considerable extent, even when a change of Government is impracticable. They have to prevent 'plundering' as well as to remedy 'plundering'; and the performance of this duty interferes throughout the country quite as much as the plundering itself. Under a Radical Government, now-a-days, the Opposition, which at the beginning of the century spread itself about on the shoulders of the Government, was now to be found on the shoulders of the Opposition. It is felt in a Turkish province, on the day when a new Pasha has been appointed. They know the place, and they are 'I about it to begin.'"

Mr. Frederick Harrison comes in for some hard knocks from Mr. Wilfred Ward, in connection with his (Mr. Harrison's) latest developments of Positivism :—

"And here we have the key to the whole difficulty. Mr. Harrison had preached a high-sounding creed with his usual air of belief; but we now know that his religious words were not to be taken literally. There was a 'Providence'; but it was a Providence only in a Pickwickian sense; it aroused feelings of ecstasy, that is, of Pickwickian ecstasy; he expressed a Pickwickian hope that it would be with us in death, and an expectation that we should be 'incorporated into its enduring life' in a purely Pickwickian sense. In fact, Mr. Harrison's new creed is the translation of his old creed from Pickwickian into English. 'How were a phrase,' he had proudly exclaimed in his criticism of the Unknowable, 'must any religion be of which neither belief nor worship nor conduct can be spoken?' And in consequence his readers were naturally led to look closely at these three elements as they are supplied by Positivism. The belief is belief in 'a Power controlling our lives,' in 'something immeasurably nobler and stronger than self'; that is nothing is Humanity. Comte called it the Supreme Being. Mr. Harrison explained that our feelings towards it are so ecstatic as to build an almost 'infinite idea'; that it is 'the source of all good and our perpetual Providence.' This seemed to promise well for the element of belief. But when we press closer, we are told the Power is only a power, as the wall against which we bump our heads is a power which can hurt us; that it has no consciousness; that its Providence has no care for our individual lives; that it is immeasurably nobler than self only if we exclude from consideration what is ignoble, immeasurably stronger only because many men are stronger than one. So, too, we have always understood that two men are better than one

in a fight ; and I remember a riddle which I used to hear as a child, which asked 'What makes more noise than a lion roaring' ? And the answer was 'Two lions roaring' The Supreme Being, the Power, Humanity, like those gigantic figures seen on a mountain through the mist, diminishes in size as we approach it, and become more sure of its reality ; until at last, when we touch it, we discover that what seemed so awful is only mortal man like ourselves. Surely I cannot be accused of exaggeration or of throwing undue ridicule on Mr. Harrison's position, if I say that to call belief in our fellowmen—for it comes to nothing more as he now explains it—religious belief is to use the phrase in a very Pickwickian sense."

But perhaps the most interesting paper in the *National* is that by Mr. Gallenga on Italian Social Life. The military prospects of Italy are thus summed up by an ardent and patriotic Italian :—

"But, alas ! the proof of an army is in the fighting ; and, however well appointed a regular force may be it must fail for permanent success on a warlike people arrayed in its rear as a second line in reserve. A real military army can only be draughted out of a nation of men. Physically, I am afraid, the Italians can find no few ready available recruits except among their hard-working and better educated, though half-starved peasantry. The peasant race is brave, but almost every ounce of man is to unnerve it : their habits, their early and unrelenting labour, exhausts their apt—for how can a man be a man on *per sempre* *mezzo* alone ? The race is honest, docile, highly susceptible of good and bad and evil influences. There is nothing you cannot do with an Italian. Nothing an Italian will not do aware of the cost. He is a good soldier. But he requires sound and steady, though gentle and kind discipline. Strong discipline must be curbed with a strong though kind and humane hand. The knife should be taken from him as the sting from a wasp. What has stayed Italy in her progress is that morbid humanitarianism that came in with second-hand French democracy, and taught that humanity of punishment would be the best preservative against crime and enormity of crime. 'Do away with the gallows and the cat o' nine tails,' democratic philanthropy taught, 'and your republic will be a happy family.'

"But the contrary should be the doctrine : the Italians should be taught to love and fear the law. They seem to begin to see the error of their ways now, when that impunity of crime which had demoralized social order, threatens to smother the foundations of military discipline. They find that, after all, there is no good in doing good and doing bad. They will soon be aware that good discipline may be equally used to some advantage."

A. GALLENGA.

A short history of the Indian people.

WE observe that this admirable little publication has already reached a sixth edition, and that a new edition will shortly be published. The popularity of this little treatise is thoroughly deserved. The book is intended for schools, and it is in every respect admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is intended. Dr. Hunter's style is always charming : flowing, lucid, graceful, and the matter of the book is admirably divided and arranged. In a work of this kind the difficulty which besets the compiler, is rejection not selection. There are mountains of materials, but in what to retain is shown the art of

the skilful compiler—and here Dr. Hunter is at his best. The selections have been most judicious—no important historical fact, or at least no fact having an important bearing on the larger events of Indian history is omitted—and the inferences and reflections by which they are accompanied, although necessarily brief, are always admirably appropriate and sagacious.

Forestry in Southern India. By Major General H. K. Morgan : Edited by John Short, M.D., M.R., C.P., F.L.S., Higginbotham & Sons, Madras.

THIS is a practical treatise on Forestry in Southern India, which ought to be in the hands of every Forest Officer in India. It contains a mass of useful information arranged in the simplest, clearest, and most intelligible manner possible. The principal trees are taken in order—teak, sandal-wood, &c., &c., and their history, peculiarities, and mode of treatment, are sketched with a fulness of detail, and a minuteness of observation which leaves nothing to be desired. Where differences of opinion exist as regards mode of treatment, these differences are carefully noted and thoroughly discussed, and the result is a book which, as a *vade mecum* to the forest officer, could scarcely be surpassed in its way.

"Echoes." By Two Writers : Lahore Civil and Military Press.

A MOST quaint, original and altogether charming little volume of Anglo-Indian verse. The two authors are, we believe, two children. If this is the case, what particularly phenomenal children these two little ones must be. The surroundings of child-life in India are, as a rule, sad, monotonous, and prosaic enough, not very rich, we should imagine, in materials for humorous verses. But sunny natures can throw sunshine on the gloomiest and dullest aspects of their surrounding circumstances. The book is divided into three parts—parodies, burlesque nursery verses, and original pieces reflective, comic and pathetic.

The parodies are somewhat unequal. Some of them are very weak, notably the parodies of Matthew Arnold and Rosetti, in the sense that they are not readily discernible as parodies at all. They do not hit off very happily the characteristic peculiarities of the writers whom they profess to imitate. On the other hand, the parodies of more popular and celebrated poets, Tennyson and Longfellow are exceedingly funny, and show a keen and delicate sense of imitation, which would be creditable to veteran versifiers, and is astonishingly creditable from such young hands as the authors of this delightful little volume. Longfellow's trick of applying the music of a stately and solemn

rythm to trifling incidents is exquisitely caricatured in *The City of the Heart*.

THE CITY OF THE HEART.

I passed through the lonely Indian town,
 Deep sunk 'twixt the walls of wheat,
 And the dogs that lived in the land came down
 And bayed at me in the street.
 But I struck with my dog-whip o'er nose and back
 Of the yelping, yellow crew,
 Till I cleared a pathway athwart the pack,
 And I and my horse went through.
 I passed through the streets of my haunted heart,
 In the hush of a hopeless night,
 And from every alley a dog would start
 And bay my soul with affright.
 But I smote with the dog-whip of work and fact
 These evil things on the head,
 Till I made of my heart a wholesome tract,
 Empty and garnished.

On the other hand, Browning's disdain for melody—his car-grating, jerky, spasmodic blank verse is exquisitely caricatured in the *Flight of the Bucket*, a metrical version of Jack and Jill with variations. Jill is giggling at the success of her enterprise when she broke Jack's crown.

But mark now ! Comes the mother round the door,
 Red hot from climbing up the hill herself,
 And caught the graceless giggler— *Whack ! flack ! whack !*
 Here's Nemesis whichever way you like !
She didn't stop to argue. Given a head
 Broken—a woman chuckling at the door,
 And here's your circumstantial evidence complete.
Whack, while Jack sniffs and sniggers from bed.
 I like that horny-handed mother o' Jill.
 The world's best women died, Sir, long ago.
 Well, Jack's avenged—as for the other *gr-r-r-l*.

In the parody of Tennyson our authors take the old story of King Stephen and the Tailor, and Stephen's tremendous curse for the theme of the parody. • Thus Stephen to the tailor—

I, thy king,
 Have worn the garments of a spotless life,
 And also (since the world desires more
 For human limbs) some garments made by thee ;
 And these were hose and doublet as thou sayest,
 And also breeches for my lower limbs,
 And in these breeches lieth all thy sin,—
 Rapine and greed and interest sought on Bills,
 And monthly increment of silver coin
 Charge for the lapse of time—which is God's act,
 Nor any handiwork of thine, O churl—
 And thou, being void of shame, hast written down
 The cost of these same breeches that I wear
 At usury and interest, sinful churl,
 And I adjudge the cost exorbitant
 By six round pence.

Of the Nursery rhymes the brightest and most spontaneous is the following :—

HERE'S a mungoose
Dead in the sluice
Of the bath-room drain.
How was he slain ?
He must have lain
Days it is plain
Stopper your nose,
Throw him out to the crows.

Among the serious and reflective pieces are some which exhibit genuine power. Take the following :—

A MURDER IN THE COMPOUND.

At the wall's foot a smear of fly-flecked red—
Discoloured grass whence on the wild bees flee.
Across the pathway to the flower-bed,
The dark stream struggles forward, lazily,
Blackened by that little fever over head
She does not heed, to whom the moon tapers pale
And the flies' turn of round her red lips
And less aware than in the green pond where,
Just out of reach, the ruffled white lilies
Between the corn-ridge and the grassy acres . . .
The crows note, conclude high, and peer and glance
Athwart the branches—no passer sees,
When life's last flicker leaves her countenance,
How, no more, they drop down one by one,
On that gay-tinted bundle in the sun.

Again, in "How the Day Broke," our authors show how well they can deal with the more pathetic aspects of life :—

HOW THE DAY BROKE.

The night was very silent, and the moon was going down,
And the winds of dawn were changing all the sea.
The full tide turned in silver o'er the ridge's length of brown,
When a little muffled figure left the dim-seen, sleeping town,
By the white road that leadeth to the sea.

The night was very silent, and the tide was falling fast,
And the dawn was breaking dimly o'er the sea,
The early boats like shadows with their lanterns flitted past,
And the little muffled figure by the sand hills stayed at last
Where the waste land opens on the sea.

The night is well nigh ended and the moon has gone to rest
And the winds of dawn are lashing all the sea ;
But the weariness is over and the doubt is all confessed,
And the hope is re-arisen and the wrong is all redressed,
As the little muffled figure lays her head upon his breast
Who has waited for her coming by the sea.

With this we take leave of our young friends, hoping

we may hear of them again, for, if strikingly precocious gifts are any earnest of future excellence, they are destined to achieve an honorable, and distinguished place among the Anglo-Indian poets of our time.

Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces, Volume II. North-Western Provinces, Government Press.

MR. ATKINSON is to be congratulated on the completeness with which he has executed his work as the compiler of this tremendous publication. The volume extends to 681 closely printed pages, and it weighs about 6 pounds. But then as no one ever reads a *Gazetteer*, except for some special reference, the enormous bulk of the publication can scarcely be considered a defect while the work as a work of reference was bound to cover an immense area of information. This volume is devoted to the Himalayan districts of the North-Western Provinces and Oude, and every topic connected with these, from zoology to ethnology, comes in for minute and indeed exhaustive consideration; and in parts the volume is very interesting as well as decidedly instructive. The history of Nepal, in its relation with the British, is an admirable specimen of lucid and vigorous historical narrative. The chapter on religion in the Himalaya is also exceedingly interesting. Mr. Atkinson thus sums up the principal peculiarities of religious worship among the mountain tribe.

In discussing the history of religion in the Himalayan region we find a considerable degree of pre-Buddhism and Brahminism and Hinduistic practices which it will take some time and attention to separate and ascribe to their original sources. It would doubtless be easy to dispose of the question by stating that the prevailing religion is a form of Hinduism. This would be perfectly true, but at the same time could convey no definite idea to the reader's mind as to what the real living belief of the people is. To ascertain what is the actual state of religion, it is necessary to examine the forms and ceremonies observed in domestic and temple worship and the deities held in honour, and this is the task that we now propose to undertake for the tract between the Jons and the Kahi. For this purpose we possess the results of an examination of the temples in 350 temples in Kumaon in about 550 temples in Garhwal and in about 100 temples in Dehra Dûn and Jamsai-Bâwar. For the 900 temples in Kumaon and Garhwal we know the locality in which each is situated, the name of the deity worshipped, the broad division to which the deity belongs, the class of people who frequent the temple, and the principal festivals observed. The analysis of these lists shows that there are 250 Saiva temples in Kumaon and 350 in Garhwal, and that there are but 35 Vishnava temples in Kumaon and 61 in Garhwal. To the latter class may, however, be added 65 temples to Nâgrâja in Garhwal which are by common report affiliated to the Vishnava sects, but in which Siva also has a place under the form of Bhairava. Of the Saiva temples, 130 in Garhwal and 64 in Kumaon are dedicated to the Sâkti or female form alone, but of the Vaishnava temples in both districts, only eight. The Sâkti form of both Siva and Vishnu, however, occurs

also in the temples dedicated to Nágrāja and Bhairava, or rather these deities and their Saktis are popularly held to be forms of Vishnu and Siva and their Saktis. Of the Saiva Sakti temples 42 in Garhwāl and 18 in Kumaon are dedicated to Kālī, whilst the Sūkti forms of the Bhairava temples are also known as emanations of Kālī. Nanda comes next in popularity, and then Chandika and Durgā. The remaining temples are dedicated to the worship of Sūrya, Ganesh and the minor deities and deified mortals and the pre-Bramanical village gods who will be noticed hereafter. The outcome of this examination is therefore that Siva and Vishnu and their female forms are the principal objects of worship, but with them, either as their emanations or as separate divine entities, the representatives of the polydæmonistic cults of the older tribes are objects of worship both in temples and in domestic ceremonies.

Wide Awake Stories—a collection of Tales told by Little Children between sunset and sunrise, in the Punjab and Kashmir. By F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple. Bombay, Education Society's Press, and London, Trubner & Co., 1884.

IN some ways no more fascinating subject of study has arisen in modern times than folk-lore, and much has of late been done in collecting and comparing the popular stories of different peoples. This is a very useful contribution to the subject. The joint authors have set before themselves a rather difficult task; to collect the stories as far as possible uncorrupted by English and other foreign sources, to present them in a literary form, and lastly, to discuss them from the scientific point of view.

How important it is to obtain the stories as distinctive as possible of the countries in which they are collected is recognized by all collectors, and the authors seem to have selected an excellent method to ensure purity. The stories themselves will delight our children. Many of them are old friends in oriental garb—old friends that we knew long ago in the nursery in slightly different clothes. The verses in the stories might, however, have been translated more literally without any sacrifice of poetic form. For the scientific appendices Captain Temple is responsible, and his name is a sufficient guarantee for soundness of work. The stories are separately analysed according to the method adopted by the Folk-lore Society of England. We unfortunates in India find difficulty in consulting the publications of scientific societies, and therefore we think that, if Captain Temple had given us more references to accessible books on the subject, he would have added to the usefulness of the work.

The Orient, an Anglo-Indian Monthly Magazine. Conducted by R. Bates Printed at the "Caxton Printing Works," Bombay. December 1884.

THIS meritorious publication continues to improve every issue of the new series. The novel, "India's Coral Strand" is continued and is developing into an exceedingly interesting story. The article, "Places of interest near Aden," is very well worth reading, indeed, and is calculated to rebuke the general popular prejudice against Aden as one of the most uninteresting places in the world. There are some touches of genuine pathos in the little sketch, "A Woman's Right," and the other articles in the Magazine for this month are all well up to the average of this carefully conducted publication.

Prairie Pictures, Lilitle, and other Poems. By John Cameron Grant, Author of "Songs from the Sunny South," "a Year of Life," "The Price of the Bishop," &c. London: Longman, Green and Co. 1884.

MR. Grant's new volume appears to have been inspired by the suggestion of a friendly critic in the *Spectator*, that he should "give the public what it really wants, and what he is evidently able to draw, bright pictures of a life which is strange to us, and interesting because it is strange."

It consists mainly of descriptions of natural scenery rather than of life, in Canada, and, in spite of much true poetic feeling, and no little technical skill, it is questionable whether the result altogether justifies the advice.

Taken singly, Mr. Grant's "Prairie Pictures" are generally pleasing, but, taken in the mass, it must be admitted they are a little wearisome.

Description of material objects become poetical only when it is combined with interpretation; when by the aid of simile or metaphor the facts are invested with a new significance, or exhibited in unsuspected relations, and made by the process to appeal to a higher order or a wider range of feelings. At the same time it is essential to the effect that the process by which this translation of the language of plain facts into that of poetry is effected, should appear natural. "The use of simile and metaphor cannot, however, be pushed beyond a certain point without, sooner or later, arousing a sense of insincerity. Thus purely descriptive poetry, prolonged to too great a length, tends to defeat its own end; and this is the rock on which the volume before us, or at least the first half of it, seems to us to split.

Perhaps the best thing in the book is "Vicisti," in which the author lifts up his voice against Schopenhauer and his

school, in a strain fully equal to anything in his previous volumes.

In the Watches of the Night. Poems (in eighteen volumes):
By Mrs. Horace Dohell. Vol. 3. London: Remington
and Co.

MRS. Dohell's poetry is always simple, and not unfrequently graceful, but generally superficial.

In the volume before us there is much that is trivial, and nothing that is specially striking. If, instead of trying to fill eighteen volumes, she would be content to fill one, she might produce a book that would be read with pleasure. She possesses a fluent style and writes for the most part with accuracy, and the slightest motive is evidently sufficient to move her to poetry.

The title of her poems was chosen, she tells us in a prefatory note, because most of them were written between the hours of ten and two o'clock at night. She would probably do both herself and her readers more justice if she wooed the Muses at some other time.

The Poison Tree, a Tale of Hindu Life in Bengal. By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Translated by Miriam S. Knight, with a preface by Edwin Arnold, C. S. I., London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884.

THIS will appeal more to the student of social customs than to the novel reader. The strange eastern phraseology, and the want of elaboration of the plot will not attract the latter class. But a representation of the inner life of the Hindus, of which we know so little, by one of themselves, will interest many. The picture drawn is, on the whole, not a pleasant one. The translator appears to have done her work carefully.

Poems. By Hamilton Piffard. W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Dalhousie Square.

IT is no real disparagement to a young and promising poet like Mr. Piffard to say, that all his more ambitious efforts carry with them an echo of the more celebrated singers of our time, although it would be unjust and untrue to maintain that Mr. Piffard is, in any culpable sense of the word, a plagiarist. It is quite possible, nay probable, that Mr. Piffard is himself quite unconscious of the echo which his readers can scarcely fail to detect, and it may be doubted

if the first efforts in poetry of any clever young writer, are free from the influence which has been exercised over his intellect by the poets whose works he has most studied and with whom he has most sympathy. Apart from this Mr. Piffard's poems appear to us to be very meritorious productions indeed, giving here and there noble promise of future excellence.

In the "Blind Sculptor" we have some very powerful lines :—

Here linger I in blindness, I, whose life
Was consecrate to beauty, and whose hands
Have shaped in stone the glory of the gods.
Indignant am I that the wrath of heaven
Should hurl me into darkness ; must I think
That Mercy is an outcast from on high,
Or, that an endless gloom enfolds my sight,
Lest I behold what Heaven denies to man ?
And thou, bright image ! never may these hands
Unlock the marble that conceals thy form ;
Within their girth, thy limbs, beheld by me,
May never feel the wondering gaze of man.

*Mr. Broughton on Civil Procedure.**

MR. BROUGHTON enjoys a well-earned reputation as an accomplished and thoughtful expositor of the law. His Commentaries on the Civil Procedure Code, published many years ago, at once assumed a foremost place among the numerous attempts to bring that intricate enactment within the scope of the Courts and practitioners of the country ; and that position they have successfully maintained, though formidable competitors have appeared in the field, and the law itself has undergone important changes and developments since the time when first Mr. Broughton undertook to explain it. Much has been done of late years to render the rules of Civil Procedure in Indian Courts more precise, to fill up the gaps where the Legislature had originally failed to make adequate provision, and to furnish the Indian Code with many of the refinements recently introduced into English Procedure. Opinions will differ as to the advisability, in some instances, of the recent changes, and as to the appropriateness, with a class of litigants as ignorant and simple as the majority of Indian suitors, of rules which may be convenient enough in England, where the majority of those who resort to the Courts are persons of more or less education and intelligence, and where professional advice is always available. But if we are to have the rules, there can be no doubt that it is eminently

* Notes of cases decided upon points of Civil Procedure. Compiled by L. Broughton, Barrister. Calcutta, Thomas S. Smith, City Press, 12, Bentiack Street.

desirable to have them explained and illustrated by the labors of lawyers as erudite, conscientious and pains-taking as Mr. Broughton. His present work, which deals especially with the more recent decisions of the Indian courts, is amplified by frequent references to English rulings, which throw light on those portions of the Procedure which are still novel to Indian judges and practitioners. Mr. Broughton is indefatigable in collecting and utilizing whatever material may subserve the purpose of enabling the student to understand, and the practitioner to apply correctly, rules which, till understood, appear to be meaningless and troublesome technicalities. We have no doubt that his present contribution to the literature of this troublesome but important subject will be welcomed alike by students, practitioners and judges as heartily as its predecessors. His notes on that branch of the law, which is known to the profession as Discovery, and of which a large importation from the English Court was made by the last edition of the Indian Code, afford a good example of his praiseworthy research and determination to omit nothing which can be of use to his readers.

Mr. Broughton prefaces his collection of rulings by some remarks on the practical working of this branch of the law which are of great value, as coming from a writer who has so thorough an intimacy with Indian Courts, and has enjoyed such exceptional opportunities of watching the proceedings which go on in them. His testimony to the value of the Code is not as favourable as its authors might wish or expect. Its elaborateness, he considers, leads to a great deal of purely technical litigation, affords a welcome opportunity to a litigious race of obscuring the real merits of a case by extraneous subtleties, and, taken in conjunction with the ignorance of judges, the unskilfulness of advocates, and utter inadequacy of the ministerial branches of the Courts, helps not unfrequently to bring about a miscarriage of justice. We are not prepared to go as far as Mr. Broughton in condemning the Code as unnecessarily technical. All rules of procedure are necessarily technical, and every technicality may, on some occasion or other, result in defeating a just claim or maintaining a false one. The real question is (1) whether the Code contains any precise directions on points which it would, on the whole and in the long run, be better to leave to the discretion of the Court; and (2) whether its language is indistinct or its provisions confused or contradictory. We cannot consider that, in either of these respects, the Code is at present open to general condemnation. Experience has shown that, in procedure as in matters of substantive law, almost any rule is better than none; and that "the discretion of the Court," however plausible may be the reasons for allowing it, leads to

more disappointment and more failures of justice than a precise and definite rule, adherence to which is known to be inflexibly enforced. Nor is the language or arrangement of the Code, as it at present stands, open to the charge of intricacy or indistinctness. There were, as is well known, several serious blunders in the Code of 1877 ; but the Act of 1882 cleared most of these away ; and though, no doubt, the practical experience of the many hundreds of Courts in which the Code is in daily use, has brought to light some matters which require amendment. the law of Procedure, as now enacted, seems to us to be about as simple, and to be as simply and intelligibly expressed. as the nature of the subject allows. It must, however, be admitted, that the rapid accretion of masses of decisions, as considerable as that which Mr. Broughton has now collected, is proof positive that the tribunals of the country do not find the provisions of the Code free from difficulty ; and to these the attention of the Legislature may be usefully directed. Sir James Stephen when Legal Member of Council, frequently insisted on the necessity of a continuous process of amendment and elucidation of the Procedure Codes, as experience from time to time showed to be necessary. This process he compared to the "plate-laying," which is necessary to keep the best made railway line in efficient repair. It would, we are convinced, be well worth while to have one Secretary in the Legislative Department exclusively employed in watching the decisions of the Courts on matters of Procedure, and embodying those decisions, when it seemed expedient, as amendments of the law. It is not, however, with the language of the Code that Mr. Broughton principally finds fault. There are other still more serious matters which impair its utility, and render it unpopular with the people. Foremost among these is the system of an institution fee, levied in all mofussil tribunals. This is an old grievance, and its injustice was very forcibly demonstrated by the present Chief Justice of Bengal a year or two ago. The court fees, instead of being adjusted to the length and difficulty of the trial and the consequent expenditure of judicial labor, are levied in a lump sum before the trial commences, and are adjusted exclusively with reference to the amount in dispute. The rate at which the fee is levied has, of late years, been seriously augmented, and, at the exorbitant scale at which it is now fixed, cannot fail to be, in many instances, simply prohibitive. Many a suitor who has a perfectly good claim for Rs. 10,000, may not be in a position to expend Rs. 475 on an institution stamp : yet this is what the law now exacts. The hardship of the system is the more striking because the fees now exacted, not only defray every

possible outlay on civil justice, but leave a margin of net profit in Bengal alone, estimated by some authorities as high as £700,000, and admitted by all to be not less than £300,000. Any tax on justice is condemned by every political economist, and, when it assumes proportions such as in the present instance, is little short of a national scandal! It is paid ultimately by a most distressed class, that, namely, of unsuccessful suitors, men who have too often been already half-ruined by a costly and protracted litigation. It is levied in the first instance, from a class whom the State is bound to assist and protect, men who have, or believe that they have, suffered wrong at the hands of another, and apply to the Courts of the country for protection and aid. Such a state of things cannot, in any Government which has the least regard for its administrative reputation, be allowed to continue; and the present Finance Minister is known to be contemplating a remedial measure. We can only hope that the resources at Sir A. Colvin's command may enable him to carry through this imperative reform at a very early date. At present it is a blot on our judicial administration, for which, not all its excellencies in other respects, sufficiently atone.

Another serious defect, on which Mr. Broughton dwells with just emphasis, is the wretchedly-paid establishments by which the ministerial duties of the Courts are performed and decrees, are executed. The establishments are insufficient in number, and their remuneration is such as to render it hopeless that good men will be content to serve in them, or that official purity will be secured. The judge's clerks throughout Bengal get, on an average, Mr. Broughton calculates, about Rs. 41 per mensem, and the servants less than 7 Rupees. The Nazirs, through whose agency decrees are executed, receive, in some instances, a remuneration more proportioned to the importance of their duties, but the peons, through whom the summons is served, and who are supposed to endorse on the summons a written account of the service, actually get but Rs. 6-8 per mensem. It is, of course, in vain that men, whose services are retained on such a miserable pittance as this, should exhibit zeal or honesty in the performance of their duties; and there is grave reason to believe that the corruption, which might naturally be expected, actually prevails. The service of summons is, in many cases, a matter of primary importance, as in cases in which the case is heard *ex parte*, the Court has no other guarantee than the serving officer's statement, that the absent party knows anything of the proceedings against him. Nothing is more common in Indian Courts than for a defendant, against whom execution of an *ex parte* decree is sought, to come forward with an assertion, which is, no doubt, in many instances perfectly well-founded, that he has never, up to that

moment, even heard of the suit. Such a state of things is inevitable so long as important and responsible duties are entrusted to ministerial officers of the Court, who are paid at a lower rate than the lowest class of menial servants. There can be no doubt, as Mr. Broughton forcibly contends, that the matter is one which calls imperatively for reform, and nothing but financial considerations of the very gravest order ought to be allowed to prevent that reform being thorough and immediate.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bangagriha. By Sitanath Nandi, B. A. Printed and Published by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh at 210-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 1291, B. S.

AN unfair object is apparently endeavoured to be unfairly carried out by the writer of this tale. Sarojini is the daughter of an orthodox Hindu, but subjected to Brahmo influences in consequence of the location of a Brahmo family near her father's house. She remains unmarried long after the age at which girls are, as a rule, married in orthodox Hindu families. And then when she is given in marriage, she is old enough to understand that the husband selected for her by her father is a very unworthy person, and she accordingly obstinately refuses to consort with him. Her father is, however equally obstinate in the assertion of his authority over her, and the result of this exceedingly barbarous struggle between father and daughter is, that the daughter becomes very miserable. The author, who seems to be a very impulsive Brahmo, now breaks forth into utterly wild and furious declamations against the customs of Hindu society in general, and particularly against the Hindu custom of marrying girls without their consent. But in the excess of his reforming zeal, he does not see that it is an utterly unfair and unscrupulous method which he adopts in order to make it appear that the social customs of Hindus are very bad. For, in the first place, he does not explain how a stern Hindu *pater familias* allows the female members of his family to cultivate friendship and carry on domestic intercourse with a Brahmo family, and thus imbibe notions of social life which they would be otherwise unable to acquire or conceive. Orthodox Hindus entertain, as a rule, very sinister suspicions regarding the character and principles of conduct of heterodox people like the Brahmos of our time, and before admitting the members, and particularly the female members, of an orthodox Hindu family within the pale of

heterodox influences for the purpose of fashioning events in a way which would create an occasion for preaching a fierce tirade against orthodoxy, our author was bound in fairness to explain how the well-known orthodox jealousy of Brahmic principles of life and character was overcome. But this the author has not done. In the second place, he does not explain how and why Sarojini was allowed to remain unmarried so long—why her father, a stern and orthodox Hindu, committed the unexpiable sin of *not* marrying his daughter at the age beyond which no Hindu of his type would keep his daughter unmarried. The statement that Sarojini's father wasted much time in endeavouring to settle a *cheap* match for her, and thus allowed her to arrive at nearly her fifteenth year (!) before she was married, is no explanation, but simply an expression of ill-will. No Hindu, however parsimonious, will allow his daughter to reach her 15th year in order to gain time to make a cheap marriage bargain. But it is precisely because Sarojini is so far beyond the ordinary marriageable age at the time of her marriage, and also so deeply imbued with Brahmic notions of marriage and self-importance, that she is able to assert herself on the question of the selection of her husband. And it ought to be perfectly clear to all honest people that if her age at the time of her marriage had been the 10 or 11 years which is the ordinary age of a girl in a strictly Hindu marriage, and if she had been, moreover, unacquainted with Brahmic forms of thought and self-esteem, not one of the untoward consequences could have appeared which in the story before us have placed it in the author's power to pronounce so fierce a denunciation against Hindu orthodoxy. The claims of justice then required our author to explain clearly and without equivocation the thoroughly inexplicable anomaly of a sternly orthodox Hindu father holding over his daughter's marriage for many long years after the age at which she ought to have been married. But this he has not done. And why? Because he could not do it—because so grave an anomaly could not possibly be explained. Why then has he committed this anomaly? Because he could not otherwise give himself an opportunity of heaping abuse upon Hindu orthodoxy, and showing how inferior is Hindu orthodoxy to enlightened Brahmic principles

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—SOMETHING ABOUT SNAKES AND THEIR CHARMERS, AND SNAKE-POISONS AND THEIR ANTIDOTES.

JUST a decade has passed since I attempted in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, to give a slight sketch of the literature of snake-poisoning for the past two centuries; and it has been suggested to me that a further contribution on the subject, shewing what progress has been made during the last ten years, would be of interest to the readers of the *Review*. Researches of this nature are necessarily very slowly progressive, considerable time being taken up in correcting errors of observation and of deduction. On the whole, however, more has been done to advance our knowledge of the nature of snake-poisons during the period in question, than in the course of the preceding two hundred years. As a prelude to the more critical portions of my theme, some observations upon snakes and their habits may be interesting and instructive. Much of what I have to say is, of course, not original, but rather a *rèchauffage* of the materials which practical acquaintance with the subject has enabled me to gather, collate, and estimate the value of. We gather from the pages of Sir Joseph Fayrer's magnificent work, "The Thanatophia of India" that of the twenty-one families of Indian Ophidia only four are venomous, namely, the Elapidæ and Hydrophidæ (sea-snakes) constituting the colubrine sub-order; and the Veperidæ and Crotalidæ (pit-vipers) forming the viperine sub-order. Of the colubrine snakes, the Cobra, Ophiophagus or Hamadryad, Krait (*Bungarus Cœruleus*), and the *Bungarus Fasciatus*; and of the viperine snakes the *Daboia Russelli* are the most commonly met with, and the most destructive of

human life. The cobra is found all over Hindustan, and is too well known to need description. The different species vary considerably in their markings on the hood, and in their colour. I have had in my possession specimens of all kind—from a dead-black to a yellowish-white, and even salmon colour. Nearly all cobras have a single or double ocellus upon the hood; the former, marked, are termed by the natives *Keuntiah* and the latter *Gokurah*. The *Gokurah* is the snake usually selected by snake-charmers for their *tamashas*, because its movements are slower and more under control than those of the *Keuntiah*. The latter is fond of water and its habitat is the jungle or paddy-fields; the former is not particularly partial to water, and it is to be found usually amongst old buildings or heaps of rubbish. I have never seen a cobra exceeding six feet in length, though I have had hundreds in my possession. The Ophiophagus, Hamadryad, or *Suukerchor* of the natives, is the largest of all Indian venomous snakes, is hooded like the cobra, and lives in damp jungly places. This snake also is a favorite with the snake-charmers, because of the facility with which it is handled, and its formidable appearance. It grows the length of fourteen feet or more, is very powerful, and is said to be aggressive. It is certainly more aggressive than any other snake with which I am acquainted, but Dr. Wall and I found little more difficulty in manipulating a large fresh specimen, than in handling a fresh *Keuntia Cobra*. Indeed, the latter from its extreme activity and restlessness when first captured, is in my opinion, a more dangerous creature to manipulate. The Ophiophagus feeds, as its name implies, on other snakes, but it is doubtful whether they are its ordinary food; it, no doubt, accommodates its taste to the supply, and takes anything that falls in its way. The *Krait*—*Bungarus*, *Cæruleus*—as generally seen, is about three feet long, but it grows to the length of four feet. It is either steel-blue black or brown, striped white. I believe the colour depends upon the age of the snake, the darker one being older, as I have never yet seen a very large brown creature. It is easily recognized by its colour, and the single row of hexagonal scales running along the centre of its back. Very serious consequences have sometimes resulted from the innocent snake *Lycodon Aulicus* having been mistaken for it, though there is really little resemblance between the two. The row of hexagonal scales are, of course, wanting, and it is lighter in colour. The fangs of the *Krait* are much smaller than those of the *Cobra*. The *Bungarus Fasciatus*, *Raj Samp* of the natives, is triangular shaped, and has a prominent back, along which runs as in the only other snake, the *Krait*—a row of hexagonal scales. It has alternate bands of blue and yellow, running across its body. I have seen one six feet long, though much smaller

ones are usually met with. The natives of Eastern Bengal believe that this snake has two heads. The *Daboia Russelli*, *Shiah Chunder*, *Chundra Bora*, and *Ulubora*, of the natives of Bengal, and the Tic Polonga of Ceylon, is usually found about four feet long. It has a triangular shaped head and a distinct neck; its body is robust and its tail thin; its body has a grey or chocolate-coloured ground with black white-edged rings, some round, and others not unlike the markings on a Paisley shawl. The fangs are larger than those of any other Indian snake. It is believed that these snakes are common in Bengal, but much correspondence, and the offer of rather large rewards for live creatures have brought me only one miserable specimen during the whole year.* I think they must be rather numerous in the twenty-four Pergunnahs. The Hydrophidæ (sea snakes) are all poisonous, and may be at once recognized by their head-scales, and their peculiarities of conformation which are adapted to their aquatic mode of life. The head is small, the body robust, and the tail flattened vertically, whence they are able to swim with rapidity and grace—indeed, “to out-swim the fish.” I have found their poison very virulent; quantity for quantity, perhaps, even more deadly than that of the cobra. The species of the Hydrophidæ—the Platurus—differs from the rest in its general formation, and in having large ventral *scutæ*, which indicate its power of progression on land. Besides the before-mentioned there are other poisonous snakes in India, such as the *Xenurelaps*, the *Callophis*, and the *Echis Carinata*, the bite of which is said not to be fatal to man. But Sir Joseph Fayrer doubts the accuracy of the statement in reference to the last named, the poison of which he found to be fatal to a fowl in two minutes, and to a dog in four hours. We have also certain of the *Crotalidæ*—or pit Vipers—which are distinguished by the broad triangular head, short thick body, and the pit, which is situated between the eye and nostril in the loreal region. The *Trimercsuri*, the most important genus, are distinctly marked in vivid colours, and differ considerably in colour, and are said to adapt themselves to the localities in which they live—the dark one being found on the ground and the green ones amongst the foliage of trees or shrubs. Of the *Crotalidæ* the *Falys* has a caudal appendage in the form of a horny spine. I am not aware whether the tail in question is of evil repute, but I read in Miss Hopley’s very entertaining book on snakes;—“Of the horn snake,” says Lawson, “I never saw but two that I remembered. They are like the rattlesnake in color, but rather lighter. They hiss exactly like

* Since writing the above, three good specimens have been sent from Midnapore.

a goose when anything approaches them. They strike at their enemy with their tail, and kill whatsoever they wound with it, which is armed at the end with a horny substance like a cock's spur. This is their weapon. I have heard it said by those who were eye-witnesses, that a small locust tree, about the thickness of a man's arm being struck by one of these snakes at ten o'clock in the morning, then verdant and flourishing, at four o'clock in the afternoon was dead and the leaves dead and withered. Doubtless, be how it will, they are very venomous." Nevertheless, this snake no more poisons with its tail than does the rattlesnake. Mr. Lawson's work was dedicated "To His Excellency, William Lord Craven, Palatine; the Most Noble Henry, Duke of Beaufort; the Right Honourable John Lord Carteret, and the rest of the True and Absolute Lords, Proprietors of the Province of Carolina in America. As a debt of gratitude, the sheets were laid at their Lordships' feet, having nothing to recommend them but truth, a gift which every author may be master of if he will." I have in my possession a rattlesnake's rattle, which was sent to me by Dr. Mitchell; it is a fair specimen, about two inches long, and when shaken makes a noise similar to that made by the shaking of a "dry bean pod." When I showed this to a friend, he exclaimed "What, is that all!" I thought the thing made a noise like a policeman's rattle;" and so, I imagine, do many of my readers. (A very fine specimen of a rattle is figured in Miss Hopley's work.) As regards the habits of snakes Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, the distinguished American physician and physiologist, tells us that he had an opportunity of observing the habits of the *Crotalus durissus* when in captivity for a period of two years. The rattlesnake of the Northern States of America when at liberty, sometimes lives in the company of its fellows, but more frequently alone. In this particular it resembles our Indian snakes; though it is worthy of note, that if a collection of snakes is kept as nearly as possible in their natural state, where snakes are at all common, they will undoubtedly attract other snakes. Rattlesnakes, we are told, show no hostility towards one another, even when ten to thirty-five are kept in a box together, and, even when fresh snakes were dropped upon those in captivity, no attempt was made to annoy the new-comers. This is also the case with most Indian snakes, especially vipers. But I have kept sixty to seventy cobras in a pit together, and they very often, on the slightest provocation, began to fight in a most savage and curious fashion. On being provoked several commenced to hiss fiercely, and some would raise themselves up, expand their hoods, and begin a vigorous attack in all directions, and

after making several ineffectual darts,—for they are by no means so skilful at taking aim as is generally believed—two would catch each other by the mouth, rapidly entwine themselves as it were, and after wriggling and struggling about in this state for some time, relax their hold. Then one would be seen gliding away, vanquished, to the corner of the cage, while the triumphant one raised to its full balancing height, hissed out its challenge for a renewal of the combat. In what consisted of getting the worst of it I could never discover, as neither of the combatants ever seemed any the worse for the fight; nor can I understand why one snake dreads another if no danger is involved.* The head is almost invariably the point of attack, though less injury could be inflicted by the fangs there, than in several parts of the body. Snakes are singularly inactive in their habits. Even in warm weather, when they are the least sluggish, they will lie together in a knotted mass, only occasionally changing their position, and then relapsing into perfect rest. The sluggish movements and the perilous rapidity of the dart of vipers when molested, are dangerously deceptive. The mode of attack of these snakes and all other non-hooded venomous ones, is in wonderful contrast to that of the hooded-snakes, whose every movement may be almost invariably anticipated by an expert manipulator; hence the facility with which they are handled by so called snake-charmers. Snakes when kept in captivity usually refuse food; cobras, however, sometimes consume it readily. Weir Mitchell, finding the food supplied so frequently unconsumed, adopted the plan of feeding such of the snakes as seemed feeble and badly nourished with milk and insects in the following manner:—"The snake was secured, and the lower jaw held in the grasp of a pair of forceps, while a funnel with a long stem was thrust down the æsophagus. Into this, insects such as flies and grasshoppers were pushed, or milk poured in proper quantity." "I have had to feed a large *Ophiophagus*, by pushing pieces of meat down its throat with a stick—an operation not altogether pleasant for either the operator or the reptile. One of my little boys had a pet snake, *Chrysopelea Ornata* (golden tree snake) which he fed with milk out of a saucer. He held the snake near the head, and put the saucer to it, when it readily drank the milk and in comparatively large quantities at a time. Miss Hopley

* Weir Mitchell says, he is convinced that the poison of the *Crotalus* can kill itself when hypodermically injected. Fayrer did not think that the poison of the cobra was poisonous to itself. The question apparently so easy to decide is, really, a very difficult one, as the snakes sometimes die very rapidly in captivity. I came to the conclusion, after numerous experiments, that one species of snake could kill another.

says, "we of late so often see it said of any particular snakes that 'they neither ate nor drank at first,' or that 'they drank though they would not eat,' that we almost wonder their bibulous propensities were ever doubted; especially as the majority of snakes are fond of water, and swim readily, we are surprised, therefore, that the second edition of Mr. Lealy's really valuable work, published so lately as 1870, should still retain the assertion that snakes have never been *seen* to drink. Mr. Frank Buckland saw his *Coronella* drink frequently though she ate nothing; and as the discovery of this interesting lady and her brood, born in London in 1862, formed the subject of many papers in the scientific journals at the time, one would suppose that they would have been heard of in Germany where the species *C. lævis* is well known." As regards the shedding of the skin, Miss Hopley, who has several times witnessed the process, describes how the snakes crawl out of their skins: Weir Mitchell thus describes it: "My snakes lost their integuments at different periods during the summer. In all cases the old skin became very dark as the new one formed beneath it. If, at this time, the snakes were denied access to water, the skin came off in patches. When water was freely supplied, they entered it eagerly at this period, and not only drank of it, but lay in it for hours together. Under these circumstances the skin was shed entire—the first gap appearing at the mouth or near it. Through this opening the serpent walked its way, and the skin reverting, was turned inside out, as it crawled forth in its new and distinctly marked outer covering: when the old skin was very loose, the snake's motions were often awkward for a time. It is said to be blind during this period, which is probably true to some extent, since the outer layer of the cornea is shed with the skin, and there must obviously be 'a time, when the old corneal layer lies upon the new formation. It is also said that the fangs are lost at the same time as the skin. In some instances this was observed to be the case; but whether or not it is a constant occurrence, I am unable to say from personal observation." Sir Joseph Fayrer and I have observed that the *cobra* when in captivity sheds its skin about once a month, even in the winter months, and is certainly blind at this time; but the fangs are not invariably shed synchronously with the shedding of the skin. I have seen the sloughed skin entire from head to tail together with the corneal layer intact. In captivity, however, when the reptile has been deprived of water, the skin has been shed in patches, which came off easily when the snake was handled. In a state of nature I doubt very much whether the casting of the skin takes place nearly so frequently as when the reptiles are in

captivity. I have occasionally observed that birds line their nests with the sloughed skins of snakes. As to the power of snakes to fascinate small animals, Weir Mitchell remarks:—"After such numerous and long continued opportunities of observation, it might be supposed that I should be prepared to speak authoritatively as to the still disputed power of the snake to fascinate small animals. If the former exist at all, it is probable that it would only be made use of when the serpent required its aid to secure food." He does not appear to think that it exists; nor do I, for the same reasons. He says "I have very often put animals, such as birds, pigeons, guinea-pigs, mice and dogs into the cage with a rattlesnake. They commonly exhibited no terror after their recovery from alarm at being handled and dropped into a box. The smaller birds were usually some time in becoming composed, and fluttered about in the large cage, until they were fatigued, when they soon become amusingly familiar with the snakes, and were seldom molested, even when caged with six or eight large *Crotali*. The mice which were similarly situated lived on terms of easy intimacy with the snakes, sitting on their heads, moving round on their gliding coils, undisturbed and unconscious of danger." Recently I put two rats into a cage containing forty cobras all possessing more or less venom. On their first introduction to the snakes, their appetites appeared to be considerably affected, as they refused all food and were evidently much perplexed by the novelty of their position. "Fascination" failed to overcome the contempt which familiarity is said to breed, for in a short time the rats recovered their usual spirits, and caused considerable commotion amongst the cobras by running all over their heads and bodies. The snakes resented this familiarity in their own peculiar and stupid fashion by darting at each other and at imaginary foes. Occasionally, however, one of the intruders would receive attention, but easily avoided the attack. The rats lived and partook of food in the cage for ten or twelve days, when one after the other they were found dead—victims, no doubt, of misplaced confidence. Apropos of "fascination," Dr. Nicholson says, in his interesting little work, "we have but little knowledge of the habits of snakes when at liberty, owing to the difficulties attending the observation of such animals in tropical climates; vigilant and patient they mostly remain during the day in a state of repose, seeking their prey at those hours when most animals have relaxed from their usual watchfulness and are at rest for the night. Whether ground or tree-snakes they remain patiently in the same attitude until their prey approach, then, gently gliding over the short distance which intervenes, they pounce on the unsuspecting victim."

The approach is so imperceptible that, doubtless, a certain amount of curiosity must often fix the attention of animals on perceiving the snake for two or three seconds before they become aware of their danger; but of fascination, as it is called, there appears to be none.

"There are several explanations of the stories in which snakes are supposed to have fascinated their victims—'Fascination then,' says Miss Hopley, 'may be sometimes imputed to curiosity, sometimes to an anticipated morsel. It may partake of fear, or it may be an involuntary approach; it may be struggles of a poisoned creature unable to get away, or the maternal anxieties of a bird or small mammal whose offspring has fallen a victim to the snake.'"

The following amusing story appears in Pepy's Diary under entry February 4th, 1661-2. "To Westminster Hall, when it was full terme. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr. Templer (an ingenious man, and a person of honor he seems to be) dined; and discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to great bigness, and do feed upon larks which they take thus:—They observe when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do inject poison upon the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent, which is very strange."*

Dr. Nicholson tells us that the young of snakes are produced once a year; the period between the impregnation of the female and the birth of her young is uncertain, but it would appear to be from four to five months. In the majority of snakes the eggs are exuded after about three months gestation, the development of the embryo taking place in the period between laying and hatching; most snakes are, therefore, oviparous. Some of them retain the eggs until maturity more or less perfect. Originally all venomous snakes were called vipers, under the idea that the class was distinguished by its vivi-

* Scarcely more strange than that which follows. Pepy continues—"He is a great traveller, and speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy,) there are fiddlers go up and down the fields everywhere, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung." Many marvellous stories are told by "great travellers." It would appear that "travelling" not only expands the mind, but also the imagination, or possibly the gullibility of the traveller. Chateaubriand, another great traveller, says of a certain snake—which by the way is perfectly innocent—"He hisses like a mountain eagle and bellows like a bull!" Du Chaillu tells stories that almost take one's breath away.

parous habit. As a fact, however, though most of the viperine snakes and many nameless snakes are so, the venomous Colubrine snakes, such as the cobra and ophiophages are oviparous. All sea-snakes, and nearly all the fresh-water snakes, are viviparous, and many tree-snakes are ovoviviparous. Nicholson says that "the cobra at Bangalore is impregnated about January; the eggs are hatched in May, and up to the beginning of June, as many as 19 young will be found in a brood." In Bengal, however, impregnation takes place in April or May, and the eggs are hatched in September. I possessed a brood of 40 vipers (*Daboias*).

Regarding the disagreeable odour that snakes sometimes have, Weir Mitchell says—"When a rattlesnake is roughly handled, especially about the lower half of its length, a very heavy and decided animal odour is left upon the hands of the observer. If the snake be violently treated, causing it to throw itself into abrupt contortions, then streams of a yellow or dark brown fluid are ejected to the distance of two or three feet. This fluid appears to come from glands alongside of the cloaca. Its odour is extremely disagreeable, and it is irritant when it enters the eye, although not otherwise injurious." I have, while handling Indian snakes, experienced these disagreeable qualifications of theirs. Chateaubriand appears to have met with a far more disagreeable snake in the States of America. He says—"When approached it becomes flat, appears of different colours, opens its mouth hissing. Great caution is necessary not to enter the atmosphere which surrounds it. It decomposes the air which, imprudently inhaled, induces languor. The person wastes away, the lungs are affected, and in the course of four months he dies of consumption!" A terrible snake this if the story only were true!

I am sometimes asked in all seriousness whether there are such creatures in existence as two-headed snakes; and a gentleman once gave me a description of one which he declared that he had seen in the jungles in Australia, where he said such snakes were common. After so positive a statement I did not, of course, venture to suggest that he was mistaken. I should only have got for an answer, "But I tell you I have seen them." Two-headed snakes certainly have existed and do exist. The *Amphisbæna*, for example, existed in the imagination of the ancients, and the *dui morkhka samp* exists in the imagination of the natives of India.* There are, however, monstrosities of the kind, as there are of other animals, in some museums. One *lusus naturæ* is, or was,

* Nicholson says—"The double-headed snake is manufactured by snake jugglers and exhibited to the credulous European or Indian."

certainly to be seen in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. A moment's reflection would convince even the most credulous that such creatures could not possibly exist. What embarrassment would arise in the event of a disagreement between the two heads as to the direction in which food should be sought for!—a decided exception to the rule that “two heads are better than one.” Miss Hopley tells us that “several of the burrowing family are remarkable for a similarity of head and tail, obscure features, inconspicuous eyes, and very small mouth, rendering it difficult at first sight to decide which is the head and which the tail. All being feeble, inoffensive and entirely harmless, the evil attached to them of having two heads is only another proof of the prejudice and animosity displayed towards every creature in the shape of a snake however innocent. These poor little “blind worms, admirably organized to dig and burrow and find their food in deep and hidden places, have their uses. We must note one other of the family of burrowing snakes which, from the very earliest ages, have been suppositiously endowed with two heads. Its name, *Amphisbæna*, or double walker, (going both ways), however, is well merited, because like *Typhlops*, it can progress either way, forwards or backwards, with equal facility. Of this harmless and useful reptile Pliny seriously wrote: ‘The *Amphisbæna* has two heads; that is it has a second one at its tail, as though one mouth were too little for the discharge of all its venom!’ One cannot help thinking that Pliny must have met at least one of the human species whose “mouth was too little for the discharge of all his venom,” but it is doubtful whether he credited him with possessing too much head.

The manner in which the functions of the various parts concerned combine to effect a poisonous bite is certainly remarkable. The act, apparently simple in itself, consists really of a series of complex acts following rapidly one upon another, in ordered sequence to effect a certain end; and as Dr. Weir Mitchell says, “The physician may learn from their study how he may be deceived as to the occurrence of poisoned wounds, and how the snake which appears to strike, may really fail in its object, even though seeming to have inflicted a wound,” and then he gives the details of the manner in which the reptile inflicts an effectual bite. “At the instant, and while in motion, the jaws are separated widely, and the head is bent somewhat back upon the first cervical bones, so as to bring the point of the fang into a favourable position to penetrate the opposing flesh. Owing to the backward curve of the tooth, this,

of necessity, involves the opening of the jaws to such an extent, that an observer, standing above the snake, can see the white mucous membrane of the mouth as the blow is given. Consentaneously with the forward thrust of the body, and with the opening of the mouth, the sphe-no-pterygoids act from their firm cranial attachments to draw forward the pterygoid plate, and thus through its attachment to the maxillary, to erect the fang As the sphe-no-pterygoid acts, the submaxillary bone rocks forward upon its lachrymal articulation, when the motion reaches its limit, and is checked by the ligament which I have described, the supporting lachrymal bone in turn yields to the power applied through the maxillary bone.

"These movements elevate a little the muzzle of the snake, so as to give to the snake a very singular expression during the act of striking. Their more obvious and important result is the elevation of the fang, which rising, thrusts off from its convexity the cloak-like vagina-dentis, so that it gathers in loose folds at its base.

"As the unsheathed tooth penetrates the flesh of the victim, a series of movements occur, which must be contemporaneous, or nearly so. The body of the snake still resting in coil, makes, as it were, an anchor, while the muscles of the neck contracting, draw upon the head so violently, that when a small animal is the prey, it is often dragged back by the effort here described. If now the head and fang remain passive, the pull upon the head would withdraw the fang too soon, but at this moment, the head is probably stayed in its position by the muscles below, or in front of the spine; while the ptergoideus externus and sphe-no-palatine, acting upon the fang through their respective insertions into the posterior apophysis of the submaxillary bone, and the inside of the palate bone, draw its point violently backward, so as to drive it more deeply into the flesh. At this instant occur a third series of motions, which result in the further deepening of the wound, and in the injection of the poison."

The lower jaw is closed upon the bitten part or member. Where the surface struck is flat and large, this action will have but slight influence. Where the jaw shuts on a small limb or member, the consequent effects will be far more likely to prove serious. Since the power thus to shut the mouth materially aids the purpose of the blow The first two (muscles) tend simply to shut the mouth; the anterior temporal, however, is so folded about the poison-gland, that while it draws up the lower jaw, it simultaneously compresses two-thirds of the body of the poison-gland.

This force is so applied as to squeeze the fluids out of the upper and back parts of the gland and drive them forward into the duct. The anterior lower angle of the gland, as well as a portion of the duct, is subjected to similar pressure at the same instant, owing to the flat tendinous insertion of a part of the external pterygoid upon the parts in question. It will thus be observed, that the same muscular acts which deepen the wound, fix the prey and inject the venom through the duct and into the tissues penetrated by the tooth." Now, in the case of the cobra, the act is still more complicated by the preliminary expansion of the hood, and the greater distance of the strike.

It would, of course, be anticipated in such an elaborate sequence of movements as those above described, that in the event of the failure of one of the essential motions, the ultimate essential of the whole would be materially interfered with, constituting an imperfect or ineffectual bite.

The causes of an ineffectual bite when the snake is poisonous and in full vigour are—

1st.—Miscalculation of distance.

2nd.—The object being too near, the blow is lost, and the fang does not enter.

3rd.—Insufficient elevation of the fangs which are driven by the force of the forward impulse.

4th.—When the fang enters, and from the quick starting of the animal injured, or from other cause, it is withdrawn so soon, that a large portion of the venom is thrown harmless upon the surface near the wound.

5th.—When from the nature of the part struck the snake is unable to close its jaws upon the parts.

There are other causes of an ineffectual bite referrible to the snake itself.

1st.—Its gland may contain little or no venom (*a*) from recent exhaustion, (*b*) from impeded secretion through sickness.

2nd.—The efficient fangs may have been shed or lost.

Here I may note that fangs are renewed.

When snake-poison is required for immediate experimental purposes or for collection, it is absolutely necessary either to handle the reptiles yourself, or to have them manipulated under your own supervision. In the former case, to ensure accuracy of observation, and in the latter, to obtain a supply of the genuine article. The specimens supplied by *samp-wallahs* are dirty and unreliable though high prices are often given. On one occasion through an obliging correspondent, I was supplied with a large quantity

of poison which subsequently was found to be "gum," which the poison much resembles. On another I bought what appeared to be the genuine article, and it proved to be strychnine and gum mixed.

Fontana obtained the poison of the viper by killing the animal, and compressing the poison glands which are situated behind the eyes, until the fluid exuded through the ducts. Barnett and others chloroformed the animal and then exerted pressure on the glands. Prince Bonaparte made the snake bite upon soft substances which imbibed venom the readily, and from which it could be easily removed by water.

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's method is here described :—

In moving snakes it is customary to employ long-handled tongs or forceps, which are apt to pinch and otherwise injure them. I have been in the habit of using for this purpose a bar of wood four feet long and cut off at the end, so as to present a slightly roughened surface, one and a half inches square ; on one side of the end, a piece of soft and pliant leather strap was nailed securely. This strap was then carried across the end of the bar, and through a flat staple upon the side opposite to that on which the strap was fastened, a stout cord attached to the strap above the staple, was held in the operators hand. To use this simple instrument, the strap was drawn down, so as to form a loop, which was easily slipped over the head of a snake, and there tightened by drawing on the cord. Where it was desirable merely to secure the venom, the loop was slipped over the head and drawn closely around the neck.

Thus prepared, the snake was placed on the table and retained by an assistant, while the operator obtained the venom. When it was desirable to have an animal bitten without placing it in the cage, the loop was carried to the middle of the snake's body, and it was thus allowed movement enough to enable it to draw back and strike. It is unnecessary to add that during these manipulations, the utmost caution is necessary to avoid accident.

As it is sometimes essential to detain the snake on the table for some time without being forced to employ a person to guard it, I devised a little apparatus which, although imperfect, answered my ends well enough. A box about four inches square and thirty-six inches long was divided lengthwise, and arranged with hinges so as to close readily. The two sections were deeply grooved, so that where the sides of the box met, the grooves formed a tube large enough to receive the body of a serpent five feet in length. The large end of the box was fitted with a sliding door which could be secured by a wooden wedge driven in behind it. The lower edge of the door was made concave, and a piece of leather was tacked across the concavity, designed to press on the snake's neck and secure without injuring it.

To employ this arrangement, the box was closed and the door raised, a cord having been previously run through the central tube. This cord bore on its extremity a loop, which was thrown over the tail of the snake, and carried up between three and four inches. To effect this manœuvre, I was usually obliged to hold the snake down with a long stick notched at the end. The serpent being thus noosed, the loop was tightened, and an assistant tilted the box over the cage and rapidly drew the snake backwards into the tube, while a second person standing in front guided the snake with a long rod.

As soon as the tail appeared at the small end of the box, it was secured by the assistant, and the looped string which held it was wound around a nail. At this instant the head sometimes retreated into the box. After waiting a moment, it usually re-appeared again, and was then seized with a pair of long forceps, and held, while the door was pushed down on the neck and made fast with the wedge. When the snake was small, it sometimes contrived to turn around in the box before the tail emerged and thus reverse its desired position. This occurrence twice exposed the operator to great danger; it was finally provided against by the aid of a large cork, which was strung upon the cord and was used to close the small end of the tube when the snake was of a size to make it possible for it to turn in the tube. When the snake was thus properly imprisoned, it could be placed on the table and studied to great advantage, while it was still able to bite with sufficient vigor. At various times I have employed all the methods of procuring venom, which I have enumerated at the commencement of this note. I have finally laid aside all but the plan of stupefying the snake by chloroform. This is accomplished by seizing the snake about the middle with the looped staff, and placing it on the table. An assistant then controls the head and neck, by confining the latter with a notched stick, while with the other hand he slips over the head a glass vessel about two inches wide, and containing at the closed end a sponge soaked in chloroform. The snake breathes for a time with only a few inches of lung which lie in front of the stick, but as it becomes more insensible, the pressure of the stick is removed, and the strap of the staff loosened. About twenty minutes are required to complete the process. If it is then found that the lower jaw hangs relaxed when opened, the neck is seized firmly, the fangs caught on a saucer edge, and the glands stripped from behind, forwards, by pressure with the thumb and forefinger. The venom usually escapes alongside of the fang, from under the mucous cloak. To secure all of the available venom, it is best to wash the fang and the vagina-dentis with the aid of a little water and a pipette; but one objection can be urged against this method. One snake in every four died within from two to five days, and this after apparent recovery from the effects of the chloroform. It is not impossible that too severe a compression of the venom glands may produce rupture of its substance and consequent blood poisoning. This, however, is but conjecture; and I have not further examined the subject experimentally.

The method adopted by us in India, though, perhaps, more dangerous, is infinitely more simple and efficacious. The reptile is caught by the tail, and the end of a walking stick is then placed upon the head, pressing it not too forcibly against the ground or floor. When secured the tail is handed over to an assistant, or it may be let go, and with the hand the snake is seized just behind the stick, which is then removed. Care is, of course, required that the fingers do not slip, as they sometimes will when the animal is shedding its skin; and, that the animal is not held so tightly as to injure it. *Samp-wallahs* hold the tail of the snake between the toes of the left foot. Expert manipulators do not require to use any stick, especially for cobras, but at once place the fingers upon the neck and then grasp it. To remove the poison, the creature is made to bite through a strip of plantain leaf placed transversely around a mussel shell, the concavity of

which is turned upwards. The fangs pierce the leaf and the poison flows freely through the fangs into the shell. An extra quantity of poison is obtained by exerting pressure upon the glands. The snakes do not always bite readily, but some times require a good deal of irritating: sometimes only one fang penetrates, and it is then necessary to make the snake bite again, in which there is generally some difficulty. The venom is then removed and poured into watch glasses to be dried and bottled off for use as occasion arises. Poison thus dried will retain its power for years. I have experimented with some 15 years old, and I found that it had lost none of its virulence.

Natives tell many extraordinary stories about snakes; amongst others, that a snake called the *Dhinarash*, milks cows. The belief that snakes have the power to suck is not confined to natives. A gentleman told me of a story he heard from another to the effect, that a lady who was suckling her infant one night, woke up and found a snake suckling at the other breast. Suction cannot, however, be accomplished without the aid of lips and a broad tongue, both of which are absent in the snake. This story, like many others, is a myth.

There is a well-known superstition prevailing amongst the natives of India to the effect, that when a person is bitten by a snake, the snake should be protected from injury: it is believed that if it is killed, the bitten person will surely die. I have reported such a case in Sir Joseph Fayrer's "*Thanatophidia*." Again *samp-wallahs* will never kill a snake for fear their power over the creature should be destroyed. It is singular to find that such a belief exists also amongst the Caribs. Captain Pim, in his entertaining book, "*Dottings on the Road-side*," says—"On another occasion I saw a smaller but no less deadly member of the same species; it was on the banks of the San Juan, in the hands of my faithful Simon (a Carib), who had just landed from my canoe to make a fire and cook our breakfast. Simon allowed the creature to coil round him, and commenced talking to it in his musical language, holding the head close to his face. Presently he put it gently on the ground, when it slowly made its way into the adjacent undergrowth. I gave Simon a good blowing up for letting the brute escape, but he told me that he was a snake doctor, and that had he inflicted the slightest injury on it, his influence would have been at an end for ever."

It is thought that the snake-charmers train or charm their so-called performing snakes so as to make them do certain acts at the will of the "charmers." Now, this is not the case. By the training of a mammal, such as a horse for instance—the animal is made to do certain acts, it may be, foreign to

its usual behaviour, or even its nature, at the will of the trainer, and in the process the animal's intelligence is appealed to. But in the case of the cobra (and in that of performing birds in a lesser degree) the manipulator anticipates the natural behaviour of the reptile, under certain conditions, which alone he has command over. And he is the best "charmer" who is the most intimately conversant with the movements of the creatures under varying conditions. For example, I say, this cobra which is now balancing itself before me, shall turn to the right, raise itself higher, turn to the front again, suddenly dart, and after rebalancing itself, put its head down upon the table. To make the snake accomplish this, I wave my right hand very gently and turn it to the right, raise it towards the head of the snake; then bring it to the front, and wave it at first very gently, then rapidly, and suddenly bring my hand down in front of the snake, which now strikes. Then smartly extend my arm above, so that when the snake rebalances itself, the palm of my hand nearly touches its head, and lastly, I bring my hand down gently towards the table. *

Since the foregoing was written, I have read the following amusing account of snake manipulation by Dr. Nicholson. "To take a snake out of the box, when he is not sufficiently domesticated to be taken up with the hand, lift his body with a hooked stick and, as his tail glides over, take hold of it and deposit him on the floor or in a spare box. If you wish to tame the snake, he must be taken out daily, and gradually accustomed to being handled; if you could persuade him to drink milk," (which you can do by dropping it on to his head) "the offer of it would become a great inducement to good behaviour. A cobra must always be taken out daily and gradually tired out of his wildness, but in the intervals of his performances he should be left alone and not worried. There is very little danger about handling this snake, nerve is all that is required. I have very little of it myself, and can never handle venomous snakes with confidence. I have often envied the nerve of a friend in Rangoon, who, emboldened by the possession of a fancied antidote in case of accident, handles cobras with perfect freedom; he puts his hand into a narrow mouthed basket containing

* I had several little birds, *Moontahs*, and I found that they would go through the following performance by themselves. On taking one on to an index finger, and putting the other index finger before it, the bird would step or hop from one to the other as often as I changed them, if I just touched its breast. If I wanted the bird to fly for a short distance, I brought the disengaged finger sharply up to its breast, and at the same time I lowered the engaged finger. If I remove one finger and held the bird some distance from the cage, it would fly from my finger into the cage. Nearly every bird would go through this performance.

several cobras, and picks out the one he wants without the slightest objection on the part of the snake beyond the usual hard swearing. When the cobra is on the floor, he squats down before him and brings him to attention, if he is making tracks, by a smart smack on the back; then, by a side to side movement of the knees or gently moving in front of him a piece of chalk or a rolled-up handkerchief held in the the left hand, he can be kept steady ~~for~~ for a long time, following your movements." (The hand alone answers the purpose equally well if you are at all experienced.) "If your attention relaxes, he calms down and backs away; catch hold of him by the tail or smack him on the back, and he will come to attention again. Keep him occupied with an object in front of him, and you may do anything to him; place your right hand above his head, and you can bring him flat to the ground, but without any attempt at resistance. After he has stood up some time, it is easy to provoke a strike; this, however, is rarely done viciously, and the injury inflicted is generally confined to his own nose. Most captured cobras have their noses barked raw from frequent hits against hard substances." As for the snake's supposed love for music, I have certainly not noticed it. As Dr. Nicholson remarks, "The country music played by snake charmers during the cobra's performance, is quite superfluous, and from the very imperfect condition of the auditory apparatus, it is highly probable that it has very little appreciation of sound. It has been said that when a large number of remedies are to be found for any particular disease, that disease is either very easy, or impossible, to cure. There is probably no disease—not even excepting cholera—for which such a multitude of remedies are in existence, as for snake-poisoning, or more correctly speaking for snake-bite, for the two are by no means synonymous. The thousand of antidotes are almost all of a secret nature, very few being known and having professional sanction. Every district in India has its own *samp-wallahs*, and each *samp-wallah* is the happy possessor of an antidote and a *mantra* to assist it. Whether these men believe in the efficacy of their remedies I am not quite sure, but I have never yet seen the man who was willing to submit his remedy to a crucial test in his own person even for a consideration. The excuse has always been that he might forget his *mantra* at a critical moment. This reminds me of a curious story which was told to me some time ago. It appears that before the Mahomedan woodcutters will go into a fresh patch of jungle in the Sonderbunds, they send a holy man (strange to say, a Hindoo) to the place to propitiate the wild animals. He erects a small *maichan* in which he stops for the night, if he is not eaten in the meantime. If all goes well, and the *jogt* is untouched, it is assumed that the jungle

may be safely worked. Occasionally it happens that a hungry brute refuses to be propitiated in any but a natural manner, and it eats the *jogi*. When the wood-cutters are asked to explain why the holy man has been eaten notwithstanding his *mantras*, they say that he must either have had a very indifferent character, which was probably true, or he *had forgotten his mantras when attacked by the tiger*. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this story, but *se non è vero, ben trovato*. I have, however, seen at several different parts of the Soonderbunds *maichans* which were said to have been occupied by *jogis*. From time to time "infallible cures," "certain antidotes" and "never-known-to-fail remedies" are sent to me from all parts of the world to be submitted to the crucial test, always with the same result—utter failure. Many of them come accompanied by certificates of infallibility, and not a few come with the intimation that the sender would be happy to disclose the secret, on the Government sending him the reward which is supposed to have been offered. I have experimented with "antidotes" sent from Brazil, the United States of America, Australia, and all over India, and in many instances the directions for the administration and application of the antidotes were amusingly absurd. For extraordinary cures of *snake bite*, the *Panseurs* (snake-doctors) of St. Lucia certainly excell all others. The Government of India, observing in the Immigration Report of St. Lucia for the year 1879, that reference was made to the successful treatment of snake bite, asked for further information on the subject. And the result is a most extraordinary contribution to snake-poisoning literature. All of the contributors, *with the exception of the medical officer*, appear to be quite satisfied that the *panseurs* are really able to cure snake-poisoning. One gentleman remarks, however, that "It is my impression that when the bite is inflicted by a large vigorous serpent in such a manner that the venom is deposited within a blood vessel or deep in the tissues, or, as sometimes happens, in the trunk, death is inevitable." He makes the extraordinary statement that he believes that the bite of the "Fer de Lance" is more fatal to whites than to the black or coloured people. The medical officer after pointing out some of the conditions under which the snake may not have inflicted an effectual bite, remarks, "It is important to bear the above in mind when we hear many persons boasting (some of them, no doubt honestly) of their success with, and their ability to cure, serpent bites."

"There are *many remedies* (italics mine) believed by the inhabitants to be efficacious; some kept a secret, some used locally, others internally, and some both local and internal, while passes are made and words used by the professional

snake-bite curers, which no doubt are useful with the class on whom they are practised, on the principle of the 'influence of mind over matter.' The preparations consist of a heterogeneous collection, chiefly of various herbs steeped in rum." "These must be gathered on a certain day (generally a Friday, and at a certain phase of the moon. The recipes are reported to be obtained from old Africans.

"The St. Lucia Almanac of 1852 gives 'six modes of treatment.' Many of these seem absurd, and one positively dangerous from the amount of arsenic it contains. Mention is made of the guaco* having been re-introduced by Governor Darling from Venezuela, and 'that it now luxuriates in the garden of every gentleman in the Island.' I believe it has again become extinct!" Note in the above extract that the "panseurs" assist their antidotes with "passes" and "words"; the *jharro* and *mantras*. Also that they have *many remedies*, notwithstanding that guaco, (the great remedy) has become extinct. The medical officer winds up his letter with the following paragraph:—

"The treatment adopted by some of these serpent doctors, can only be described as 'lynch law,' and I believe often gives rise to mortification of the bitten part. Others practise by more gentle means, inflicting no injury. A powder named Theriaque† is in great repute. This consists of a forago of 72 different ingredients, the flesh of the viper being one; each drachm of the powder contains a little more than a grain of opium, and to the soothing effect of this drug is to be ascribed such influence for good as the powder may have. Rum and ammonia are largely used in all the nostrums, and are probably the only efficacious constituents." The marvel is that any person so treated ever recovers from the effects of the treatment. We find mentioned no fewer than four articles which have a reputation in India, namely, arsenic, (as given in the Tanjore pill), opium, (opium eaters are supposed to be proof against snake-poison) alcohol, and ammonia. Over stimulation in a case of real snake-poisoning can only expedite the absorption of the poison, which, it should be our aim to prevent being taken up into the general circulation. Ammonia, like alcohol, is only a stimulant—not an antidote. Hence in a true case of poisoning it is not only useless but hurtful. But to return to the "panseurs" of St. Lucia. One gentleman writes:—"I cannot state with certainty what is *generally* the exact course of treatment observed, 'panseurs' evincing a disinclination to give definite information on the

* The *Milkania guaco* has had many advocates amongst them; Andrieux in 1849, Vargas 1798, and others. | † Advocated by Arctæus in 1772.

subject. In almost every instance they have acquired the knowledge from Africans who have charged heavily for transmitting it. Fathers have bequeathed the information thus obtained to their sons, so that a family for many generations have been acknowledged as professional 'panseurs'; consequently a knowledge of the kind, which, as a rule, is a source of pecuniary advantage to the 'serpent doctor,' is cautiously and jealously guarded by every member of the ~~faculty~~. Two 'panseurs,' however, hearing that information was required by Her Majesty's Government, "loyally elected to be exceptions to the rule," and so we are afforded information as to the composition of two of these marvellous cures, and according to the "panseurs," nothing could be more successful, seeing that one man has had 62 cases, and lost only one patient; while the other had 250, and he too lost only one patient, and that one died not from the effects of the bite, but "from being too much frightened." Here are the prescriptions:—Take of each of the following herbs, viz.—Zebe Giente. En haut bois, confied Cayé, Petit Fongère. Zebe á Couresse, Zebe Dahi, Zebe á Colete, Chadron, Beni, Soumatié, Zimoron, Treffe, Charhentier, Zebe astro, Jarpanyai, and Balier doux, pound the same in a mortar, add thereto $\frac{3}{4}$ oz of alkali, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz of laudanum, put all in a quart bottle full of very strong spirits, shake and mix well, administer internally half a wine-glass-full according to condition and constitution of patient. Dress the wound twice a day and oftener, if necessary, with the same preparation."

" 1st—Dose.

- 1 Gr. powdered Peruvian bark.
- 1. Gr. emetic.
- 3 Drops spirits of hartshorne.

2nd Tison.

1 handful Bois mal estomac leaves, coco figæ, small piece raisin, citron small piece.

' 3rd Cataplasn.

Pied Poulli, a handful of Moron, ditto fevilles, Pistaches l'Ecorce, Quina bois pilled, 1 Corce d'ail or garlic, 9 grains preserve guinié, un morceau de gingerbre or ginger un cuillier pound á fusil, un morceau de tieff. (A singular mixture of French and English.)

4th.

"After applying the above stated, then cut the bite to run out the poison.

Then a small tumbler containing some rum, light fire to the rum, and apply upside down on the bits called vantouse" (This is a rough form of "cupping" but both that and suction utterly fail to "draw out" a single drop of venom, for the simple reason that it is rapidly diffused, and becomes intimately amalgamated with the products of the specific local inflammation).

5th Vomiting.

To make the patient vomit, take some leaves of quina bois, boil in one quarter of water, to be reduced to three tea-cups.

6th Friction.

After 4 days 1° savon Français, 1° Chandelle mole, 2 spoonful of white rum, melt together on fire, and rub part very hot." (This could do only harm in a true case of snake-poisoning.)

7th to avoid pains.

Take one leaf smoking tobacco (or merely) apply above, friction of No. 6 on the inside part, pass it on fire and apply over the part for 3 or 4 days, then wash the part with some hot water, and the patient is radically cure." *Mirabile dictu!*

By the way, there is internal evidence that the above prescriptions are certainly not amongst those which have been obtained "at great cost" from the Africans. Where did these Africans learn to make "laudanum" and "spirits of harts-horne?"

The old, old story of the mongoose is introduced to shew that there certainly must be an antidote in existence. In fact, all the old, dead, buried and disintegrated *post hoc ego propter hoc* arguments are exhumed and patched together to do duty as veritable and convincing proofs. A man is bitten, therefore by a poisonous snake. The snake was poisonous, therefore the man is poisoned. The man is poisoned, therefore he will die. An antidote is administered to the bitten individual, the individual does not die, therefore, the antidote cured him. A "M. de Lanbenque's method" of treatment is mentioned. While there is nothing new in it, there is much that is ludicrous. The method includes the old treatment of the application and administration of oil, which was declared useless nearly 200 years ago, (*vide* my article in the "Calcutta Review" for July 1874). The absurd advice is given to keep the patient roused by every means. If it were a case of real poisoning nothing would keep the patient roused. Far from rousing the patient it is good practice to keep him as quiet as possible, so that the absorption of the poison—which you desire to keep out of the general system—may be retarded as much as possible. The wonderful

snake-doctors of St. Lucia, like many other snake-doctors, evidently owe much of their fame and reputation to the non-identification of the snake, and the timidity of the people. Dr. Shadling says (as quoted by Miss Hopley) "I believe every country has a pet bugbear among serpents. *Fer de lance* is the cry in St. Lucia, when a snake rustles away" in the bush, or inflicts a bite unseen." After all, the "*Fer de lance*" *Trionocephalus lanceolatus*—is not nearly so formidable as most of our Indian poisonous snakes, notwithstanding the infamous character which has been given to it by the people of St. Lucia. A very interesting note is given in Sir Joseph Fayrer's *Thanatophidia* on the snake-charmers of Bengal from the pen of Dr. Rajendralala Mitra. "In Bengal we have four different classes of men who deal in snakes. The first, and by far the most expert among them, is the *Mal*, a low caste Hindu, who earns his livelihood by catching and exhibiting snakes and selling simples in the bazaar" [in more ways than one] "but never professes witchcraft, jugglery or the healing art. Many of this class are certainly very poor and have to lead a vagrant life, but I have never heard that they are much given to thieving. In the North-Western Provinces they are replaced by *Modaris*, a few of whom occasionally come to Calcutta to ply their vocation. I have never had an opportunity of studying them carefully, and cannot, therefore, say anything about them. Apparently, however, they seem to have been confounded with the *Bediyahs*, or gypsies of Bengal. The latter are jugglers, bear and monkeys dancers, sellers of simples, fortune tellers, reputed adepts at curing rheumatism, gout, tooth-ache and other complaints; professors of witchcraft, experts in cupping, applying moxas and actual cautery, as well as snake-charmers. In fact, they take to whatever comes in their way to protect themselves from being taken up by the police as thieves, for thieves they are of the most inveterate type. Some time ago I put a few notes together about them.

As snake-charmers these people are by no means successful or noted. They differ from the *Mal* in taking their women to join them in their profession which the *Mals* never do. I have never seen a *Mal* woman. The *Sanyis* are known in Bengal by the name of *tubri-wallahs*. I am not aware of where their head quarters are, but there is no doubt they come to Bengal from the North-West. They are always dressed in yellow clothes and a large turban, and have a double pipe mounted on a gourd shell—the *tubri*—with the music of which they pretend to charm and draw out snakes from holes and cracks, not unoften from the bedding in the houses of the persons who employ them. For this purpose they carry about several snakes on their persons hidden under the

folds of their flowing garments; but openly they shew only a few or none. As professed vagrants they may purloin whatever falls in their way, but they are by no means notorious as thieves. They may be seen everywhere in the North-West, and I believe (though I cannot speak from personal knowledge) also in Southern India. I have met with notices of them in old Sanskrit books, and, it is probable, that as a class they have existed in India from a very early age. Their pipe is peculiar to them; it is never used by the *Máls*, the *Modaris*, and the *Bediyás* for charming snakes, nor by any of the Indian races for musical entertainment." Most of these snake-charmers, especially the *tubri-walbáhs*, are very fond of alcohol, particularly brandy; the more fiery the better. The crime of homicide by snake-bite, we are told by Chevers, was rather a full history from very ancient times. Snakes were employed also for purposes of war. Hannibal and Antiochus defeated the Romans in a novel action by throwing earthen-pots filled with the reptiles into their ships. In Paradin's *Chronique de Savoye* it is mentioned that a Saracen ship was taken in which were snakes in cages which were intended to be thrown among the Christians in their camp. He gives other instances of the practice. The following curious mention of the crime of using snakes as homicidal instruments, made in both ancient Hindu and Mahomedan law, is referred to by Dr. Chevers:—

"If a man by violence throws into another person's house a snake or any other animal of that kind, whose bite or sting is mortal, this is snakish, *i. e.*, violence. The Magistrate shall fine him five hundred puns of cowries, and make him throw away the snake with his own hand." Halhed's *Code of Gentoo laws*, pp. 262, 263. It was enacted in the ancient Mahomedan law that "If a person bring another into his house, and put a wild beast into the room with him and shut the door upon them, and the beast kill the man, neither *hisas* nor *diyat* is incurred. And it is the same if a snake or scorpion be put into the house with a man, or, if they were there before and sting him to death. But, if the sufferer be a child, the price of blood is payable." Dr. Chevers mentions that some of Sir Thomas Roe's suite were present, at an execution by snake-bite, ordered by the Mogul. It must have been a horrible spectacle judging from the account of the execution.

When I left the subject of the investigation into the nature of snake-poison, in the *Calcutta Review* of July 1874, Sir (then Dr.) Joseph Fayrer and Dr. Lauder Brunton had communicated a series of valuable papers on the nature of snake-poison to the Royal Society; and the Indian Snake-poison Commission (of which Dr. Ewart was President, and Dr. Mackenzie and I members) were about to issue their report, and indeed, did issue it

in the latter part of the year. The object of the appointment of the Commission is thus described in the report :—" From experiments made in London with the dried poison of the Naga, Tripudians (cobra), Drs. Fayrer and Lauder Brunton were led to infer that artificial respiration, applied to animals or human beings, poisoned by any of the *Thanatophidia of India*, might prove successful in prolonging or saving life. Dr. Fayrer states in a letter, dated 29th November 1872, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, that " since my return to London, I have in conjunction with Dr. Lauder Brunton, been making further investigations into the subject of snake-poisoning, especially with a view of ascertaining if there be any means of saving life, and, though I cannot say that that desirable object of research has been attained, I am satisfied that the results of certain experiments are interesting and important," as they point in that direction. I have recorded an opinion derived from a long and elaborate series of experiments, that some of the so-called antidotes possess the virtues or powers attributed to them ; but in the experiments recently made, it is ascertained beyond a doubt, that the life of an animal poisoned by the cobra-virus, may be prolonged for many hours by artificial respiration, and it is therefore possible that, if respiration be artificially continued for a sufficient length of time, life may be altogether preserved. In experiments performed upon the fowl and rabbit, after the most complete development of the physiological action of the poison, amounting to total paralysis and convulsions, conditions which immediately precede death, the convulsions ceased, and in one case the heart was kept beating vigorously for about nine hours (and probably then failed from imperfect respiration carried on in the cold)—a result never before attained by any means that I am aware of!" I had kept a dog alive for nearly twenty-four hours by artificial respiration. The results obtained by artificial respiration, in animals subjected to the action of the curara, or wourali poison, were calculated to encourage Dr. Fayrer to hope that similar treatment might possibly succeed in restoring to health animals almost dead from snake-poisoning. He remarked, ' There is apparently a strong analogy between the action of the cobra-virus, and that of the curara poison of South America. It has been ascertained that an animal poisoned by this agent may, after apparent death for many hours, be restored, if artificial respiration be carefully and continuously applied for a sufficient length of time, the temperature of the animal being at the same time sustained at blood-heat by artificial warmth. Curara, it is believed, kills by paralysing the peripheral

distribution of the motor nerves, thus inducing asphyxia by involving the muscles of respiration in general paralysis. If, however, the heart's action can be sustained by artificial respiration during a sufficient length of time, to allow of elimination of the poison through the excretory organs, (for whilst the heart acts they continue to perform their functions) the paralysed muscles regain their power, and life is slowly, but certainly restored. I am not prepared to assert that the cobra-poison kills in exactly the same way as carara; I am inclined to believe that it does not; but still analogy in the results of experiments support, or, perhaps, rather suggest the idea that, if artificial respiration be sustained in a case of cobra-poisoning, and life be thus artificially supported for a sufficient length of time, it might be for days, elimination of the poison, may occur, and recovery may result. Sir Joseph Fayrer was, however, by no means sanguine of the success of the treatment. This was the procedure adopted by the Commission. After poisoning the animal, a dog, either directly by the bite of a cobra, or by the hypodermic injection of the virus, when convulsions, general paralysis, and cessation of respiration, were fully developed, a canula was quickly inserted into the trachea. In the external end of the canula about a foot of India-rubber tubing was attached; and into the free extremity of this, the nozzle of the bellows was fitted. The canula, tubing, and bellows specially constituted for the purpose of avoiding clogging with mucus—were all connected and ready for use before the performance of the operation of tracheotomy was ever attempted. This was a necessary precaution, inasmuch as valuable time would have been lost, had the connexions between the different parts of the apparatus been always made after the trachea had been opened. Care was taken to see that the channels, through which the respiration was to be carried on artificially were clean and patent. To the canula was also attached a supplementary side tube, provided with a stop-cock, to admit of the escape of respired air, whenever it was found it was not being rapidly enough discharged by the side of the tube, through the mouth. The elastic recoil of the lungs and atmospheric pressure were generally sufficient to accomplish the act of expiration. Whenever these were deemed inadequate to empty the lungs, the opening of this stop-cock, and compression of the chest with the hands, were employed to secure efficient expiration, whilst the pumping in of air was in no way interrupted for a single instant. As regards the effects of artificial respiration on animals bitten by snakes, the Commission remark: "Death

from snake-poisoning is preceded by general muscular paralysis, induced by interference with the actions of the spinal cord, medulla oblongata, and it may be, the central ganglia of the encephalon ; convulsions ; unconsciousness, and absolute cessation of respiration. The rhythmic action of the heart continues for about three or four minutes longer. In these experiments, the time selected for the commencement of artificial respiration in the manner already indicated was the exact period when the breathing had ceased, and about three or four minutes prior to the stoppage of the beating of the heart. The average lapse of time between the infliction of the bite, and the cessation of the respiratory process, was only *forty-two minutes*, the maximum and minimum having been *one hour and ten minutes*, and *twenty-five minutes* respectively" without artificial respiration. A cobra does, however, sometimes kill in a much shorter time. "The powerful influence of artificial respiration, in supporting and prolonging life, is well illustrated Life was thus prolonged, on an average *ten hours and forty-one minutes*, the maximum having reached *seventeen hours and six minutes*, and the minimum *three hours and ten minutes*."

The Commission continued the experiments with decreasing doses of cobra-poison hypodermically injected ; at last with the following result, when only $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a grain of the poison was injected. It took *four hours and two minutes* until artificial respiration was resorted to. In four minutes more, in the absence of this system, this animal's heart would have ceased to beat and somatic death been complete. But by its steady application, life was extended to *forty-one hours and fifty-two minutes*.

And the Commission thus sum up the results of the trial of artificial respiration:—"The power of artificial respiration in supporting the respiratory process ; in maintaining the action of the heart, and the circulation of the blood to all parts of the body ; in effecting the arterialization of the blood ; in sustaining the life of the secreting and excreting organs, and that of the organic system of nerves ; and in, probably, keeping up an imperfect form of nutrition of the tissues to which arterialized blood is supplied in abundance, for periods of time varying, to a great extent, according to the quantity of poison introduced into the system through the absorbent channels of the body, is therefore placed beyond all question.

"But its influence in saving life, even when very small quantities of the poison have found entrance into the juices, is extremely problematical. It occurred to us that there might

be hope of preserving life if the method were employed in conjunction with certain drugs. And though that hope was from our previous experience of the mortal nature of the poison over animal life, very faint, we resolved to try artificial respiration with the exhibition of medicines, and in a few instances with the transfusion of blood from a healthy dog into dogs poisoned with the virus of the cobra." But the Commission found that the exhibition of drugs in no way improved the chances of prolonging or preserving the lives of the animals experimented upon. The Commission performed nearly *two hundred* experiments on dogs, and as many of them occupied both day and night, and I personally conducted everyone of them, I am in a position to say that the strain upon the experimenter was sometimes exceedingly great. After being up for three hours I have remained in the experimenting room watching the dog experimented on for forty-six consecutive hours—without sleep and without leaving the room. This vigilance was absolutely necessary as a half minute's cessation of the artificial respiration operations on the part of the men would have been fatal to the experiment in hand, and would have necessitated the conduct of a fresh experiment. Add to the number of hours, a close room, the peculiar odour of pariah dogs and plenty of mosquitoes, and you may realize one's discomfort while the experiment lasted, and the state of fatigue afterwards. As regards the quantity of cobra-poison required to kill, the Commission found that the tenth of a grain killed a dog, weighing 18 lbs., in eleven hours and thirty minutes. One-twentieth of a grain injected beneath the skin of a dog weighing 26 lbs. produced drowsiness and vomiting, but the animal recovered. The *thirty-second* part of a grain injected into the peritoneal cavity of a dog, weighing 12 lbs., produced all the symptoms of snake-poisoning and eventually killed it in about fifty hours.

These results shew not only how fearfully subtle is cobra-poison, but how a favourable termination after the manifestation of serious symptoms may be attributed to the effects of the administration of reputed antidotes. The Commission obtained some poisonous snakes from Australia—the *Pseudechis porphyriacus* or black snake; and the *Hoplocephalus curtus*, the tiger snake. Both these snakes somewhat resemble the Indian cobra, but their fangs are smaller and they probably secrete less poison, and are not so deadly. With the poison of these snakes the Commission tested the efficacy of the ammonia treatment advocated by Dr. Halford, but like Fontana, Fayrer, Hilson, and myself, in regard to Indian snake-poisoning, they found it useless. This decision was subsequently agreed with by the Melbourne Medical Society, I believe. The Report

contains also a report of the analysis of cobra-poison by Mr. Alexander Pedler, F. C. S. As regards Mr. Pedler's analysis the Commission observe :—

“So far as we are aware, this is the first time that absolutely fresh-cobra poison has been submitted to ultimate analysis.” It will be observed from a reference to the following tables, that the substance isolated and analyzed by Mr. Pedler is more nearly allied to albumen than that submitted to examination by Dr. Armstrong, F. R. S. The reason of this discrepancy may possibly be found to exist in the fact that the poison investigated by the former gentleman was fresh and pure, whilst that analyzed by the latter was already in a state of decomposition before it was analyzed :—

	ARMSTRONG.	PEDLER.	
	Crude poison (decomposing)	Pure and fresh poison.	Albumen.
Carbon	43.55	52.87	53.4
Nitrogen	43.30	17.58	15.8
Hydrogen ... ..	.....	7.51	7.1
Sulphur ... ..	.....	not ascertained	1.8
Oxygen ... ..	.....	Ditto.	22.0

“It is quite impossible,” says Pedler, “to draw any deductions as to the nature of the poison. It is more than possible that the poison is a mixture of albuminous principles with some specific poison. Blyth claims to have isolated a crystalline principle. He says : “the poison has been examined by several chemists, but until of late years with a negative result. The writer was the first to isolate, in 1876, a crystalline principle which appears to be the sole active ingredient ; the yellow granules were dissolved in water, the albumen which the venom so copiously contains, coagulated by alcohol, and separated by infiltration ; the alcohol was then driven off at a gentle heat, the liquid concentrated to a small bulk, and precipitated with basic acetate of lead. The precipitate was separated, washed, and decomposed in the usual way by S. H_2 , and on removing the lead sulphide, crystals having toxic properties were obtained.” Gautier declared that he found an alkaloid in cobra-poison resembling a ptomaine. But considerable advance in the chemical analysis of the venoms have

lately been made, and will hereafter receive attention. It is said that cobra-poison is the most powerful animal poison in existence, but after my experience with the ptomaine which is generated in the bowels of persons suffering from cholera, I am inclined to doubt that statement, though quantity for quantity it may, of course, be so. Cunningham and Lewis made a careful microscopic examination of cobra-poison and of the blood of poisoned animals, but with negative results. Dr. Wolfenden, late Professor of Physiology at the Charing Cross Medical School, says, however, "I have for some time been making experiments upon the blood of many animals. I cannot consent to the generally received opinion that cobra-venom exerts no influence upon the blood. My investigations, which will shortly be published, have convinced me that cobra-venom decolorises, by driving out the hæmoglobin, a large proportion of the discs, and breaks up a large number of the white discs, completely filling the plasma with minute granules. The bacterial forms, which are present in such large numbers, in cobra-venom, I do not think have anything to do with the activity of the venom. When recovery takes place from poisoning with a dose of the poison insufficient to kill, it is not improbable that a condition of blood poisoning may supervene, secondarily, as in one of the cases I have quoted." Neither Wall nor I have ever witnessed a condition of blood poisoning after the injection of fresh venom. Recovery, when it does occur, is always rapid and complete, not so in viper-poisoning.

The question of the fluidity or otherwise of the blood in persons poisoned by snake-venom is of some importance, medico-legally. At page 376 of Dr. Norman Chever's work on medico-legal jurisprudence will be found the following foot-note :—"The reporter in the *Lancet* says the blood was altogether dark,* alkaline fluid (this was thirty hours after death, in the month of October), and it emitted a peculiar sour and sickly smell, quite different from the odour commonly known to pervade the dead-house. This is quite contrary to Indian experience. The blood drawn from an animal which has just died from cobra-poison always coagulates firmly. The blood* of animals killed by Russell's viper does not coagulate." Now this statement, coming from so high an authority, is likely to mislead. The conditions under which the blood remains fluid, and under which it coagulates, are thus described by the Indian Snake-Commission.

The blood appears to remain fluid after death under the circumstances noted below :—

- 1st. When a large quantity of the cobra-poison has been directly injected into the circulation, as for example, into an artery or a vein.

2nd. In cases where animals or man have been poisoned by the bite of vipers, such as the Russell's viper.

3rd. In all cases of snake-bite, whether from the poisonous colubrine or viperine genera in the human subject.

The blood undergoes either partial or complete coagulation under the following conditions :—

1st. When a small quantity only of the cobra-poison has been injected into a vein or an artery.

2nd. In cases where the lower animals have been bitten by the cobra.

Why the admixture of a large and quickly fatal injection of the cobra-virus into the circulation of animals should produce comparatively permanent fluidity of the blood, or interfere with its ordinary coagulability soon after removal from the body or after death, and why the injection of a smaller and more slowly fatal quantity should interpose no obstacle to its speedy coagulation, are questions extremely difficult to account for or explain. We can only state the fact that in the one case coagulation occurs speedily, and in the other, this coagulation is retarded or altogether prevented by some cause at present unknown. I gave it as my opinion that the larger the quantity of the poison absorbed the nearer to fluidity will the blood be found after death ; that is to say, the fluidity of the blood is entirely dependent upon, and is in direct proportion to, the amount of the poison taken into the circulation. The fact of the blood remaining fluid in the case of man being bitten by a cobra and coagulating in the case of an effective cobra bite in the lower animals, can probably be accounted for in this way. The poison is probably absorbed in the human subject in a large quantity before death supervenes, consequently the proportion of poison to blood is greater than in the lower animals. Whether this be the true solution of the matter, I, of course, cannot positively assert, but, at any rate, it appears to me to be a rational explanation of the problem.

In 1883 Dr. Wall published the results of his investigations which I think were commenced in 1875, and his contribution, to the literature is certainly one of the most important ever published, though it must be remembered that, unlike most of his predecessors, he had a mass of important scientific material at hand to assist and direct him in his researches, which he undoubtedly conducted with much ability, care and scientific exactness as his little work amply testifies. "The inquiry," says Wall, "that naturally presents itself first in considering the subject of snake-poisoning is—How does snake-poison kill? and what are the changes it effects in the animal system? And, as a consequence of this—Is there

only one poison, or are there several? Upon the answers to these questions depend both the certain recognition of snake-poisoning when it comes under observation, and the indications that must serve as guides to us in the treatment of it." And on these lines Dr. Wall conducts his enquiry. After explaining the effects of cobra-poison on animals of different classes, he shews that the symptoms in man are peculiar, owing to the difference in the organization of his nervous system. He draws special attention to the pain and to the local specific inflammation, upon which the pain depends. Intense mental shock in snake-bite may render the victim insensible to pain, at least for a time. The characteristic local condition he considers to be of the utmost practical importance. Externally there may be scarcely a sign on the skin to mark the spot where the snake inflicted its bite: or possibly one or two small punctures, or even a scratch may be found, especially if the part bitten be the fingers.* It may even happen that the part is slightly swollen or discolored. But whatever may be the condition of the external aspect, there will be found a distinct change in the parts beneath. Dr. Wall fully describes the appearances that are found beneath the true skin. Briefly stated, the areolar tissue will be found to resemble red-currant jelly in appearance, or if a large quantity of venom has not been injected, there will be only a pinkish effusion. "This local hyperæmia," says Wall, "is the first indication that we obtain that snake-poison has really entered the system." True, but while admitting that it is of value as a diagnostic sign of a poisonous bite, I must observe that it is no certain indication of the injection into the tissues of a fatal dose of poison. Very extensive local mischief has been observed to have occurred in cases which have terminated in recovery. The practical importance, therefore, of this appearance seems to be somewhat limited. As regards the characteristic symptoms of cobra-poisoning in man they are thus described by Wall. A feeling of intoxication appears to be the first constitutional effect of the poison. It is very generally complained of but not universally so, as it would require some intelligence on the victim's part to mention it. The next symptom is loss of power in the legs—at first staggering, then inability to support the legs—due to progressive upward paralysis of the spinal-cord,

* When manipulating a large *Daboia*, a few days since, to extract its poison, I found that on one side two fully formed fangs were unsheathed. Now supposing this snake had effectively bitten a person, we should have found there distinct fang marks at the bitten part. Not the slightest reliance is to be placed in the appearance of the scratches or punctures, though very much stress has been laid upon them as a means of diagnosing the bite of a venomous snake.

and at last complete paraplegia. At this time there is scarcely any loss of power in the arms, which may remain completely under the influence of the will. The next symptoms are very characteristic. The patient loses power of speech, of swallowing or moving the lips; the tongue becomes motionless and hangs out of the mouth, and the saliva which is secreted, in large quantities, runs down the face, the patient being equally unable to swallow it or eject it. "It is singular," says Dr. Wall, "that the striking resemblance of these symptoms to the disease known as glosso-laryngeal paralysis has not been previously noticed. Now, the preponderance of medical opinion attributes this disease to lesion of certain tracts of the medulla." Dr. Wall confirms the views of his predecessors when he remarks that "it is evident that cobra-poison has a special affinity for acting on the respiratory centre, and those ganglia allied to it in the medulla oblongata which are in connection with the vagus, the spinal accessory, and the hypoglossal nerves, and that it is directly to this destructive action that we have to attribute death in most cases of cobra-poisoning.

Sir Joseph Fayrer first pointed out this fact, and he was confirmed in his opinion by Brunton, and the Indian Commission. The respiration becomes slower and slower until the victim dies suffocated. Wall does not believe that cobra-poison ever kills by tetanizing the heart as was supposed by Fayrer and Brunton, and I think there are grounds for believing that he is correct in his view. In very rapid cases of poisoning, instead of the gradual extinction of the function of the cerebro-spinal centres, the poison, he says, appears to act almost immediately by stopping the action of the respiratory centre. He fully describes and illustrates by stethometric charts the effects of cobra-poison upon the respiration. Briefly stated they are: slight quickening with increase of the excursus, followed by rapidly increasing retardation, with a certain amount of lessening of the excursus—the latter being less affected than the former; sudden and abrupt inspiration followed by an equally sudden expiration, until the respiratory effort is entirely abolished, and after a pause the convulsions of asphyxia terminate life. Cobra-poison exercises little influence upon the circulation and temperature, nor has it any particular effect upon the higher sensorium. This fact has been noticed over and over again, and is of some importance diagnostically. The pupil of the eye also is unaffected. On secretion, generally, the poison has great effect; nearly all secreting tissues being affected by it, especially lachrymation, and even more so, salivation, marked and constant. The whole alimentary tract pours out mucus. The larynx and trachea become almost occluded by frothy mucus. I have already pointed out that

Dr. Wolfenden cannot accept the generally received opinion that cobra-poison effects no great change in the blood, and on this point Wall says, "that there is no great change in the blood is evident from the fact, that when an animal has survived the same symptoms, produced by cobra-poison, it is found to be quite well, and to suffer no further inconvenience from blood-poisoning or other causes." It is just possible that when extensive sloughing occurs at the bitten part, septicæmia may occur, but this can scarcely be attributed primarily to the cobra-venom, or be regarded as a physiological effect of the venom. Before leaving the subject of cobra-poisoning I may state that Sir Joseph Fayrer and Dr. Lauder Brunton in their valuable series of papers on the subject, maintain that though the greater part of the nervous system is affected, yet the terminations of the motor nerves suffer especially, and in a very marked manner. Dr. Wall, on the other hand, is of opinion that there is no need to suppose a special effect of the poison on the peripheries of the motor nerves. As regards the daboia-poison Dr. Wall says, that the preliminary and local effects of the bite of a *Daboia Russelli* resemble those of the cobra, only that the consequent pain and inflammation are much more acute. The first constitutional symptom of daboia-poisoning is convulsions, which may vary in degree from those producing slight muscular twitching, to those which produce almost instant death. These primary convulsions depend upon the amount of poison injected, and the relative size and strength of the animal affected. Birds are most easily affected, and next to them the *Lacertilia* mammals also are very easily affected by the convulsion-producing properties of the poison. On the other hand, amphibia only exhibit symptoms of general paralysis. Wall draws attention to a curious fact, viz., that "by heating a solution of daboia-poison to 100° C. it loses completely the power of producing primary convulsions, even in birds, which under other circumstances it is difficult to poison without their occurrence. This may, perhaps, be accounted for by some alteration in the albumin venom being affected by heat; though it is true Dr. Wolfenden says that albumin venom is not destroyed by heat (95°5), it may, however, be altered. This is a point which requires elucidation. In daboia-poisoning there are three forms in which death occurs. Firstly, from the primary convulsions. Secondly, the primary convulsions do not occur or pass off from advancing paralysis. Says Dr. Wall, "the respiration and pulse become greatly accelerated, and there is gradual loss of power in all the limbs, vomiting may occur, sanious discharges issue from the rectum and other parts, the pupils are usually widely dilated, and the respiration becomes less and less, and may cease with or

without convulsions." These secondary convulsions are simply the expression of carbonic acid poisoning. The third form of death from daboia-poisoning is altogether unlike anything observed in cobra-poisoning. It occurs in those cases in which insufficient poison has been injected to cause death in the above-mentioned forms. It is, indeed, death from blood-poisoning. "The animal has very few nervous symptoms, very likely none at all, but on the second day he appears ill, refuses food, has diarrhœa, his urine contains albumin, and he may linger on in this state for days, dying exhausted, or some acute complication may supervene causing death rapidly. It may be an œdematous condition of the lungs or a hæmorrhagic condition of the system generally that proves fatal. Hæmorrhages may take place from lungs, stomach, rectum, kidneys, and even skin. Sir Joseph Fayrer in a paper on the nature of snake-poison, which he read recently before the Medical Society of London of which he is President, says—"In 1868 I described the action of cobra and daboia venom in the case of two horses bitten by these snakes. I also pointed out the peculiar action of daboia venom in causing early convulsions. In some the convulsions are more marked, and in others death is preceded by a more decided state of lethargy Dr. Wall gives a more complete exposition of the varying effects, and shews them to be greater than I supposed." Dr. Wall summarises the difference in the action of cobra and daboia venom as follows:—

COBRA POISON.

1. The regular course is slowly advancing general paralysis coming on after an interval without symptoms, with especial paralysis of the lips, tongue, larynx and pharynx, and complete destruction of the respiratory function. Death is often attended by convulsions, which depend on asphyxia.

2. Very quickly destroys respiration. After slight acceleration there is sloughing, and excursus is lessened.

3. Kills birds and reptiles only after paralysis.

4. Doubtful if it affects the pupil. Salivation constant.

DABOIA POISON.

1. Commences its action by producing violent general convulsions, which often terminate fatally, or may be followed immediately by paralysis and death, or may also be recovered from, paralysis and death following later.

The paralysis is general, and lasts a considerable time after respiration is extinguished. No special paralysis of lips, tongue, larynx and pharynx.

2. At first quickens the respiration very much more than cobra poison does, and the lessening of the excursus and the retardation of the respiratory movements do not occur so soon.

3. Invariably kills birds and reptiles at once in convulsions.

4. Pupil always widely dilated. Salivation very rarely met with.

5. Effect on the blood slight. After recovery from nervous symptoms, no symptoms of blood-poisoning observed.

5. Effects on the blood very great. Sanious discharges the rule. Albuminuria is constant. After recovery from the nervous symptoms, the patient has to go through a period of blood-poisoning perhaps not less dangerous than the primary symptoms.

Dr. Wall says as regards the Rattlesnake-bite—"In its main features the *Crotalus* resembles the Indian viper in its effects, the chief difference being that the primary convulsions are very much less frequently seen." *Crotalus* poison is decidedly less dangerous than either that of the Indian cobra or that of the Australian *hoplocephalus*, and probably even than that of the *daboia*. We are told by an American Reviewer (Mr. Robert Fletcher) that ; ' Dr. J. B. de Lacerda, Director of the Physiological Laboratory of the national museum of Rio Janeiro, has been, during the last ten years, experimenting with the venom of Brazilian snakes, especially with that of *Bothrops Jararacassu*, a serpent which closely resembles its congener, the North American *Crotalus*, in the intensity of action of its venom. During that time, he has made general communications to the French Academy of Science. In 1872 Lacerda announced that he had discovered "figured ferments in the venom of serpents. He placed a drop of rattlesnake-venom under the microscope and saw the production of spores take place. The spores increased by scission and by internal nuclei. This has not been confirmed by further experiments." On this subject, however, Dr. de Lacerda writes to Sir Joseph Fayrer as President of the Medical Society, "I beg leave to protest against an opinion attributed to me by some of your colleagues, but which I have never sustained. I refer to the opinion that attributes to Bacteria the effects of the poison. I have weighty reasons for considering such an hypothesis is entirely false. I recognized, indeed, by means of repeated and careful observations, that the venom contains micrococcus in great numbers, and I made a communication on this subject some three years ago to the Academy of Sciences of Paris. These corpuscles, however, exist in the venom in an accidental manner, as also in the human saliva, and play no important part in the effects of the poison. This last acts as a chemical agent, producing a rapid alteration in the molecular composition of the albumina, which enters into the formation of almost all animal tissues. On the blood, given certain conditions, its effects are very rapid, almost instantaneous; the same happens with the nervous and other elements whose functions are disturbed immediately that the venom comes in contact with them. Now, such immediate action can never be attributed

to bacteria. You see, therefore, that this unsustainable theory cannot be invoked in endeavouring to explain the neutralising effects of permanganate of potash."

As regards the effect of the poison on the blood, Lacerda is said to have found that—"The blood of a poisoned animal presented the following phenomena: the red corpuscles began by presenting little shining points which increased until the globule broke down, and was replaced by numerous ovoid corpuscles, very brilliant, and possessed of oscillatory movements. The blood obtained from animals which had died from serpent venom, when injected into others hypodermically, invariably produced death in a few hours."

"But," says Mr. Fletcher, "the most interesting of Lacerda's discoveries was reported to the French Academy of Sciences in September 1881. After proving the inefficiency of various supposed antidotes, such as perchloride of iron, borax, tannin, and other substances, he found that the permanganate of potassium produced very remarkable results. He obtained his supply of poison by forcing the bothrops (the more deadly variety) to bite cotton wool, and the venom which poured out upon it was dissolved in eight to ten grammes of distilled water. A syringe full of this solution was injected into the cellular tissue of the thigh or groin of a dog. In from one to two minutes after, the same quantity of a filtered one per cent solution of permanganate of potassium was injected. The dogs, examined the next day, exhibited no evidence of injury except a trifling local irritation at the point of injection, nevertheless, this same solution of venom, injected into the tissues without the counter poison, produced great swelling, abscesses and extensive loss of substance."

But to quote again from Lacerda's letter to Sir Joseph Fayrer:—

"Passing now to the essential point of the discussion that took place in the Medical Society, I will give, in a few words, how I comprehend, and how I judge that the efficacious effect of permanganate of potash should be comprehended. You yourself, by experiments made in 1869, recognized that permanganate of potash, mixed with the venom, took from it its noxious properties. Certain conditions of the experiments led you, however, to deny the efficacy of this chemical agent in the cases in which the venom had been inoculated in the tissues. As you know, however, I have demonstrated by numerous experiments and innumerable clinical facts, that the neutralisation takes place even in the midst of the tissues, which makes this substance a chemical antidote of great value. The permanganate of potash acts upon the venom, destroying it in two ways; first, as a powerful oxidising agent, second,

by the potash that forms the base of the salt, passing a current of nascent oxygen through a concentrated solution of the venom, which loses entirely its noxious properties. This experiment, which I have repeated many times, gave me always the same result. Let us suppose, now then, an individual is bitten. If injections are made in the place of the bite from five to ten minutes after the inoculation of the venom, this is promptly neutralized *in situ*, and the individual runs no further danger. A great number of facts have been observed like this in Brazil. If aid is given late, hours after the bite, when the tumefaction of the wounded part is very pronounced, and the phenomena that indicate the entrance of the venom into the circulation have already declared themselves, injections, repeated in various parts of the wounded members, parting from the wounds made by the fangs of the reptile, still give very good results. Nor is it difficult to explain the good results in this case. The venom, as I have said, acts, first locally, and only enters the general circulation, after the lapse of a certain time, and by portions. The permanganate of potash, meeting in the tissues with the venom, which is little by little diffusing itself, neutralises it in the various points where it has been diffused, and thus stops the source of supply. The entrance of new and successive portions of the venom into the general circulation being thus impeded, the organism takes charge of the elimination of what has already been introduced, and which was insufficient to compromise the life of the individual."

My attention having been drawn to the subject by a notice in the *Englishman*, I performed nearly one hundred experiments with a view to settling the matter as regards cobra-poison, and the conclusions I arrived at are noted below. It is to be remarked that the poison experimented with by Lacerda was that of the Bothrops, a snake not nearly so venomous as the cobra; my conclusions were :—

I. That in dogs no appreciable symptoms of cobra-poisoning followed the hypodermic or intravenous injection of a watery solution of from 2 to 7 centigrammes of cobra-poison when previously mixed with from 1 to 3 decigrammes of permanganate of potash, though under ordinary circumstances such quantities hypodermically injected are more than sufficient to produce fatal results.

II. That when similar quantities of a watery solution of cobra-poison were hypodermically injected into dogs, and were followed either immediately or after an interval of four minutes (the longest interval I have yet sufficiently tested) by the hypodermic injection into the same part of a watery solution of permanganate of potash (1 to 6 decigrammes) no appreciable symptoms of cobra-poisoning resulted.

III. That when glycerine was used instead of water to dissolve the dried cobra-poison, the permanganate of potash appeared to have no power over the virulence of the virus.

IV. That after the developement of symptoms of cobra-poisoning, the

injection of permanganate of potash, whether hypodermic or intravenous, or both, failed to exercise any influence upon the symptoms.

V. That permanganate of potash possesses no prophylactic properties, since death followed the hypodermic injection of $3\frac{1}{2}$ centigrammes of cobra-poison in watery solution in the case of a dog which had been hypodermically injected a few hours previously with 8 decigrammes of the agent in solution.

VI. That it would appear to be absolutely necessary that the permanganate to be efficacious should come into actual contact with the cobra-poison.

VII. That although no symptoms of cobra-poisoning followed the injection of cobra-poison and permanganate of potash, sloughing of the part injected sometimes followed.

VIII. That up to the present time it has never been experimentally shewn that any agent has either the power to neutralise the cobra-poison lying in the tissues, or to prevent death when four minutes had elapsed from the time of the injection of the poison to that of treatment.

IX. That if permanganate of potash has such power to destroy so subtle a poison as that of the cobra, it is probable that the hypodermic injection of the agent in the bite of a rabid animal would destroy the virus which causes that terrible disease—Hydrophobia.

And I have certainly seen no reason to modify or alter my opinions. Sir Joseph Fayrer's opinion as to the power of the permanganate may be gathered from the following extract from his address to the Medical Society of London "In a pamphlet (*Experiments on permanganate of potash, and its use in snake poisoning* dated 1882. Richards says:—A solution of 5 per cent. of permanganate of potash is able to neutralise the poison," and recommends that this "should be injected into the bitten part after a ligature has been applied; it is less likely to cause sloughing of the tissues than any other agent which could neutralise the venom. In his letter dated July 22nd, 1882, he says, "It is, in my experience, the best local application we possess. It is not a physiological antidote, but a chemical one, and is utterly powerless to effect any influence on the lethal action of snake-poison (meaning constitutional action.) He is of opinion 'that whenever opportunity offers, the injection of permanganate of potash should be resorted to, assuming that a ligature has been applied (where it can be applied at all), within five minutes from the bite. In the average run of cases, the permanganate will certainly destroy the poison lying beyond the ligatured part, if it come in contact with it; but as Wall pointed out the difficulty of insuring its contact with the poison is so great, as to render it practically unreliable. I agree with Richards that so far as it goes, it is a good local application, and as such ought to be used, or in its absence, tannic acid or liquor potassæ might be resorted to with the same object, but as a constitutional remedy, as a physiological antidote, it is powerless, like all others that have been tried, and failed to do good. Dr. Lacerda

himself, although he attributes the highest value to it as a chemical antidote, both as a powerful oxidising agent, "and by the action of the potash, says, "as to the idea of finding a physiological antidote for snake-poisoning, I entirely agree with you that it is a Utopia." Although I found that liquor potassæ practically answered the same purpose as permanganate of potash, it did not decompose the venom, but merely destroyed the tissues in which the venom was lying, thereby preventing its absorption; and it was subsequently discharged with the slough. This was proved by the fact that when the venom and liq. potassæ were mixed and injected subcutaneously, no constitutional effects followed; but if the same mixture was diluted with water and injected into a vein, or into the peritoneal cavity of an animal, symptoms of cobra-poisoning were soon manifest and the animals died. Now, as to what really can be done in snake-bite, I am afraid very little: the first and most important indication is, to prevent the absorption of the venom into the general circulation. The ligature, excision and application, or injection, of a solution of permanganate of potash—5 *per cent.*—are the means to that end. If the poison gains access to the general system, then positively nothing can be done. It is usual to recommend artificial respiration and the exhibition of stimulants in moderation; but I fear they are really of very little use. Immediate amputation of the part would, of course, possibly save life, as might the ligature, &c., as before recommended. It is somewhat humiliating to have to confess that so far as the *treatment* of snake-poisoning is concerned, we are nearly as helpless as our forefathers were two centuries ago. Unfortunately, our helplessness is not confined to the cure of snake-poisoning, for there are several diseases in existence which baffle the skill and knowledge of the wisest and most learned of our profession. It is, however, some satisfaction to those who have spent the best part of their lives in conducting these disheartening investigations, to think that their work may, in some measure, serve as landmarks for the guidance, not only of future enquirers, engaged in the particular field which has been their special study; but of those who may be called upon to investigate the nature of any of the other animal poisons, which is at present shrouded in profound mystery.

We come now to the subject of the most recent researches into the physiological chemistry of the venoms.

In April 1883, Drs. S. Weir Mitchell and Edward T. Reichart, of Philadelphia, published a preliminary report on the chemistry of the venom of serpents, which, as they observe, represented only a part of an elaborate study of the poisons of all their own genera of serpents. They expressed

a hope that their study might include that of a number of foreign genera. "Our researches," they observe, "have of late been rewarded by so remarkable a discovery in toxicology, that it has been thought well to announce it here rather than to await their completion. We have, therefore, selected from our notes such material as seems to us of interest from its novelty."

They remark, that in drying the venoms of the *rattlesnake* and *moccasin*, there is a loss of nearly seventy-five *per cent*. This estimate agrees with the loss as regards cobra-venom. They point out as a singular fact that the venoms above-mentioned could be subjected to the boiling temperature of water (except the venom of the *Crotalus adamanteus*) without a complete destruction of their poisonous power; but with a noticeable alteration of their physiological properties. In the case of the *Crotalus adamanteus* or *diamond-back rattlesnake*, the toxicity of the venom is destroyed at a temperature below 80° C. (176° F.) It will be recollected that Wall found that the convulsion-producing properties of daboia-venom was destroyed at a temperature of 100° C., though the venom still retained its poisonous power. As regards the intensity of the venoms Drs Weir Mitchell and Reichart express an opinion which corresponds with that I have already given. They say, "beyond a doubt, cobra-venom is the most intense in its poisonous power, the venom of the copperhead next, then the moccasin and rattlesnake." The most important part of their paper is that in which they describe the chemical analysis of the venoms. They succeeded in isolating three proteids, *vis.* :—

Venom—Peptone

„ Globulin

„ Albumin"

The first two they say are poisonous, and the last innocent. According to them the venom-peptone is a "putrefacient," and the venom-globulin, a much more fatal poison, which probably attacks the respiratory centres and destroys the power of the blood to clot.

In the September number of the *Indian Medical Gazette* will be found a most important paper which I had the privilege to communicate, from the pen of Dr. R. Norris Wolfenden, late lecturer on physiology at the Charing Cross Hospital, London.

After paying a well-merited compliment to Dr. Wall, Dr. Wolfenden says, "Weir Mitchell and Reichart, in America, have for some time past been engaged in investigating this subject (of the chemistry of snake-poisons), and they have examined the venom of a number of snakes, chiefly American.

They are now completing their investigations, which will shortly be published by the Smithsonian Institute. One or two papers have appeared in America, already, from their pen. Though I have been trying for a considerable time to get these papers, I have hitherto been unsuccessful, and I am consequently in ignorance of the scope and character of their investigations. I think it right to say this before mentioning my own experiments, because it gives to my work that independent character that it properly possesses. It is only since I began my investigations into these animal poisons, that I have become acquainted with Weir Mitchell and Reichart's work, through a short contribution made to the *Lancet* of last year, in which he stated some results of their joint work. This had resulted in the separation from snake venoms of their proteid poisons, the one like a globulin, attacking respiratory centres, and preventing coagulum; a second resembling albumen, and being probably innocuous; a third like peptone, and being a "putrefactive poison." With some of these results I agree, but not with all. Dr. Wolfenden sums up the results of his investigations, but he remarks that they must not yet be regarded as complete. He says there are two poisonous elements in cobra-venom, viz:—

1. Cobra globulin-venom,
2. Cobra albumin "

And that they probably exist in different proportions in different secretions. What other albumins are present are not of the importance these two are. The globulin-venom poisons the respiratory centre, producing no paralysis of muscle; the cobra albumin venom does not affect the respiratory centre, but produces marked and progressive motor paralysis. Wolfenden points out further that "globulin venom is slower in its action than the albumin venom, and a longer period often elapses after the injection, before symptoms supervene and terminate life. The globulin is very deadly, and when once the symptoms have supervened, asphyxia rapidly ends the existence of the animal." There is a rather extraordinary difference of opinion between Mitchell and Reichert on the one hand, and Wolfenden on the other.*

* It is only bare justice to Drs. Weir Mitchell and Reichart, whose valuable work has extended over some years, to state that the researches which they have yet published were considered by them only preliminary, and that some of their statements might have to be modified or even, perhaps, withdrawn. *Original* researches are, of course, liable to error in some particulars, and if error there be, Dr. Mitchell will, I am sure, be the first to acknowledge it.

Perhaps, an idea of the difference will be best conveyed by a statement such as this :—

Proteids.		Weir Mitchell and Reichart.	Wolfenden.
Cobra Poison	Peptone ...	Poisonous : putrefacient	None present.
	Globulin ...	Attacks respiratory centre, and destroys power of coagulation of blood.	Attacks respiratory centre. Very powerful.
	Albumin ...	Innocent... ..	Less powerful. Produces motor paralysis.

In noticing these researches the editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette* remarks : “To trust to dialysis alone, in the attempt to separate the different proteids of snake-poison, is calculated to give most unsatisfactory results. Even a crystalline salt, which is readily dialysable, requires a period of several days for complete extraction by dialysis. It would be practically impossible to altogether extract a peptone, if, indeed, such is really present, in this way. Besides, in dialysing albuminous fluids, decomposition must occur, and not only may an active proteid thus lose its activity, but poisonous decomposition products, which did not exist in the original venom, may be formed in this way, and being readily dialysable, they will contaminate the crystalloid proteids. The products which Dr. Mitchell experimented with were obtained in this objectionable manner.” Wolfenden adopted a recognized mode of precise chemical analysis so that his proteids were presumably of a fairly pure nature. Notwithstanding the great importance of these contributions, I cannot help believing that the active principles of snake-poisons are rather of the nature of animal alkaloids or ptomaines. Dr. Wolfenden has not yet accounted for the specific inflammation which occurs locally on the injection of snake-venom—especially daboia venom. Does the venom globulin act also as a “putrefactive agent”? The editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette* winds up his excellent article thus—“The important recent additions to our knowledge of snake-venom, and the increasing perfection of experimental methods, render the attainment of solid results much more easy and probable at the present time than hitherto. The time has now undoubtedly arrived for the institution of a fresh Commission to re-investigate a

subject of such admittedly vital importance." I doubt, however, whether a Commission is the best machinery for the working out of these questions. If one man who is thoroughly conversant with all the recent methods of analysis, took up the subject, the results would be more satisfactory. And no better one could be found for the purpose than the *Editor of the Indian Medical Gazette*, Dr. Waddell. An investigator here has the advantage of being able to obtain a large quantity of venom, without which an analysis can scarcely be considered satisfactory; but at the same time, investigations could, of course, be conducted by that able physiologist Dr. Wolfenden, who has done so much in the study of animal poisons, and Drs. Weir Mitchell and Reichart, who have already spent so much time, labour, and money in these investigations.

December, 1884.

VINCENT RICHARDS.

ART II—DETECTIVE EXPERIENCES IN BENGAL.

"To try and approach truth on one side after another, not to strive or cry, nor to persist in pressing forward on any one side with violence and self-will—it is only thus, it seems to me, that mortal may hope to gain any vision of the Mysterious Goddess, whom we shall never see except in outline, but only thus even in outline. He who will do nothing but fight impetuously towards her or, his own, one, favourite, particular line, is inevitably destined to run his head into the folds of the black robe in which she is wrapped."—Mathew Arnold.

SHOULD any one be deceived by the title of this article into expecting a thrilling narrative, replete with the exploits, artifices, and stratagems of gifted police officers, in the detection of dark and horrid crimes, such as may be found in the pages of Waters and Lecoq, he will be grievously disappointed. Nothing is farther from my object than to cater for; not to say pander to, such a taste. I desire merely to offer some very sober and commonplace remarks on a detective scheme for India, by Lieutenant Colonel Ewart, Deputy Inspector General of Police in the Punjab.

The origin of this scheme appears to have been in this wise: The gallant and well-known officer, whose name it bears, being much struck with the imbecility of certain conclusions arrived at by the late Railway Police Commission to the effect that (1) detective ability among the natives of India is not common; (2) that the supply has hitherto not kept pace with the demand; (3) and that this condition of things must be accepted, has essayed to challenge their accuracy, suggesting that, if detective ability is not common in this country, it is because it has not hitherto been sufficiently nurtured and encouraged, and not because the quality is rare among natives. In other words, he denies the first and last of the Committee's conclusions, and admits only that, owing to the absence of encouragement, the supply of detective ability is deficient.

On other points Colonel Ewart and the Railway Commission are at one, and especially in regard to the undoubtedly large use made of the railway by the criminal classes, both as a field of operation, and as offering facilities for the commission of crime elsewhere, and for evading pursuit. And it is to provide a remedy for this state of things that Colonel Ewart has propounded his scheme of a detective police for India, having its head-quarters on the railroad. In the course of elaboration the wants and defects of the existing system of police presenting

themselves at every point, nothing short of a root and branch re-organization would suffice, and the scheme, as it stands, would be more properly entitled "A scheme for the reform of the police of India."

Apart from the consideration due to the opinion of an officer who has successfully devoted a quarter of a century to police affairs, the scheme is entitled to especial notice, inasmuch as it has been stamped with the general approbation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab who, thinking that "sound reasons have been adduced for the constitution of a detective force," has addressed the Government of India, with a view to the creation of such an agency. I therefore take advantage of Colonel Ewart's earnest invitation to critics, and at the risk of being dubbed an obstructive unbeliever, purpose to consider the numerous issues involved. I, too, have spent the best years of my life in the oft-times unequal combat, everlastingly waged between criminals and the representatives of law and order; yet claim to bring to the enquiry rather views based upon a large number of facts, accumulated in various positions favourable to observation, than any natural aptitude for police work.

Colonel Ewart makes it a *sine quâ non* that his scheme be extended to the whole of India, for if confined to the Punjab "it would be emasculated of its chief advantage," and "prove more or less unsatisfactory and abortive." But my remarks must be understood to refer to Lower Bengal alone, unless where, from the context, it is clear that they are of general applicability. I have had no police experience in any other province, and my knowledge of police affairs elsewhere is gathered almost exclusively from print. The requirements of the Punjab, for aught I know to the contrary, may be vastly different from those of Bengal: still there are great principles of action which are true everywhere and in every state of society. And I think I may safely premise that before any great change is made, (1) the necessity for it should be shown; and, as, owing to the fallibility of everything human, it is probable that need of improvement in each and every department could be demonstrated; it is desirable that, (2), the necessity should be paramount. Further, it is desirable that the scheme of reform should be the best possible under the circumstances. Now, in regard to the necessity, Colonel Ewart urges that "although statistics may not appear to prove a *general* increase of crime, serious and undetected cases of murder for plunder, burglary and robbery, are largely increasing in extent." This postulate, however faithful to fact in the Punjab, is far from being true of Lower Bengal. The following table shows the number of serious offences against property committed in 1883 and remaining

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undetected, contrasted with similar undetected cases of 1873. I have not carried the comparison further back, as the earlier figures cannot be trusted, except to show that these offences were then far more prevalent than at present :—

	Murders.		Dacoities.		Robberies		Burglaries.
1873	... 236	...	222	...	222	...	24,013
1883	... 189	...	92	...	111	...	17,016

That burglary, detected and undetected, is much too prevalent, may be freely admitted, as indeed may be safely granted in regard to all kinds of crime. That it is not so frequent as to cause much alarm to the community may be gathered from the following calculation : The actual number of burglaries which occurred in 1883 was 18,554 ; but in 8,211 cases no property was stolen. In 10,343 cases, successful from the burglars' point of view, Rs. 4,02,667 worth of property was plundered, of which Rs. 74,713 worth was ultimately recovered. These figures at first sight appear formidable, but when it is remembered that, excluding Calcutta, there are no less than, 1,07,66,383 houses in Bengal, and that, therefore, a burglary attended with loss occurs in each house, upon an average, only once in 1,031 years, while the value of the property carried off in each case averages only Rs. 39, of which about 18 per cent is recovered, the actual state of things does not appear so appalling.

It may, indeed, be alleged, that the above figures do not represent facts, and that not one half of the crime that occurs is reported. To this I reply that the burden of proof rests with him who makes the allegation. For some years past great attention has been paid to the collection and preparation of Criminal Statistics. Regular periodical attendance at police stations of village watchmen is enforced, and information regarding occurrences in their villages is extracted by a process of examination. The accuracy of their reports is frequently tested on the spot by superior officers of police, and every detected instance of neglect to report crime is visited by prosecution and punishment. Numbers of trivial and other cases are daily reported at considerable personal trouble to the reporter, which, so far as we can judge, might easily have been suppressed. In large areas the figures of one year resemble so remarkably those of another, except when disturbed by famine or other obvious causes, as to create a belief that crime is in the main honestly reported to the authorities. When there is a strong motive for concealment, no doubt it often takes place. Such, for instance, as when influential men are concerned, or undue pressure is brought to bear on police officers to keep down crime. When the practice of punishing chowkidars for each burglary occurring in their beats was

introduced into the Bhaugalpur district, the number of reported burglaries was reduced by one half. Directly this practice was put a stop to, burglaries became as prevalent as before. Thefts of cattle, committed for the purpose of extorting black-mail, are often not reported, the owner, with a short-sightedness and want of public spirit, which must in the long run redound upon his own head, preferring to compound with thieves rather than embark in the uncertainties of a police enquiry. But the immediate question before me is not to what extent is crime concealed; and such an enquiry, however interesting, would take me too far afield.

Burglary and cattle thefts are undoubtedly great pests, and if Col. Ewart's scheme were likely to free the country of them, either partially or entirely, at a cost not disproportionate to the end accomplished, I for one would most heartily bid it God-speed. But nothing is said as to the exact process by which these crimes may be exterminated, and it seems to me that crime of so wide spread sporadic a nature, in the agricultural districts, at least, falls quite beyond the scope and ken of a detective agency such as is advocated. The cases of one district alone would, if success were to be achieved, absorb the energies of the whole department. For these offences are not the work of a small band of hardened criminals, but of whole castes, embracing sometimes upwards of a hundred thousand individuals, each and all of whom are, from their hereditary instincts thieves *in posse*, circumstances only being necessary to convert them into thieves *in esse*. For, given a pressing need and a fair opportunity, is there an Ahir in Shahabad who could resist the temptation to drive off to the jungles, there to be hid till redeemed, a herd of well-conditioned kine thrown by fortune in his path? Is there a Rajwar of Gaya who in his heart of hearts does not at least sympathize with a brother casteman caught burrowing like a rat through the mud wall of the village *bania*? I trow not. One of our greatest difficulties is the fine line between honest men and scoundrels. An outward semblance of respectability, such as was sustained by Peace, the celebrated London burglar, is far more common among criminals in this country than at home. By day a man may pursue the arduous calling of a cultivator, by night he may be preying upon his neighbours. Condonation, if not sympathy, exists as well in high as in lowly circles. I could mention several instances of criminals convicted of the worst offences, subsequently employed in posts of trust, by zamindars and others, with a full knowledge of their antecedents. Such men seem rather to be preferred than otherwise. The brother of a poisoner, some of whose confederates were executed, is at present pulling my office punkah, and has worked diligently at his post for many

years past. A ringleader of the same gang was found in a collectorate chaprassee, who after figuring as an approver, served for several years as a constable of police, and is now a gentleman at large. Another constable was denounced as a member of this gang and died, so to speak, just in time to save his life. Sharafuddin, said to have poisoned hundreds of persons in the Upper and Lower Provinces, also began life as a policeman. A trusty chaprassee of Mr. W. Tayler proved to be a Thug. The assassin of Lord Mayo had been the favoured attendant of the children of the Commissioner of Peshawar. I mention these facts more as curiosities than by way of argument.

In regard to the use made by criminals of modern means of communication Col. Ewart informs us, that skilled professionals are equally at home everywhere. They work through local bad characters; the rail, post, and telegraph, enabling them to preconcert with accomplices, to convey their weapons with safety to the scene of action, to despatch plunder to their homes, to escape or change the sphere of operations, to obtain funds for defence if caught.

He instances Pathan desperadoes from the Afghan frontier and Peshawar valley. "This ferocious, practically interminable, and therefore most formidable horde of criminals, familiar with the use of weapons, and absolutely reckless in taking life, scoundrels whose continued influx into India is daily increasing, is assisted by the arrival of the railway at the Khyber and at Quetta."

"The proceeds of a single theft or robbery enables these ruffians for about Rs. 25 to take a ticket from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. They freely use knives, which they conceal in parcels and forward through the agency of the post office to any city in India, following by rail themselves, without the slightest inconvenience or fear of detection.

"In this way, and often assisted by comrades serving in Native Regiments, * all over the country, they have spread depredation and frequent murder in every part of Hindustan, to the terror and deep injury of a population unaccustomed to the use of arms, and therefore timid, and comparatively helpless.

"And these facts, in addition to the scandal which they cast on British administration, are, unfortunately, at the same time, causes of the festering discontent, and silent yet profound consternation which they arouse in the people who have suffered."

* It is difficult to convince commanding officers, but it is nevertheless a fact, that native soldiers, especially Pathans frequently engage in crime. Twice at Bhagalpur men of several regiments were caught in the act of committing burglary, and recently, at Cachar, similar instances have occurred. I could quote others if necessary.

This somewhat sensational account is, Col. Ewart assures us, no exaggeration, but incontestably true. And for the serious evil described he maintains that the above-mentioned departments are mainly responsible. "Whilst we have been playing at the true bureaucratic pastime of allowing the railway, post offices, and telegraphs to impoverish the police, criminals have been beforehand with us and have already taken advantage of the expenditure laid out by the country on railroads to enlist the lines in their services."

It is undeniable that some classes of criminals do largely use the railway, and that the extension of the lines has caused a great influx of most undesirable foreigners from Afghanistan and elsewhere, who travel over the country in the guise of horse-dealers, fruit-sellers, and what not, prey upon the people, and occasionally commit violent and heinous offences. It is also true that the post office is utilized by criminals, especially these foreigners, for the despatch of stolen property to their homes. But I take exception to the statement that these, or any other criminals are at home everywhere, and can work easily through local bad characters. This I think is exaggeration. I believe that Bill Sykes could as readily insinuate himself into a gang of Nadiya Bedyas as could an Afghan burglar. The distinctions of race, caste, and language render such an arrangement impossible. And this is an inestimable advantage we possess over the foreign criminal. Being unknown he is watched with suspicion. If detected no one sympathises with him. We often catch the Buwars of Oude thieving in the marts and fairs of Bengal, yet I cannot recall a single instance of their being associated with local bad characters. They have been known to recruit their ranks by enticing away Bengali children, but this is quite another thing. I do not mean to say that the unions in crime of men of different castes and creeds is unknown or even uncommon. The Thugs made converts to their unholy creed from amongst all sorts and conditions of men. This was a marked peculiarity of the fraternity, which distinguished them from ordinary criminals. Large gangs of dacoits often contain representatives of a variety of races, from the priestly Brahmin, and lordly Rajput, to the lowly but turbulent Goalla, or the meaner but equally courageous Dosadh. Such combinations are not, however, made upon the spur of the moment, nor upon slight acquaintance, and foreigners, or even strangers, are rigidly excluded. But I would ask, do not the police derive equal, if not greater, benefits than the criminals from the extension of railways, post offices, and telegraphs? If criminals can move about more rapidly, cannot also the police? If a thief gets the start of us, have not we the immense advantage of knowing on what road to look for him,

and, sometimes, a chance of overtaking him by telegraph? Cannot we, when sufficient occasion arises deprive him of the use of these appliances, whilst reserving all their advantages to ourselves? Then, again, the use of these agencies costs money, which is, at least, as plentiful with Government as with criminals. Let me illustrate my meaning with a few facts within my own experience. Some years ago a Calcutta thief was recommended for enlistment as a constable by an orderly of mine, and whilst yet a recruit was told off to take this orderly's place for a few days, the orderly himself taking leave. He entered my bed-room at night, carried off and broke open my office box, and taking thence the key of the cash chest went to my office, and displayed it to the sentry, who, succumbing to the temptation, divided with him Rs. 1,000 in cash. On discovering the theft I remembered that the box had contained a note for Rs. 100. I procured the number, put an inspector on horseback, with orders to ride hard for the nearest railway station, take train to Calcutta, and there stop the note as speedily as might be. He found the thief cashing the note at the Bank of Bengal and brought him back by the next train. He was imprisoned for 2½ years, and strangely enough was brought before me some three years afterwards, when I was acting Deputy Commissioner of Police, in Calcutta, charged with burglary. I proved the previous conviction and he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. In my capacity of visitor of the jail I had the satisfaction of seeing that there was no undue lenity in the execution of the sentence! In this case a sharp Calcutta thief found the railway a double-edged weapon. The orderly had been sent to me by a Deputy Inspector-General, with a splendid character, and a request for early promotion. His treacherous breast was decorated with at least one medal for military services. I need hardly say he did not return from leave, nor could he be found at his home.

Some years later an abkari darogah absconded with a large sum of money. I asked my assistant, an exceptionally shrewd and trustworthy native officer, to endeavour to trace him. After a while he brought to me a boy who said that the darogah had taken him off suddenly by rail to a city three days' journey away. He was an ignorant lad and could tell us little more than that he travelled west, changed carriages several times, and observed that the telegraph posts, at first iron, were latterly stone. The Assistant Superintendent then discovered that the darogah had some friends in Hyderabad, so there we despatched a head constable, and two constables, with the necessary credentials, and a pair of handcuffs. After a week or so they returned triumphant with the truant whom they had found in that city, where according to one of Colonel

Ewart's witnesses "criminals are hidden for ever." Here again not only the railway, but the post—telegraph post especially,—stood us in good stead.

Major Ramsay in his recent work, "Detective Footprints," fully acknowledges "the efficient aid, afforded by the telegraph," and gives an interesting example.

Colonel Ewart himself, by the mouth of another witness, admits with reference to the telegraphic arrangements in Chicago, that "electricity circumvents the crooks." What is wanted is, that the police may have free use of these valuable auxiliaries. This of course is right, and so far as my experience goes, we are not stinted in this respect. True, our budget allotments under these heads are not magnificent, but there is not the slightest difficulty in getting them enhanced when real necessity arises.

In regard to being behind the times, and no better able to cope with the criminal than we were in 1861, I would ask Colonel Ewart whether he thinks that we have not a better knowledge of our criminals; whether they are not more closely supervised; whether we do not prove previous convictions with greater certainty, and thus secure heavier punishments; whether the Criminal Tribes' Act and other additions and amendments to the Criminal Code are altogether inoperative; whether the jail system has not been improved; whether reformatories are useless; whether the *Police Gazette* is waste paper; whether the lighting of towns is more favourable to thieves than to police; whether the use of photography, however limited, * has not afforded some aid; and, finally, whether the enhancement of State Revenue, the safety and facility of communications, the expansion of trade and commerce, the improved social condition of the people, and the protection against famine effected and secured by these, very sinning railways, post offices, and telegraphs, is all of no avail? I will not do Col. Ewart the injustice to suppose that this is what he means, yet the gist of his indictment seems hardly to stop short of it, except where, with apparent inconsistency and curious phraseology, he attributes the eradication of the Thug in part "to the great strides which telegraphs, railways, and all the more recent advances which civilization has made in this country."

Another blot on our system of criminal administration, pointed out by Colonel Ewart as tending to an increase of crime is, that "justice often fails *in its endeavours to convict* through want of proper machinery for prosecuting; and professional murderers and robbers, of whose guilt there is no doubt, are

* Since this was written, sanction to the permanent employment of a photographer has been accorded to the Police Department by the Bengal Government.

often discharged on points of faulty technical procedure, and are again let loose on society." I venture to think that in the words I have italicized may be found an explanation of much that Col Ewart deems unsatisfactory. It is a well-known weakness of police officers that they are prone to believe the first function of justice to be "*to endeavour to convict*"; and if a conviction be not obtained, they look upon the proceedings as a failure. They seldom reflect that the greatest of all failures, is when the innocent man is convicted instead of the guilty. This is a double calamity, for not only is needless injury caused, but the chance of relieving society from the depredations of the real criminal is much lessened. Bentham truly says, that every precaution which is not absolutely necessary for the protection of innocence affords a dangerous lurking place for crime. He might have added with equal truth, that nothing is more favourable to the guilty than neglect of necessary precautions for the protection of the innocent. The weakness of which I have spoken is by no means peculiar to India; it is common to police officers all over the world. It has been a source of frequent complaint against the Irish police, and pervades the whole system of French criminal administration. Sir Henry Hawkins, in a recent friendly address to the London police, especially warned them against the wrong attitude often adopted in seeking primarily to obtain convictions, and only secondarily, to satisfy the claims of justice. Serjeant Ballantyne comments on the same tendency, and cites several instances within his experience of endeavours made by the London police to convict people wrongfully. A notable example of this was the celebrated Pelizzioni trial where, owing to the police suppressing evidence as to the finding of the knife with which the murder was committed the London public was scandalized by the spectacle of two persons lying under sentence of death for a crime which, it was clear, had been committed by only one.

Colonel Ewart quotes with approval the following passage from a paper by the late Major Newberry :—"In India we are daily proving more technical and the difficulties of convicting the really guilty are much increased by the new Code of Criminal Procedure. We have no public prosecutors, and the power of the police to prosecute has been taken from them. The power of interrogation has been vastly reduced, and it may be justly said of our Indian Law, as a well known writer has said of the English law—"His (the prisoner's) whole treatment now-a-days seems like one continuous apology for putting him to the inconvenience of arrest, and an organised effort to shield him from the attacks of that society, whose peace he has probably broken; and the very same consideration is

shown him to the very end." Owing to there being no public prosecutor, and the power to prosecute having been taken from police officers, except inspectors, minor cases are perhaps not so well conducted as they might be, but in serious cases there is never any difficulty in obtaining the services of the Government Pleader, or, in exceptionally important cases, Counsel from Calcutta. Advice can be had for the asking from the Legal Remembrancer, and in Calcutta the police have the Government Solicitor and Advocate General at their elbow. Indeed, it is an open question whether the wretchedly poor and ignorant man, likely to be selected as the victim of a false charge, is not in this respect very much worse off than we are—more especially at sub-districts in charge of over-zealous young Magistrates bent upon reducing crime, and as yet too unsophisticated to believe that guile can find an abiding place in the breast of a sleek, intelligent, smartly-clad guardian of the peace*. I remember how, once upon a time, the scales fell from the eyes of an earnest young Magistrate, when, looking up suddenly from the record, he caught a hitherto much trusted Inspector displaying his outspread hand to a witness from whom the answer 'five' was necessary to the success of a case.

The case of Tafazzul, tailor, is given by Colonel Ewart, apparently as an instance of a gross failure of justice. This doughty knight of the needle figured as an approver in the case of the prosecution of a formidable band of Afghan robbers and assassins, and at the last moment retracted his evidence "cowed with threats that Amir Khan's Afghan friends would have life for life; he therefore chose the lesser evil and went to jail as a perjured witness." I do not know upon what evidence this view of the case is based, but I can say that, according to my experience, the explanation of Tafazzul's conduct might have been, with at least as much probability, that he was inveigled into a false confession by one or other of the police wiles of which Colonel Ewart can hardly be ignorant, and subsequently seeing through them, found too late that men betray. Granting that a tailor may be found with sufficient courage to join in such an enterprize, is not the improbability that he would dare, voluntarily, to peach upon such desperate accomplices, at least as great as the probability that having done so he would fall back upon a certain punishment in the, perhaps, vain hope of saving himself from a problematical one? Any

* *N. B.*—The Bombay Government has just set the good example of sanctioning the employment of a Pleader for the defence in all murder cases coming before the Court of Sessions, or the High Court, in which a prisoner is unrepresented, the cost being defrayed by Government. Since the above was written the Madras Government has taken similar action, and it now only remains for Bengal and the Upper Provinces to follow suit.

way, it is not clear how a perfect prosecuting machinery could have averted the catastrophe.

My views on these matters are naturally much influenced by my experiences at Gaya, where I found that the police had for many years systematically supplemented honest endeavours to unravel crime by the fabrication of false evidence against innocent persons. This was managed principally through a gang of criminals of a desperate type whose very existence was unknown, except to the subordinate police. It was the interest of this gang to keep crime going, and a right merry time they had of it. The police were propitiated by a share in the spoil, and the secret insertion of a portion of the stolen property into the houses of innocent men, whereby it was found easy to extract false confessions implicating others. Though serious crime did not abate, the police were thus enabled to point to a fair percentage of convictions. Often the wretched victim, finding that he had been deluded by false hopes, retracted his confession, alas! too late, and like Tafazzul was sent to jail, or the case so carefully prepared by the police, altogether collapsed. Recantations are often attributed to the influence of fellow-prisoners and muktars, or to a revulsion of feeling on the part of the prisoner, and these hypotheses may, in some cases, be correct, but I venture to say that, except where denial is obviously useless, full admissions of guilt, not followed by recantations, or substantial benefits to the confessor, are very rare. Latterly, the Gaya Police, emboldened by success, or seeking to vie with certain officers of a neighbouring district, who had attained celebrity for skill in the detection of mail robberies, caused a number of these offences to be committed, and astonished the public by the unwavering certainty with which they discovered the plundered property. Remembering the adage that those who hide can find, my suspicions were at last fairly aroused, and awaiting my opportunity, I was at length rewarded with ample proof of the guilt of the police. With the loyally rendered aid of a native officer, sent specially to assist me,—the same who subsequently tracked the Abkari darogah to Hyderabad—I succeeded in exposing the whole nefarious business, and bringing the offenders to punishment. The evidence was much strengthened by the confessions of two sub-inspectors, one before and the other after conviction, to the effect, *inter alia*, that the confessions of their victims were utterly false! Here, at any rate, we have indisputable proof that confessions, though strongly corroborated, may yet be false. For the confessions of the victims had been corroborated to the satisfaction of their judges, and those of the police officers, to the satisfaction of the judge who tried them, and of the Inspector-General of Police, who personally tested the

evidence. Finally, after reviewing the whole proceedings, the Bengal Government expressed itself in the following terms:—
“ Mail robberies, which were formerly of frequent occurrence
“ in the Patna Division, have entirely ceased since the removal
“ from the police force of all officers, and men believed to have
“ been implicated in the fabrication of false charges. There is
“ little doubt that most of the mail robberies for many years
“ past were committed with the connivance of the police, who
“ shared the plunder, and then raised their own reputation by
“ securing the conviction of either innocent persons or some
“ of their own accomplices.”

When the practice of extorting confessions was common all over India, many were the devices of the old police for this purpose, some horribly cruel, other ludicrously ingenious. Here is an example of the latter:—on the occurrence of a dacoity a number of suspected persons were seized, taken to the thanah, and separately confined. A sack was then well flogged by one burkandaz, whilst another howled piteously, vociferating that he would tell all if only mercy were shown him. A pause then took place, after which the most likely victim was informed that a confession had been made which implicated him, and that if he did not confess also, the effects of a similar castigation would be tried. If he declared he had nothing to confess, he was told that this was immaterial. He need only make a statement corroborating that of the man who had implicated him, and the police would make it their business to ensure his escape as a witness for the crown. His story was then taught him and the darogah's case began to look up.

The days of extorting confessions by downright personal violence, regardless of the injuries inflicted, or marks left, are I am sure, long past. I regret I cannot speak so confidently in regard to other methods. Recently a sub-inspector of Gaya was shot dead by a secret assassin, and when a cause for his murder was being sought for, it appeared that he had tortured a man and his daughter-in-law in the most disgusting manner, without inflicting any bodily harm, in order to extract a clue in a theft case. Nothing of this was even suspected till the man had been shot and a searching enquiry set on foot. Twice in former years I attempted to establish charges of resorting to violence against this man, but failed, from the ease with which evidence can be tampered with, or suppressed, especially by the police. When I was at Dinagepore a Sub-Inspector tortured a poor wretch by pouring water over him, and fanning him, on a cold night in January. He died from the effects, and the sub-inspector expiated his crime at the Andamans. In Nuddea when I was there, an Inspector, the best educated and fairest spoken native officer it has ever been my lot to meet, tortured

four men by trussing and suspending them from the roof, head downwards. Both of these cases may be found mentioned in Dr. Norman Chevers' valuable work on medical jurisprudence—a work in which instances of mental and bodily torture, inflicted to extort confessions may be found *ad-nauseam*. Atrocities of the kind above described are, I hope, now very rare, and false confessions are usually obtained by means not involving bodily torture.

No provision of the law is held in greater contempt, and more systematically disregarded by subordinate police officers than that which provides that no inducement shall be held out to an accused person to confess. In such slight estimation is it held, that more than once police officers have boldly stated to me that confessions were obtained by means of illegal, if not false, promises. Colonel Ewart himself bears testimony to this. He writes:—"To bring charges to conviction, the police apply torture to suspicious persons, or they induce them to confess under promise of pardon or acquittal. *Innocent persons are often thus condemned.* Even if the innocent man be hanged, the police feel no compunction, so long as they receive favourable reports in their service books, and the good opinion of their superior officers." I could even cite one instance in which credit was given to a police officer by the provincial head of the force for inducing a prisoner to confess. The English police are little, if at all, better than their Indian brethren, in this respect. Recently a county Magistrate wrote to the papers to expose a trick by which, to evade this law, the confession is extracted by one policeman, whilst another, the enquiring officer, swears that he has held out no inducement. The Magistrate complained that he had brought the matter to the notice of the chief of the police force concerned, but with no result.

A word about corroboration—nothing carries conviction more surely to the minds of inexperienced judicial officers than the so-called corroborative evidence often produced by the police—it seems to escape them that corroborative evidence can as easily be fabricated as any other. I remember an instance of an officer in charge of a police station falsely recording in his register the absence from home of certain bad characters on a particular night, with a view to aid a neighbouring police officer in getting up a case against them several months afterwards. It is by no means difficult to persuade a person who has been robbed to corroborate a false confession, and recoup his own loss by falsely identifying valuable articles found in the house of a victim, and resembling the property stolen. On one occasion, in my experience, an artifice of this kind was exposed and defeated in a most unexpected and decisive manner. The pro-

perty in question was a quantity of silver ornaments. The accused asked the Judge to examine closely a pair of armlets. He did so, and observed that a link was missing from one of them. The accused then asked the complainant what had become of the missing link, and was told, in reply, that it had been lost long before. The mother of accused was then called and produced a link which tallied exactly with the rest of the armlet. The police endeavoured to discredit this evidence by searching in the bazaar for a similar link, but they failed to find one. Ultimately it was discovered that the robbery had been the handiwork of the police themselves.

A pernicious custom of making over to the police, for purposes of further enquiry, persons who have been arrested on suspicion, or have made a hasty, untested confession of guilt, affords the police excellent opportunity to extort confessions and fabricate corroborative testimony. In a case of this kind, which came under my notice, an accused person, against whom there was no evidence to speak of, on his return to jail asked to be shaved. The barber put down his razor, for an instant, whereupon the prisoner seized it and made a genuine attempt to cut his own throat. He explained that the treatment he had experienced at the hands of the police had made him desperate. In two other cases, within my experience, persons in police custody, charged with minor offences, took the earliest opportunity to hang themselves leaving the world to guess, if it could, the cause of their premature end.

It may be asserted that the abuses I have described could not have taken place if the superior officers of police had done their duty. To this I reply that the reputations of many of our best officers are at stake. I myself had been longer in the Gaya district than any of my predecessors, when I discovered what was there going on. Besides it is an old, old, story, that men are loth to see what they do not wish to see. Nothing was more clearly established than this by the shocking revelations of the Madras Torture Commission. This is what Mr. Grant wrote on the subject: "I cannot rise from a perusal of the Torture Report without feeling that there has been a degree of blindness, slowness, dulness and inaction in the Madras Collector-Magistrates in relation to the practice of realising revenue by torture, which certainly so many active and intelligent gentlemen would not have shown if the torturers had been private persons, and the object had been something in which these Collector-Magistrates had no official interest. I say this with sorrow, and I make allowance for the false position in which these officers were placed."

Nor was the evil confined to Gaya alone: a reference to the records of neighbouring districts showed that the police there had little cause to boast of moral superiority. In one district a ringleader of the Gaya gang had been used by the police to *lagan** stolen property, and being caught in the act by the owner of the house and prosecuted, cited the other members of the gang as witnesses to his character, and certainly no one had a better knowledge of it. In another case a member of the gang had the effrontery to appear before an unsuspecting Judge as a respectable, formal witness to the finding of stolen property by the police in a house where he himself had previously secreted it!

In another district a pet detective would, but for an unbelieving jury, have encompassed the conviction of certain innocent persons for robbing the mail, the evidence against them being the finding of the valueless and rejected plunder in their houses. The valuable portion of the plunder was found two years afterwards in another district in the possession of thieves, suspected of being in league with the police of a third district. In this third district a person narrowly escaped conviction for robbing the mail, *on his own confession, corroborated by the digging up of a mail bag*. Fortunately for him the postal authorities repudiated the bag, and a split in the police camp caused the production of the real bag, and the conviction of another person who certainly was less guilty than the police themselves. This case attracted the notice of Mr. Turton Smith, then attached to the Postal Department, and had that gentleman's shrewd suspicions been followed up, the later villainies at Gaya might never have occurred.

Sir J. B. Phear in his recently published work entitled "an Aryan village in India and Ceylon," gives a graphic picture of police action in Bengal, which, impressed as I am with my experiences at Gaya, seems to me so remarkably faithful, that I take the liberty of quoting it *in extenso*. Mr. Monro has officially denied its truth generally, yet the writer's experiences were not brief nor confined to one locality. Nor can he be charged with entertaining a prejudice against natives. He writes: "There can be no doubt that in some parts of Bengal the profession of a dâkai is sufficiently lucrative to tempt idle men to brave its risks. If somewhat irregular measures were not taken to suppress it, probably it would attain unendurable dimensions. Accordingly, the police may sometimes be found waging a warfare against dâkai which is characteristic. When information of a dâkai having been committed reaches the thannah, a darogah, with a few chaukidars,

* *Lagan lagana*, means to implicate by means of fabricated evidence.

goes at once to the spot. He satisfies himself by inquiries as to who are the reputed *budmashes* of the neighbourhood, and then immediately arrests some one, two, or three of them, such as he thinks will be most likely under the circumstances of the case, to serve his purposes. Having thus got these unfortunate men into their hands, the police, by promises of pardon, coupled with material inducements, which in most cases, amount to a refined system of torture, procure them to make confessions and to implicate a great many others of the previously ascertained *budmashes*. The next step, of course, is to arrest all these and to search their houses. At this stage of matter the complainant is in a position, such as to render him a ready tool of the police. He will have a nest of hornets about his ears for some years to come, unless he succeeds in bringing a conviction home to each of the arrested men. So he seldom finds much difficulty in recognising in the searched houses articles which had been stolen from him. If, however, for any cause, he cannot at first do this, the police have recourse to a very simple expedient for the purpose of assisting him. They obtain from the bazar or elsewhere articles similar to those which the complainant says he has lost ; and under color of watching the prisoners' houses, manage to get these articles secreted in or about the premises, according as opportunity may offer itself. About this time the sub-inspector or other officers, charged, as it is termed, with the investigation of the case, comes upon the ground. Also the prisoners, who have all of them been separately, and constantly worked upon by the police, have generally become pliable enough to confess, in accordance with the story marked out for them, and sometimes even are persuaded to point out (under the guidance, of course, of the *chaukidars*) the very places where the imported articles have been concealed ! These places are generally, for obvious reasons, more often outside the accused person's homestead than inside, such as in tanks, trunks of trees, under the soil of the *kāṭī*, &c. But sometimes opportunity serves for placing the articles inside the very hut of the dwelling. The inspector on his arrival, thus finds his case complete ; he takes it before the magistrate ; the evidence of the witnesses is written down ; the articles are produced and sworn to. It seems that they have all been found in the prisoner's possession in consequence of information, or clues afforded by the prisoners themselves, and the case for the prosecution is overwhelming. But even the very last nail is rivetted by the prisoners, or most of them, confessing in the most satisfactory manner possible. Thereupon they are all committed to take their trial at the sessions in due course. On entering the prison-walls, the state of things changes very

much. The committed prisoners are relieved from the immediate personal supervision and control of the police. They converse freely with one another, and with the other prisoners waiting trial ; they also communicate with mooktears, or law agents, concerning their defence. They find that whether innocent or guilty, they have made great fools of themselves by confessing at the police dictation ; and the upshot of it is that, when the trial in the sessions court comes on, they all plead not guilty, and say that their former confession were forced from them by the police. This, however, avails them but little. Their recorded confessions are put in against them and the court, with the remark that prisoners always do retract when they get into jail, holds that the confessions are supported by the discovery of the articles, convicts the prisoners, and sentences them to long terms of imprisonment or transportation. When a case of this character occurs, the Sessions Judge is not usually quite unconscious of the police practices in these matters, but he is almost invariably in the particular case before him (and often rightly) so convinced of the guilt of the persons whom he is trying, that he is astute enough to find out reasons why the confessions produced in evidence were made voluntarily, and why the alleged finding of the stolen articles may be depended upon. On a comparatively recent occasion of this kind the Judge said, that he could not help seeing that the police had behaved very cruelly to the prisoners, and had made them illegal promises of pardon in order to extort confession, but still he thought that the discovery of the articles on the premises of the different prisoners (effected by the way, in a more than ordinarily suspicious manner) entirely corroborated, and rendered trustworthy, the confessions which were made. The mode of action on the part of the police, which is above illustrated, is a survival from former times, and is from its nature very difficult of riddance. The tendency of the Bengal policeman seems to be to force out truth rather than find out truth. He is not apt at building up a case with independent and circumstantial materials, drawn from various sources, and would certainly never willingly venture to present to the court which has to try the case, merely the constituent materials, leaving the court itself to put them together. He feels it necessary to take care that some, if not all, of the witnesses should narrate the whole case from beginning to end. There is also extreme readiness in the lower classes of Bengalis, when under coercion or pressure, as in all whose civilization is of a servile order, to say anything to the extent of accusing themselves, which they may be led to think will smooth the way out of immediately impending danger ; and this is coupled with extraordinary quickness at

perceiving the existing state of things, comprehending what will be agreeable to those who care for their information, and making their statement consistent therewith. The police are, therefore, naturally under great temptation to avail themselves of a means of evidence which lies so near to their hands, and is so entirely adapted to their purpose. But bad as confessions of prisoners, evidence of accomplices, declarations of dying men, who have played a part in criminal occurrences, generally are in Europe, they are, for the cause just mentioned, greatly worse in Bengal. They cannot safely be relied, upon even as against the speakers themselves, except as a sort of estoppel, unless they be corroborated. As against others, they are of hardly any value at all. If the circumstances of native society were not such that suspicion commonly directs the police to the real offenders, convictions, on a basis such as that exemplified in the text, could not be tolerated. *

It was at Gaya, in connection with the fabrication cases, that I first came to realize to its full extent the greatest of our difficulties in the prosecution of cases, *viz.*, the ease with which witnesses in this country can be tampered with. Here the criminal with money has a distinct advantage over the public prosecutor. It is often in the power of a perjured witness to spoil a good case with little or no danger to himself. In regard to pure legal technicalities, however, we are certainly not worse off than the police at home. Charges of house-breaking by night do not fail, because we cannot prove the hand of the clock to have passed the hour of nine. Nor are indictments quashed because two stolen stockings prove not to be a pair. Admitting, then, that "justice does often fail to convict" guilty men is it not clear that unfortunately there is much to be put to the *per-contra* side of the account? When Sharafudin, the poisoner, unburthened his guilty breast, it was found that two innocent persons had been convicted of crimes committed by him. One of them managed to get acquitted on appeal, perhaps on some "technical point of faulty procedure"! In a recent number of this *Review*, it is related that, not many years ago, in the city of Amritsar, torture was resorted to, under European supervision, with the result, that perfectly innocent men confessed to the murder of Mahomedan butchers who had really been put to death by Kúkas under the influence of religious fanaticism. The unfortunate men who had falsely confessed were sentenced to death, and were only saved from suffering the extreme penalty of the law by the accidental discovery of the real

* See also a note on some of the methods resorted to by Police Officers to extort confessions, communicated to Dr. Norman Chevers, by a trustworthy native gentleman, and published at pp. 573-74 of his work on Jurisprudence.

murderers on the occasion of the Kúkas' attack on Maler Kotta." About 1874 a victim of the Howrah Pólice escaped the gallows only, by the unexpected appearance of the person he was charged with murdering, who had been represented at the trial by a bundle of bones! Even in England, where the machinery of the law is believed to be freer from imperfections than is the case in India, several unhappy instances of wrongful conviction have occurred in recent years, and Sir Alexander Cockburn, to his honour be it spoken, made it one of his first duties when he came to power, to make what reparation was possible. If then, our legal machinery is to be improved, let not the real ends of justice be lost sight of, in an over-anxiety to support the police, already powerful enough.

A further cause of inefficiency is said by Colonel Ewart to be the cellularity of our police system and a want of continuity in, and co-operation between, the police forces of the different districts, provinces, and native states. In Bengal, every branch of the force, with one important exception—the Calcutta police—is under the control of one officer, the Inspector General, aided by two deputies. Isolation is prevented and uniformity secured by means of these three inspecting officers. They visit every district as frequently as may be, never less than once a year, and communicate the result of their wide experiences, to the various district superintendents, personally, and by letters, circulars, and the *Police Gazette*. That their control is in most respects real, will, I am sure, be vouched for by every district superintendent. In the Panjab, the province is parcelled out among three Deputy Inspectors General, a system long ago abandoned in Bengal, and to this extent is more cellular than Bengal. Continuity of action is said to be impossible, because the several Deputy Inspectors General have different ideas. The Inspector General is said to be isolated, and unable to make himself felt, his work falling to the lot of young personal assistants, who want the experience necessary to ballast their opinions. This state of things, no doubt, requires remedy, and a trial might be given to the Bengal system where the work of supervision over a larger, more populous, and perhaps, on the whole, more impracticable area is performed, with fair efficiency, by one officer less than is employed in the Panjab. When, by the further extension of railways, or the appointment of another Deputy Inspector General, it becomes possible for each supervising officer to visit annually and spend several days in every district of the province, then, and not till then, will the division of duties, proposed by Colonel Ewart, be an advantageous reform.

In regard to the important exception of Calcutta, I am inclined to think with Mr. Wauchope, that to absorb its police

into the general body of the constabulary would be to weaken both by too great centralization. It would, perhaps, be better to extend the metropolitan police jurisdiction, so as to include within its grasp the numerous townships lying within a radius of a few miles, and affording a refuge to the criminals whose field of operations is the city of Calcutta. With respect to other provinces, there is no doubt a break of continuity in police action, but the effect of this is much mitigated by the presence of natural obstacles to inter-communication, such as sparsely inhabited mountain-ranges, jungle tracts, broad rivers, difference of race, creed, and language. The police isolation is indeed less than exists between the various countries of Europe. Only a year or two ago Great Britain itself was cut up into no less than 290 distinct police districts, and the head constable of a little Kentish or Devonshire borough was just as much an autocrat in his own little circle as the chief constable of a large country or borough. In some instances, and notably British Burmah, there is little or nothing to be gained by greater centralization. Assam was deliberately severed from Bengal because the two together were found unmanageable.* It is impossible to weld into one homogeneous whole, elements so discordant and incongruous as are to be found in the several police forces of the great continent of Hindustan and its dependencies. At the same time, I agree with Colonel Ewart, that our railway police jurisdictions should, as a rule, be conterminous with railway managements. And the experiment might be tried of a body of specially trained police, located on the railways at frontier posts, and strategic points, to watch for criminals passing from one province to another. The value of this last measure would, however, probably be found to be less in practice than appears on paper..

There should, too, I think, be some officer with a taste for the business and sufficient leisure to make a special study of organized and ramified crime and to act as adviser of Government on the one hand, and the local police on the other. The Superintendent of Thuggee and Dacoity might, I fancy, be made available for this purpose.

In the eyes of Colonel Ewart, the most important defect of all in existing police arrangements, is the want of a special and efficient detective agency, acting under one head, and carrying its feelers by means of the railway into every nook and corner of the country. The inability of the ordinary police to deal with the wide-spread crime of cattle-theft, which particularly harasses the people, and injuriously affects their prosperity, is, Colonel Ewart thinks, "alone sufficient to prove the necessity

* The last Gazette notifies the fact, that the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been formed into an Independent Police charge.

for improving existing detective ability in the police." The precise method by which a detective force would improve off the face of the land this troublesome evil is not described. "What the people of the Punjab want, first and foremost, is, security for their persons and property," says one of Colonel Ewart's witnesses; "until we give them this, it is like offering them a stone for bread, to construct their canals, roads, and railways." But as we have sought to shew, it is these very canals, roads and railways which do more than anything else in the way of affording protection to life and property. "One of the most important advantages to the detective police (and for this purpose it must be well paid) will be to secure information for government, and curtail the evil of professional agitation, religious, political, and foreign." Well and good, provided that this can be effected without establishing a hateful system of espionage such as exists in France and Russia. It is related that when this system was at its height, in France, under the first Empire, even the Empress Josephine herself was a paid agent, bribed to betray the secrets of her illustrious husband to the crafty Fouché. At present, in Russia, every other house-keeper or cab driver, for aught one knows, may be an emissary of police. "Now that all is over, I may as well inform you that I was told to keep an eye on you," said a Muscovite to a friend, after the coronation; "and I had orders to seize you at the first movement you made," replied the friend. This story hardly exaggerates the state of police tyranny to which people are subjected in the country of the Czar.

Be it remembered, too, that the ministry of 1831-2 were so "monstrously indiscreet" as to use the London police as political spies, and thereby played into the hands of William Cobbett, who devoted the last years of his life to hunting out instances of oppression and corruption on the part of the newly established force. If precedent and experience be of any value, then, it is a measure of doubtful expediency employing detectives in matters political.

It may be as well here to take a glance at the detective agencies at home and abroad. In the year 1851, so says a Parliamentary Report, the police of London attained its highest point of efficiency under the able management of Sir Richard Mayne, who died in 1868. It was under this *regime* that inspectors Whicher and Field, the latter immortalized by Dickens in the character of Inspector Buckett, achieved renown, and that the greatest feat of modern detection was accomplished, *viz.*, the tracing to New York, and capture of Franz Müller, the murderer of Mr. Briggs. Yet Colonel Henderson, who succeeded Sir Richard Mayne, found at Scotland Yard a special force of only 17 Detectives, *viz.*, 1 Superintendent, 4

Inspectors, and 12 Sergeants. He at once set to work to increase this force, which ultimately numbered some 300 of all ranks. The increase was certainly accompanied by a diminution of grave crime, but this was attributed by the Home Secretary as much to the beneficial effects of reformatories, established all over the country, as to anything else. Moreover, the night watch was largely supplemented, in parts of the town where crime was most common, by bodies of the police, deputed specially for purposes of patrol. At first everything went merry as a marriage-bell. Then came the Benson, Meiklejohn, and Druscovitch scandals. The special force fell into disrepute, the very name of detective was abhorred, and Mr. Howard Vincent was installed as chief of the criminal investigation department. This department was, when he entered it, "a hot bed of corruption." He cleansed it morally, and imparted to it a higher and purer tone than had ever prevailed before. His system was open and above board, and is thought by many to have failed by reason of its too great publicity. The *Saturday Review* complained that its first business appeared to be to supply copy to the newspapers, owing to which it had become "a rule to which there is hardly any exception, that an offender escapes unless a confederate betrays him, or he is starved into surrender. If he is caught by a policeman, it is because some provincial officer has gone to work on his own account."

Mr. Vincent's views as to detection differed widely from Colonel Ewart's. For instance he wrote, "the idea that a detective to be useful in a district, must be unknown, is erroneous in the great mass of cases, as he is then unable to distinguish between honest men, who would help a known officer, and others." At the same time he deprecated the other extreme. The proceedings of the dynamiters, whereby he was nearly blown up in his own office, were followed closely by his retirement, and the investigation of crime in England is now in the hands of Messrs. Jenkinson and Monro, both retired Indian Civilians. Mr. Jenkinson is, I believe, an advocate of the approver system, by means of which he made his reputation in Ireland, when the Dublin detectives were at a nonplus. Mr. Monro has left a mark upon the Bengal Police which it would take years of neglect to efface. He never, so far as I am aware, advocated the resuscitation of a detective department in Bengal. What then the future of this branch will be in London it is at present impossible to predict. Certain, however, it is, that if Sir W. Harcourt's public utterances are to be believed, there is no present intention of placing it on the footing of the Paris or Berlin detective forces.

The only other European detective system with which I am

to any extent acquainted is the much vaunted French system. The French police may be a more complete and efficient piece of machinery for the purposes in view than the English police, but its merits are, according to our ideas, more than balanced by its defects, and the mischief it works. And I for one decline, in the absence of better proof, to believe in the extraordinary success often attributed to its detective branch. I will illustrate my generalization by an instance of want of skill and mischief done. Mr. Grenville Murray, a highly respectable London merchant was, only two or three years ago, detained for four weeks in a Parisian gaol and subjected to all sorts of privations and indignities, in comparison with which the treatment of Mr. Walker at Purneah was as nothing, before the clever Paris detectives could satisfy themselves that he was not one of a gang of Russian Nihilists. He was confined *au secret*, subjected to frequent interrogations, and finally shut up with a *mouton*, or spy-prisoner, charged with the duty of worming out his secret. This is his account of his third appearance before the Juge d' Instruction. "He was insolent, brutal, full of menaces, saying that I had greatly deceived him, that my accomplices had made full avowals, implicating me as the chief author of the conspiracy against the Czar's life, and that as I now stood in danger of my head, it behoved me not to show ignorance any longer, but to make what atonement I could for my foul crime by ample confession. There was not a word of truth in the judge's statement, for I subsequently learned that the police had not succeeded in arresting the Russians, but the unhappy man was putting forth all the artifices of a trade which obliges him to bully and lie, or to wheedle and lie, according as it may serve his purpose. He raved because he could make no case against me, and was bound to try the effect of a little terrorizing, so as to satisfy his conscience that he had tried every means of getting at the truth."

"He ended by working himself up into a regular passion and remanded me again for a fortnight." It will be observed that whilst this farce was being enacted the real criminals, of whom Mr. Murray had given his captors a minute description, had passed through Paris and made good their flight to Russia. This is not a case of misconduct on the part of an individual, but part and parcel of the unwholesome French system. Mr. Murray found many other prisoners undergoing a similar ordeal. If further illustration be wanted, it may be found in the cases of Le duc de Praslin, Madame Lemoine and the monk Le'otade in the affair of St. Cyr, cited in the works of Goodeve and others on evidence.

The *mouton*, or spy-prisoner dodge, has been occasionally

resorted to on the British side of the channel. Holloway and Haggerty were convicted in London in 1807, on evidence thus obtained, and in consequence a riot took place at their execution, which resulted in serious injury or death to nigh 100 persons. The manœuvre was also tried and failed, I believe, at Dublin, in connection with the murders of Mr. Burke and Lord F. Cavendish.

What I am in search of, and have hitherto failed to find, is some authentic instances of French detective superiority, which cannot be matched by an equal number of instances of skilful detection under the English system. Why is it that French papers are so fond of attributing their undetected crime, such, for instance, as the great robbery of St. Denis, to '*les rossignols Anglais*'? If the French detectives are so surprisingly cute, how is it that Paris is a favourite hunting-ground of the London swell-mob? If the London police are so remarkably inferior, how is it *les Grecs* of Paris do not oftener visit the wealthiest city of the world?

Turn we now to experiences in the East. The first institution of the nature of a detective force attempted by the English in India was the far-famed department for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity, created by Lord William Bentinck about 1830. The Thugs had been long known to exist, much as death is known to be ever present; but it was not till 1810 that the British power became fully alive to the fact that these miscreants were no myth, begotten of Hindoo fancy and fairy-tale legend, but a positive and daily reality, who were daily, nightly, nay hourly strangling unfortunate way-farers in all parts of the country. Spasmodic and ineffectual efforts were then made to exterminate the unholy society; but it was reserved for Major Sleeman to accomplish this. The immediate circumstance which led to the establishment of a special organization for the suppression of Thuggee is thus narrated by Meadows Taylor. "One evening in 1829, as Major Sleeman, then the Deputy Commissioner of the Saugor District, was seated at his tent door, a man, advancing rapidly, threw himself at his feet, and begged to be allowed to make an important communication, but that Mrs. Sleeman should withdraw. He then proceeded to relate that he was the leader of a gang of Thugs, then not far off, and that the grove at Numdésur, in which Major Sleeman's camp was pitched, was full of corpses of travellers who had been murdered. Next day the hideous proof was given by exhumation of dead bodies where he pointed out their graves, and no time was lost in apprehending the gang to which the leader had belonged. Many of them became approvers, and by degrees circle after circle of information spread till they covered all India."

An idea of the approver system, as applied to the Thugs, may be gathered from the following brief summary of facts, taken from some lectures on Indian History delivered by the late Sir James Stephen to the students of Haileybury College—"The special police were absolved from all responsibility to any court of justice, or to any local government. The English attachment to the writ of habeas corpus was 'got rid of.' The new police were authorized to detain suspected men in jail for any length of time whatever. They were authorized to put not only damaging questions to the accused, but even to 'worm the TRUTH (?) out of them by promises of pardon, if so they might be tempted to betray and turn approvers.' It was not deemed at all necessary to prove a criminal act against an accused man in order to imprison him. The first gang of Thugs ever seized was actually detained in prison for *seven years* without their guilt being proved. At last, however, it was 'made known to them' that evidence sufficient to procure their conviction had been obtained, 'on which these men finding there was no use in holding out, confessed their own guilt and that of their neighbours'; and on their evidence a 'vast number' of Thugs and Dacoits were seized. 'Many of these people were executed.' The approvers were not put to death. 'This shows' says Sir James, 'that a wise and brave man (Lord Hastings) will break through other *idle obstacles* (!!) so also the most cherished and dearest principles of his country to get at that without which neither country nor social life are worth having. I mean peace and *justice*' (!) It was well that he had courage to punish the criminal before his actual conviction, but (he concludes) '*it would have been far better if the necessity for such measures had never existed at all.*' "Just so," remarked an able commentator writing in this Review: "It would have been far better. We see no reason to boast of the system thus lauded; for the very utmost that can be said in its favor is, that it was a most lamentable necessity. But we do not think it was a necessity at all. The husbandman slept and his enemy took the opportunity to sow weeds in his crops, and then the awakened farmer sent ignorant, rough-handed laborers, not in a position to distinguish between wheat and tares, to root out the latter at whatever damage to the former. Had steps been taken to make the regular police an efficient and active body, and the dacoits been proceeded against under the proper and righteous safeguards to justice which are so essential to all social prosperity, we believe that the same benefits would have been obtained without the gross injuries which must have been inflicted by that abnormal, arbitrary, we had almost said violent, system which condemned men on the evidence of known and infamous miscreants whose safety depended on

the destruction of others ; and upon what were curiously called ' full and voluntary confessions ' made by wretches after a long and painful, and apparently hopeless detention, unjustified by any evidence against them. Government having failed in the duty of raising a good and regular police ' supplied the deficiency by the, to say the least, dangerous expedient of those dacoity commissions which an effective regular police has at length abolished."

The use of evidence of accomplices is of course not necessarily bound up with a special detective organization. It has been resorted to in all countries and in all ages, with one remarkable exception. Under the Roman law it was a rule, according to some jurists " worthy perhaps of imitation," that the evidence of an approver should be entirely rejected. No man's freedom or reputation could be endangered by the malice of one who confessed himself a criminal. The rule has not, however, been imitated in England, and its breach gave rise in the middle ages to grave abuses and serious miscarriage of justice. Prisoners tortured by gaolers were forced to become approvers, yet without much danger to the criminal, for jurors, suspecting the manner in which the confessions had been obtained, were reluctant to convict. The wretched approver seldom reaped any benefit from his enforced treachery, for if not done to death in gaol, he was almost certainly slain on release by the friends of the persons he had denounced. The confessions were often false, and were frequently retracted when the accused, asserting his innocence, demanded the wager of battle.*

The detestation in which approvers were held by the people in early times exceeded, if possible, that now accorded to them. Yet, infamous, and untrustworthy as it was, evidence of this kind was commonly and unrestrictedly used, till the arch-approver, Titus Oates, having established a reign of terror, the scandal reached its height. The necessity of estimating at its true value the evidence of approvers was forced upon the authorities, and henceforth testimony of this sort was received only with due caution and under proper restrictions.

Vile as it is, under proper safeguards, good service has often been rendered to the cause of justice by this means. The atrocities of Burke were satisfactorily brought home to him by the evidence of his accomplice Hare, and the murder of Mr. Weare was established against Thurtell by the confessions of Hunt and Probart. More recently, the murderers of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke were hanged on the testimony of their confederate Carey. Some of the early features of the approver system seem to have distinguished this last case—

* Pike's History of Crime in England.

denunciation from within the walls of a gaol, sympathy of the local public with the criminals, and ultimate assassination of the betrayer. Harc, too, narrowly escaped with his life, having been recognized by some workmen and thrown into a lime-pit, thereby losing his sight. Still, as a rule, there can be no doubt Mr. Laing Meason* is right that "to do the work of detection by means of approvers is not only a great mistake, but one for which, in the long run, the cause of justice and order has to pay dearly."

To pursue the history of detective organizations in Bengal :—The Police Commission of 1860 aware, no doubt, of the difficulties in the way of efficiently controlling such a machinery in India, where the by-paths of detection are proverbially dirty, recorded it as their unanimous conclusion, that no detective branch of the service should be formed, and that every part of the police should be held responsible for every duty, preventive and detective, properly belonging to it. In the face of this resolution Mr Carnac, the first Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, in 1863, the year in which the Thuggee and Dacoity Department was abolished as a special agency in British Territory and its operations restricted to Native States, succeeded in establishing a detective branch of the new constabulary in Bengal. A special Inspector and ten constables were attached to each of seven districts, where organized crime was most prevalent, acting under a Superintendent attached to the office of the Inspector-General at head-quarters. The officer selected to fill this important post was a gentleman who had rendered good service in the abolished dacoity department, and was thoroughly acquainted with the language and character of the people of Bengal.

After a trial of nine months, Mr. Carnac wrote :—"I am compelled to state that I do not consider having a separate head an advisable plan. A special detective police in this country would be a most powerful engine of oppression, if misemployed, and would therefore require constant supervision and almost daily watching. . . "Magistrates are disposed to look with suspicion upon circumstances obtained out of the regular course. The delicate chain of circumstances which we are accustomed to associate with detective police at home is almost useless in Mofussil Courts. Magistrates will not convict except on strong recognition coupled with discovery of property." Mr. Carnac went on to point out that all that had been accomplished by the special agency might have been just as well effected by the regular force.

Mr. Carnac proved a true prophet, especially in regard to the

* "Detective Police," by Laing Meason—*Nineteenth Century*, May 1883.

treatment of the department by the judiciary. His successor, however, an officer of little police experience, became a warm advocate of the detective system. His views on this subject were identical with those of the able head of the special branch, and were thus expressed : " The detective department should be extended. It is true that it may be an instrument which cuts both ways and requires careful watching, but in this country it is absolutely necessary to cope successfully with certain classes of crime . . . It is but applying to the Police the well-known principle of division of employment." Accordingly, the department was extended and placed upon a somewhat different footing. In those days, Deputy Inspector-Generals were in charge of separate circles, as is still the case in the Panjab, and a detective inspector, elevated to the rank of Assistant District Superintendent, with a staff of Head Constables and Constables, was placed at the disposal of each of these officers. The Deputy Inspector-Generals took the place towards these bodies which the Superintendent had hitherto occupied. The Detective Superintendent was retained at the head office to receive and collect reports, and offer such suggestions as his very great experience and knowledge in this branch enabled him to make. If a particular class of crime should make great head, he was to be deputed to work it in person and, for the time being, to supersede the local officers. The salaries of the Assistants were to be increased yearly up to a certain amount, such increase to depend upon the proofs they afforded of continual energy and ability.

Even at this early period the career of the new branch had not been altogether unchequered or unchecked, and the Inspector-General had already to take up cudgels in its defence. " Much has been said," he wrote, " against the practice of keeping men for detective purposes only ; but I am convinced that for certain classes of crime special men should be charged with the business of detection. These men should have nothing else to do ; if they have other things to do, it may often happen, that the motive for doing the other thing may be stronger than the motive for pursuing the detection of criminals ; if they have nothing else to do, and it is found that the means of detection are not vigorously applied, the Assistant would be blamed." There was no lack of vigour in the detective department organized under these auspices. Their most important operations were directed against professional prisoners. The plan adopted was invariably this : a prisoner undergoing sentence for this offence was interviewed, and, in the hope of pardon, confessed and implicated accomplices, who in their turn confessed and betrayed others. The system resembled that of the defunct Thuggee Department, with this important difference, that whilst under the old system persons

arrested were prevailed upon to become approvers, by a guarantee that the sentences afterwards passed on them, of death or transportation for life, would be held in abeyance during good behaviour, nothing short of a free pardon could be given to an approver making a clean breast of it under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure. This awkward restriction, and the absence of any magisterial power, were thorns in the side of the detective authorities. It was argued—I quote Colonel Hervey, Superintendent of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department—"that professional criminals always revert to crime directly they have renewed opportunities for doing so, and released approvers have never formed any exception to this general rule." With due deference to Colonel Hervey, I am bound to say that I can cite, not one, but many instances of criminals, some of them these very prisoner-approvers of whom I am writing, who have for many years past, altogether abandoned their former diabolic profession, and betaken themselves to honest industry. Either, then, this is not at all a hard-and-fast rule, or the approvers I refer to were not the habitual criminals they professed to be. The readiness with which numbers of them unburthened their breasts to the Bengal detectives is perfectly astounding, and in every case sent to trial, the confessions were fully corroborated. Sometimes crimes were divulged which had never been reported, and the witnesses to which could not be traced. At other times the self-accusing criminals were identified by victims who, with rare good fortune, had survived the deadly dose. A large number of convictions were obtained and several persons capitally punished. Some of these latter were men who had confessed, yet their fate did not cure the mania for making a clean breast of it which seemed to seize upon these unhappy wretches so soon as they fell into the hands of the police. The evidence was certainly wrought up in a masterly manner; but there was nothing in the way of detective skill to astonish, except the unvarying certainty with which the clue-giving confession was obtained.

As foretold by Mr. Carnac, the proceedings of the department were looked on with grave suspicion by many of the magisterial and judicial authorities, and before the revised system had emerged from infancy, two of the Extra Assistants, as they were called, had been reported to Government and recommended for dismissal, as guilty of unpardonable offences, whilst a third had been convicted and imprisoned on a charge of fabricating false evidence. They had the benefit of warm supporters and able advocates, and escaped punishment, the last-mentioned being acquitted by the High Court.

It cannot, however, be denied, that it was a serious scandal

that three out of four selected officers, on what Colonel Ewart calls prize wages, and under what was considered efficient supervision, should, in so short a time, have become obnoxious to the gravest strictures of local officers, judicial and departmental, who had the immense advantage of observing their conduct on the spot. The censure, coming as it did from various quarters, could not justly be attributed, either to departmental jealousy or local prejudices, or to judicial partiality or imbecility ; and even had this been different, these scandals would still remain an objection to a department constituted as this was.

The detective branch, under the ægis of the Inspector-General, continued to struggle on, battling with the prejudices of Magistrates, till, in 1870, reduction becoming imperative, it was singled out for extinction, whilst its laurels, won in the Wahabi prosecutions, were yet green. Their champion, the Inspector-General, was at this time absent, and upon his return recorded a Jeremiad over the early death of his bantling, but no serious attempt has been made to resuscitate it. Beyond a small body of selected officers, attached to the central office, whose services are occasionally placed at the disposal of local officers, for particular purposes, there is at present no special detective agency in Bengal. Yet, whenever unusually intricate or ramified crime has presented itself, there has never been any difficulty in finding officers to cope with it. And not to go beyond the four corners of Colonel Ewart's report, there is much to create a belief that in this respects Bengal is no-exception.

When I held the post of personal assistant to the Inspector General of Police, I was brought into frequent communication with the officers of the detective branch, and what struck me forcibly, as being an unhealthy sign, was their extreme jealousy of each other, amounting to absolute hatred. To such an extent was this carried, that in private conversation they did not scruple to hint, that the successes of their rivals were affected by means of the foulest crimes. Whether true or not, these insinuations were not calculated to inspire one with a feeling of confidence in the force. There was, too, a hankering after increased power, and a disposition to resent any interference on the part of local officers, who, scattered as the detectives were, alone could effectively supervise them.

There was at this period another detective force in Lower Bengal, whose existence was likewise doomed to be ephemeral ; and the working of this '*corps d'élite*,' I had a still better opportunity of observing. I speak of the detective branch of the Calcutta Police force which was created in, I think, 1864, when the Calcutta Police was re-organized. Its constitution was very similar to that of the detective branch of the constabulary. There was a well paid superintendent with jurisdiction over

the whole urban and suburban circles. Two inspectors had charge, each of a division of the above, with a subordinate staff of native officers at each section house, where also there resided an inspector of the regular force. The superintendents and inspectors of both forces were mostly Europeans or Eurasians. The whole was subordinate to the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of police. In point of supervision it would have been difficult to secure anything more perfect. The force was compact, within a small area, and watched by a numerous staff of officers on salaries graduated from Rs. 200 a month, in the case of the detective inspectors, to Rs. 3,500 a month in the case of the Commissioner. Besides which there were always upon it the jealous eyes of the omnipresent regular force, and the gaze of a comparatively enlightened public. Yet with all these advantages and precautions, instances of grave abuse of power occurred but too frequently. I will mention a few which have imbedded themselves in my memory. It was an invariable rule that prisoners in the custody of the police should be brought daily before the Commissioner or his Deputy, either for remand or to be committed to trial. On one occasion, a prisoner, after his release, turned about and displayed to me a back of an unusually reddish tint, saying he had been beaten with slippers during the night. "Its all false your Worship," said the officer who brought him before me, "that's the natural color of his skin." I told the man to come to me again a week later, and he did so with a skin of a normal hue. Another day a man was brought up with a broken arm, and the superintendant explained that a native corporal had *accidentally* hit him in the cells with a bar of iron which happened to be there. I need hardly say that the prisoner's version of the story was very different. On a third occasion I was asked to remand a man for 24 hours, as he was likely to point out some stolen property. I did so, and on the following day after I had released him, he went straight to a magistrate of the suburbs and complained that he had been tortured by being *walked about* all night by native officers, who held him by means of a cloth twisted round his arm. There was a deep scar which the police alleged he had himself secretly produced by means of some corrosive substance. The native officers were committed to the sessions, but acquitted. Mr. Wauchope, then Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs, tried the case, and told me afterwards that *walking about* had always been a favourite method of extracting information with the Calcutta Police. But why did not the victim, for such he undoubtedly was, show me his arm? He said because he thought I had an interest in torturing him! The case is mentioned by Dr. N. Chevers in his manual of jurisprudence.

Mr. Wauchope was no believer in the dodges which form the stock-in-trade of some classes of detectives, and which he styled *finesse*. His was a rough and ready system,—which could not fail to secure the object he had in view. One of his methods was this :—On the last day of the moon he directed the inspectors of all the sections to bring before him the known or suspected burglars of their respective circles. He would then ask the inspector of B. section whether he knew the antecedents of the burglars of A. section, and if, as was usual, he replied that he did not, they were transferred to his custody for 24 hours for enquiry, and on the following morning were similarly passed on to section C. The burglars of section B were in like manner transferred to section C, and so on through all the sections. There were, I think, just 14 sections in the town, so, before the burglars of section A. were released, 14 days had elapsed, and the moon, the enemy of nocturnal thieves, had again begun to shed her protective rays over the sleeping city. This plan was a refinement upon the tactics of the old darogah, who made a common practice ~~of~~ keeping the *budmashes* of his circle at thannahs during the *Krishu Pakh* or dark half of the moon. Another drastic measure of Mr. Wauchope was the despatch by *râhdâri* to Peshawur, of all ruffianly looking *vilayatis*, or strangers, from over the Affghan frontier. This expedient, involving as it did police custody for several months, did not meet with the approval of the authorities in the Upper Provinces, and was put a stop to by Government.*

But let us return to our muttons—I had almost said wolves. When Mr. Wauchope was summoned to the Commissioner's chair, to restore confidence after the assassination of Lord Mayo, one of his first steps was to abolish the detective branch of the force, and to retain at the central office, for especial purposes, a very small number of the most skilful investigators. How this plan answered I know not, as shortly afterwards I was removed from the Deputy Commissionership. The officer placed at the head of this small force had previously figured in a remarkable case, which it may not be uninteresting to take a glance at. A lady staying at Belvedere missed three valuable diamond rings, and her ayah was suspected of having stolen them. After the regular police had failed, the services of the above officer, who had the reputation of being about the best detective in Calcutta, were expressly asked for. He deputed

* The union of Magisterial and police powers in the same functionary inevitably leads to more or less arbitrary use of these powers. In Calcutta the exercise of Magisterial powers by the head of the police is, I believe, now much restricted.

to Belvedere, to play the part of khitmutgar, and worm out the ayah's secret, a native subordinate *who had proved useful on former similar occasions*. The *ruse* proved only too successful, the pseudo-kit producing after a few days a diamond which he said the ayah, in the plenitude of newly-begotten love, had confided to him to sell. The diamond was closely examined and believed to have been extracted from one of the stolen rings. The detective was then instructed to represent to the ayah that he had sold the diamond to advantage, and to endeavour to persuade her to entrust the others to him for sale. He returned saying, he could get nothing more from the woman as she suspected him. She was questioned, and denied having had any dealings with the man. She was nevertheless convicted and imprisoned for one year. She appealed but the conviction was upheld. About three months afterwards the missing rings were found uninjured inside an ink-bottle on the lady's table, where it is believed they were dropped by a child. The ayah was of course pardoned, and curiously enough the whole detective skill of the Calcutta police was unequal to the task of discovering whence came the diamond produced by the detective! The subordinate had to bear the whole brunt of the affair. The European officer was, however, subsequently, I believe, dismissed, in connection with some irregular, if not fraudulent, transactions. When last I heard of him he was advertising his services as a private detective.

The story of the diamond rings reminds me of an anecdote related by Lady Bloomfield, of General Blenkendorff, who, when minister of police, missed a pocket-book full of rouble notes, and made the police understand that he expected to find it promptly. A few days afterwards the sum was returned to him, without the pocket-book, which was reported lost. But in the meanwhile the minister himself had found it, notes and all, in his fur pelisse. Lady Bloomfield charitably supposed that the police collected from their own pockets the sum of money, which had never been stolen!

I now come to the question whether or not a detective agency is wanted in Bengal. If such an agency could be applied without risk of the abuses and scandals which have been shown often to have occurred in special forces of this kind, there can be little doubt that the public would be gainers. But if such evils are inseparable from such an organization, it is equally certain, I think, that we are better without it. Colonel Ewart promises novel revelations in regard to the manner in which the regular police now harass the people to conceal their incapacity, but where is the guarantee that his detectives will not act as detectives have acted before, in spite of high pay and close supervision?

It has been argued that men who have nothing to distract their attention are more likely, *per se*, to detect crime than others who have miscellaneous duties to perform. This sounds reasonable and true, but we must bear in mind that the *raison d'être* of the detective is the existence of crime requiring detection, and if crime of this sort is scarce, there is a temptation to create it. In the words of Sir W. Scott, "those who make a trade of discovery are likely to aid their researches by invention." The case of the regular police is different. When their detective business is completed their avocation is not gone; and they are best employed when preventing rather than when detecting crime. The disappearance of difficult crime is not always a good reason for reducing the members of the regular police, but it would be, I opine, in the case of detectives. It may be doubted whether officers specially selected for their intelligence and probity would stoop to actions involving so much depravity. The history of crime, however, affords ample proof that they will do so. It is only recently that the London detectives were found to be keeping themselves in practice by tempting people to sin, and now the head of the Dublin detectives has been found guilty of procuring false charges of a scandalous nature against innocent persons. I remember too a case in which the Bengal detectives, by way of keeping themselves before the public, supplied metal to some persons wherewith to coin gold mohurs. They then pounced upon them in the act, and sent them for trial, getting for their pains a severe reprimand from the High Court, coupled with a threat to treat them as abettors if they repeated the trick. The detectives professed to think themselves very ill-used; and granting that the accused were really professional coiners, the offence was certainly a comparatively venial one.

I proceed to consider by what means the detective is expected to achieve a greater measure of success than an ordinary policeman. In the first place, he is to be an altogether more gifted personage, and like a poet *nascitur non fit*. He must be possessed of "intelligence, craft, quick sight, quick ear, active mind, and ready faculty for adopting all circumstances *to suit his own use and purposes*." These are, according to Colonel Ewart, the distinctive attributes of the true detective, and are, he truly says, to be found among the criminal classes, "who from the nature of the lives they lead, and the circumstances under which they were born and reared" are accustomed to bold or subtle undertakings, ever watchful for information which may bring plunder to their hands, or enable them to elude detection and pursuit. The Thugs especially are instanced as men who, under other conditions and otherwise directed, might have been converted into astute detectives. If this is the sort of material

from which a detective force is to be formed, all I can say is, I pity the people, I do not believe that craft and dissimulation can co-exist with honesty and loyalty in the same breast. I believe that every man who can justify treachery as a means whereby to benefit the public, can similarly justify treachery as a means to forward his own individual interests. The case of Clive and Omichand may be cited against this theory, but this was an isolated instance in a long and honorable career, and the exception, if it was one, proves the rule. Writing, I think, of Lord Bacon, Macaulay attributed nine-tenths of the calamities which have befallen the human race, to the union of high intelligence with low desires. Fouché, the father, so to speak, of the system advocated by Col. Ewart, is a remarkable instance of the truth of this remark. He was undoubtedly the craftiest of men, and carried his address to such a degree, as to make it believed that wherever four persons were assembled together one was in his pay. Yet was he of such a depraved nature, that on one occasion when out of power, he was actually committed to prison for robbery and other crimes. He was several times detected by Bonaparte—another striking example of the truth of Macaulay's reflection—in secret communication with Metternich and the British Government, and narrowly saved his head. He favoured the plot of George Cadoudal and Pichegru and then caused their arrest. But this was, I suppose, according to detective principles, justifiable.

Col. Ewart has, however, other strings to his bow. "I must not," he adds "be understood to mean that the part of the population which produces the Indian criminal is the only source from which detectives may be drawn; for I know, and wish to assert that, in every grade and profession of native society in this country, men are to be found who possess the special faculties described,"—men who, I suppose, it may be fair to assume, would, under other conditions and otherwise directed, have made excellent Thugs!

My own view of the qualities most useful in the detection of crime may be summed up in the words, intelligence, observation, perseverance, probity. A combination of these four qualities are rare enough, but is nevertheless to be found under favorable circumstances, even in the force as now constituted. The favorable circumstances most essential are, I think, fair emoluments, efficient supervision, and an absence of extraordinary incentive, or pressure, to achieve success. Col. Ewart's scheme, whilst fully providing the two first, is favorable to a different policy in regard to the third condition. He thinks that high pay and fair supervision will secure honesty in a class specially liable to stray into devious courses,

though at the same time he makes his prizes dependent upon success. If there were any certainty that the success were real, this would, of course, be an unexceptionable arrangement, but all experience tells us that there can be nothing approaching to such certainty—that the natural proclivities of detectives, such as described by Col Ewart, combined with temptations and opportunities, are almost sure, sooner or later, to lead them out of the straight path. Col. Ewart appears to have been specially struck with the amount of latent detective skill to be found in the lowly rank of constable. Now, if there is one thing I abominate more than another, it is the *Surāghia* or detective constable. He it was who was principally responsible for the villanies at Gaya. He figured as the go-between of the police and the criminals, the immediate instigator of crime, the instrument by which evidence was fabricated and confessions wrung out ; and, as occasion required, himself the actual perpetrator of crime. The smartest detective officers could do nothing without him : he was put forward as having, by his natural instinct and inborn skill, devised a clue, and then by some subtle artifice entrapped the criminal with the evidence of his guilt upon him. A great deal was said of how these constables, insinuating themselves in disguise (*bā tabdil libās*) into the too confiding graces of the dusky Dosādhins, wormed out their husbands' secrets ; but the event proved that all this was fine dust specially prepared for the eyes of conviction-loving district superintendents and credulous judicial officers. And what proof can Col. Ewart give that his pet *Surāghias*, Hari Singh and the rest, are any better than those who for years deceived batch after batch of officers at Gaya, by no means distinguished for their imbecility ? Indeed, to judge from the case of Asa Ram, there is little to choose between them, except that Asa Ram had a stronger motive to remain honest than they. This man was, so says Col. Ewart, an unusually astute detective, worth at least Rs. 80 a month. Though uneducated, he was, out of the usual course, rewarded by promotion to the rank of head constable, yet this proved inadequate to protect him from the temptation of a pocket full of gold mohurs, which were held glittering before his eyes, in the chance case of the burglar Kullu ! The case is, as Col. Ewart says, instructive, but the moral he draws from it is diametrically opposite to that which I deduce.

Walpole said that he only knew one woman who refused gold, and she took diamonds ! I will put his idea in a more gallant, if less epigrammatic, form, and assert, that "every man has his price" is a safe maxim when dealing with police. High pay will take the keen edge off temptation but will do no more. For who shall put a limit to man's greed for gain ? If Asa

Rain's wages had been more liberal, his price, perhaps, might have been higher, but if criminals can frequently command such sums as those disbursed to defeat justice by Colonel Ewart's friend, Amir Khan; burglar and murderer, it is doubtful whether the Government purse is deep enough to place their policemen beyond the influence of temptation.

A word now as to what Mr. Wauchope called *finesse*, and I will call, the puerilities of detection. It is believed by many that disguise is a valuable detective agency. Colonel Ewart appears to hold this view, so also does Mr. Laing Meason, before quoted, who relates how some bonds stolen from an English merchant by his son were wonderfully recovered by *un agent secret*, of the Paris police, who posed before him in four different characters without being recognized. The case seems to me to have been remarkably simple, yet Mr. Meason is astonished at its being brought to a successful issue. He does not tell us how the masquerading contributed to detection, though he scoffs at the transparent disguises of the London plain-clothes-officers, which he says are, according to the chaff of the criminals themselves, merely worn to spare their feelings the scandal of arrest by an ordinary blue-bottle. It is disappointing not to be told how this means may be turned to account. For, in the first place, it is, to my mind, a very difficult thing to effectually disguise oneself. Men are not readily found endowed with the natural facilities possessed by such adepts as Jonathan Wild and Vidocq. The former of these worthies is reported to have been able to dislocate his hip joint, and the latter to make himself several inches shorter or taller, at will. Even the disguises of practiced costumiers at theatres may often be seen through. I have read that one Shoobratee, who was hanged at Benares for murder in 1853, returned to his village at the time when the search was hottest for him, with no other disguise but a thick beard, yet was not for some time recognized even by his own relatives. But I am inclined with King James' philosopher to doubt the fact, and to remark that there are none so blind as those who won't see.

But assuming the disguise to be impenetrable, what is the next step? Is it thought that the detective will, in an assumed character, be admitted into the community and secrets of men whose profession is crime? I do not for an instant believe it. Criminals may be, and are, like other men, in the words of Carlyle, "mostly fools," but they are more frequently the perpetrators than the victims of "the confidence trick." Vidocq is said to have cleverly joined in a plot to give himself a thrashing. It is beyond doubt that the sum of his villainies greatly outweighed the doubtful

services he rendered to justice. Criminals require an introduction of a sort which I believe is not compatible with the position, and duties of a police officer. In proportion to confidence gained, there must be real loss of honesty and allegiance, not merely simulation of it. One cannot run with the hare, and hunt with the hounds, nor touch pitch without defilement. A police officer may, of course, contrive, with advantage, to conceal the fact that he is such, but this is quite another thing. Even this is not quite so easy as it seems, for Colonel Ewart himself seems to have penetrated the secret of two plain-clothes detectives he accidentally met at the Jullunder Station.

Mr. Howard Vincent attempted to ameliorate the evils unfortunately inseparable from the supervision of released convicts, by deputing for this duty trustworthy detectives dressed as bricklayers, carpenters, &c., but if Mr. Michael Davitt,* and others are to be believed, the system, humane in its conception, was a farce in practice.

Disguise and other *ruses* are as little likely to be successful in real police work as, for instance, the childish devices described in the chapter "concerning the art of detecting thieves," in the *Qanon-i-Islâm*, or the ancient deceit of distributing sticks of equal length to suspected persons, telling them that the stick of him who is guilty will assuredly grow longer, and thereby inducing the culprit to shorten his stick and afford proof of guilt. Such trifling is, in short, to real detective business, what flying cigarettes are to Koot Humi—the spurious manifestations of Mahatmas to genuine Theosophy.*

In order that I may not be misunderstood, and be thought to hold the extravagant opinion that strategy should never be resorted to by police officers, I will instance a case in which a stratagem was safely and successfully practiced. A native, belonging to a respectable family, absconded with a large sum of money, leaving no trace of his whereabouts. A sharp constable engaged himself as a servant to the family, and after some time contrived to find out that letters and remittances were occasionally sent to a distant place somewhere on the North Western frontier of India. He lost no time in going there, and arrested the fugitive in his hiding place. Here there was no masquerading, the relatives were not themselves criminals, and the production of the run-a-way was a perfect guarantee of good faith.

I have already mentioned the case of Franz Müller as an instance of real detective skill. Another specimen may

* "Penal Servitude," by Michael Davitt.—*Contemporary Review*, August 1883.

be found in the tracing of the murderer of Mr. Commissioner Fraser, by John Lawrence, sometime Governor-General of India. In these, as in many other cases, each step can be satisfactorily explained, and one is not brought face to face with a glaring improbability, such as a confession without adequate motive, or a finding of stolen property, or other evidence of guilt, by almost miraculous means, or under circumstances reflecting seriously on the common sense or sanity of the accused. The probability that the evidence is true is far greater than the probability that it has been fabricated. We cannot always have our crime investigated by embryonic Governors-General, but we can get, and indeed have already got, men who are capable of following up a clue with a sufficient amount of perseverance and honesty. The honesty of some of them is so far proof against temptation, that rather than resort to trickery, they are content to be reckoned "duffers," or at least as devoid of detective skill.

The source of corruption of the kind I have been considering is, doubtless, sometimes the unreasonable demands of the public—or in India whatever does duty for it—for success, whether the circumstances of the case warrant it or not. The public press upon the authorities, and the authorities upon the police, as if the detection of crime were an exact science. The pressure is passed from rank to rank, gaining increased force, as a falling body gains velocity, until at last it falls upon the devoted head of the village chowkidar. This is an evil difficult to avoid. The public cannot know the merits of each case.

The work of individual officers should not be judged by figures alone; than which, proverbially, nothing is more fallible. One of the Gaya Sub-Inspectors in his confession, said—I quote from memory—"formerly we used only to *lagan* in dacoity and other heinous cases, but after the introduction of the six-column statement, we took to *laganning* in burglaries also." The statement referred to was a form devised to show the results achieved by each officer, and upon which his promotion depended to a great extent.

There must, however, be some criterion of police work,* and so long as judgment based solely on figures is confined to large areas little harm can arise. It is when undue pressure is brought to bear in small areas that mischief is done. The best and fairest way of criticizing detective work is, I think, a close examination of the undetected cases with a view to see that no stone has been left unturned. The Inspector, in his sub-district, can so overhaul every such case. The District Superintendent, in his district, can look into the undetected cases of his worst stations, and the Deputy Inspector General, and

Inspector-General can satisfy themselves that this has been efficiently done. In theory the District Superintendent at present scrutinizes closely the action of the police in *every* case ; but in practice this is in large districts impossible. No censure should ever be passed unless specific negligence or malfeasance could be pointed to. Officers treated in this manner work more freely and honestly, and the results attained are in reality better than when pressure is applied at haphazard. Officers not being blamed for a state of things they cannot prevent, are not so much tempted to betake themselves to irregular courses ; and being more at liberty to cultivate habits of self-respect, become more respected by others. The presence of the police loses most, if not all, its terrors ; respectable persons volunteer aid which would otherwise have been withheld ; and last, but not least, a better class of men are induced to enter upon the arduous and distasteful career of a police officer.

Colonel Ewart's remedy for the defects he points to is the reorganization of the police of India on the following lines :— The Railway and other police forces of the several provinces to be subordinated to one head or minister of police, attached to the Government of India ; the district and railway forces of each province to be controlled by a District Superintendent, an Assistant Inspector-General, under a provincial Inspector-General of Police, as at present ; a highly paid *corps de élite* for detective purposes, both on and off the line, to be formed on the railway, with unbroken jurisdiction throughout India and controlled by a Director General of Criminal Investigations, with a Deputy Director General for each railway system. In short, a double system, each officer of the regular force having a counterpart for detective purposes. The Director General to be on a footing with the Inspectors General of each province ; the Deputy Director General with the Deputy Inspectors General ; the Assistant Inspector General with the District Superintendent. The investigation of crime to remain, ordinarily, with the District Superintendent, who is to have a small squad of chosen detectives from his district police at the head-quarters of each district. Organized crime to be taken up in provinces by the Assistant Inspector General, who is to be empowered to draw men from district squads to assist if necessary. The railway detectives are to be the flower of the forces—invisible, ubiquitous and omniscient. They are to watch and pursue criminals, collect and furnish information, but like the *agents secret* of the French police, never to discover themselves. They must be able to deal with agitation, religious, political, and foreign ; to have a thorough knowledge of railway technicalities, and to be able to work everywhere, though usually posted at strategic points. Talent is to be

availed of wherever found, irrespective of age and other obstacles. The scheme is an ambitious one, and would no doubt furnish the imperial Government with a powerful engine. The additional cost is estimated at six lakhs a year. If this sum cannot be otherwise provided, it is suggested that the deficiency shall be made up by contributions from the railways and post-offices; by the utilization of the services of military pensioners; by the substitution of cheap chowkidars and the establishment of telephones in towns. As a sop to the railways, Colonel Ewart credits them with a large sum now paid as compensation for goods lost or stolen in transit. This visionary asset may be thought, by minds of less sanguine bent than Colonel Ewart's, to partake rather of the nature of the chick still within the shell. Setting aside the consideration whether, even from a police point of view, the six lakhs might not be better applied, there seem to be grave objections to the scheme. In the first place, the authority of local Governments in police matters would be very much weakened by the divided subordination of the provincial Inspectors General and Deputy Directors General. These officers, though directly responsible to local governments, would, it seems, be also responsible through a different channel—the Directors General and Minister of Police—to the Government of India. Similarly, the Assistant Inspectors General would owe a double allegiance—to the Inspectors General on one hand, to the Director General on the other. Then there would be endless friction between the Assistant Inspectors General, and District Superintendents if, as proposed, the former is to help himself to the latter's choice detectives, and the latter is to inspect and criticize the law and order police of the former. Colonel Ewart makes the injudicious suggestion that the railway detectives be used as a check on the district detectives and *vice versa*. This would, of course, as pointed out by a friendly critic, lead to nought but evil. Yet Colonel Ewart claims for his scheme, that it is perhaps the *only* solution of the difficult problem of securing harmony and co-operation among the various bodies of police in this country. If, after providing prize pay and other incentives, this is the best security we are to have for good behaviour, we shall be in sad plight indeed! In regard to the proposition that the police department should be at liberty to avail itself of volunteers from other departments of "inborn detective instincts, developed unconsciously to themselves but impelling them instinctively to interest themselves with police business," I fancy that the other departments will hardly be enamoured of it. The qualities necessary to success as a detective are valued everywhere, and no one likes to part with his best servants. In reference to outside amateurs and gentlemen detectives, I believe the plan was tried by

Mr. Vincent and found not to answer. The utmost care must of course be taken to secure the best available material, but it would be unsafe and unnecessary to waive the usual conditions as to age, health, &c., in enlisting even for detective purposes only. Such recruits, if failing as detectives, would be useless for other purposes, and being liable to be discharged for failure, would have an additional temptation to make hay whilst the sun shone.

Another of Colonel Ewart's remedial measures is the summoning of a conference of police officers, immediately, to investigate the influx of Affghan professional criminals, and consider the best means of checking this rapidly increasing nuisance. Also to compare and confer on police experiences, gained in all parts of India, with a view to the improvement of the department in all its branches. Whilst there have been commissions, conferences, and deputations from time to time for purposes of self-improvement in various other departments of government, such as Public Works, Jails, Education, Post Office, Forest, Opium, &c., there has been nothing of the sort in connection with the police since 1860. Simultaneously he would despatch a deputation of selected officers, to Europe to ascertain, *inter alia*, the measures in force for the avoidance of jealousy, friction, and obstruction, and for the maintenance of fusion and harmony among all branches of police, with a staff of short-handwriters in order that no precious moments may be lost in communicating to the sitting conference the results of their Western researches. The qualifications of these selected officers are to be of such a high order as to make it doubtful whether they would not prove rather teachers than learners. "It is indispensable," Colonel Ewart says, "that they should be men of long police experience, natural administrative capacity, deeply interested in their profession; with wide views; observant, both naturally and by training; of versatile imagination (!), quick to seize ideas, and successfully adapt them to the purposes of radical improvement; and moreover, possessed of sound common sense, great personal energy, tact, temper, and natural courtesy of manners and disposition." Surely the number of Indian police officers answering to this description, could be counted on the thumbs of one hand. If there are really several such, why has Bengal been denied the services of one of these admirable Crichtons?

There are other reasons which render it uncertain whether India would gain much by such an arrangement. The conditions of society in Europe and India are totally different. Moreover the police of England in its detective capacity is thought to be so unsatisfactory, that great changes are being made. Whilst one portion of the public is jealously watching

the action of the Home Office, with a view to prevent the introduction of any of the continental systems, another is loudly demanding a trial of the French plan. Mr. Meason, whom I have more than once quoted, writes: "It is a curious fact that, as regards a detective force, we are very little, if at all, better off than our grandfathers were half a century ago, when they had to rely upon Townsend, the famous Bow Street Runner, as the one man in England who could hunt out thieves or murderers, and bring them to justice!" And again, "the one only efficacious manner of detecting crime is such as is adopted in France, but which not a few Englishmen object to as mean and underhand." We have seen what this system is, and how very ineffectual it can be; yet referring to the Hatton Garden robbery and the attempt to blow up Government Offices in Westminster, Mr. Meason assures us "that the perpetrators of these crimes would, under the French, German, Russian, or Italian systems, in all probability, have been in the hands of the Police 24 hours after either crime was committed." But if Mr. Howard Vincent is to be believed, "the proportion of serious offences, and more especially of violence against the person, is so much smaller in London, than in any other of the chief cities of Europe, as to admit of no comparison." Mr. Howard Vincent greatly regrets that the figures of foreign cities, having been furnished to him in confidence, he cannot make them public. So it seems that it is not part of the continental system to permit public criticism of their criminal statistics, whereby the success or otherwise of that system might be fairly judged. Nor is their action in this matter calculated to inspire a hope that the authorities abroad would assist strangers in prying into their police arrangements, the main feature of which is their secrecy. The *Times* writes:—"It is too often assumed that our own force would suffer by comparison with that of any of the great continental cities. We do not think such a comparison would be a just one. The American Police are, probably, the only body who could fairly be compared with them, and even these are armed with larger powers, and are far better supported by the magistrates. It is impossible that our police should adopt the methods of procedure permitted on the Continent, in France, in Austria, in Russia, and in Germany. The personal liberty of the subject is, happily, protected by far too jealous safeguards. The law will not suffer large numbers of our fellow-citizens to be apprehended on mere suspicion, kept in prison at pleasure, subjected to a series of compulsory examinations, and dismissed, it may be at last, with no recompense, and with no apology. A system so high-handed, and so vexatious, could not be long tolerated by Englishmen; and yet, if all this cannot be done, the action

of the police, as a detective force, is necessarily crippled."

In this connection it is perhaps worth mentioning, that on several memorable occasions, within recent years, when things have arrived at a crisis, or police revolution been effected at home, the services of men trained in India have been put in requisition. Mr. Jenkinson and Inspector Smith, of Dublin renown, had both gained their experience in India. And now, Mr. Monro, our late Inspector-General has been associated with Mr. Jenkinson as successor to Mr. Vincent, at Scotland Yard. Mr. Howard, one of our most prominent district superintendents was long ago translated from Bengal to London. If an Indian training produces men fit to conduct the police business of the first city in the world, we cannot, I think, be so far behind the English police, as it is the fashion to make out. We have a vastly larger area, and much greater difficulties to contend with. It would be astonishing, then, if our necessities did not produce skilful policemen, if not quite the paragons described by Colonel Ewart. It seems doubtful, then, whether the results attending such an expensive arrangement as the deputation of several officers to Europe would be commensurate with the cost.

I have already expressed my dissent from the principle sought to be established by Colonel Ewart, that railways, telegraphs and post offices, having given increased facilities for the successful perpetration of crime, are bound to contribute, proportionately, towards the support of a police force. The advantages they confer in the way of promotion of law and order vastly outweigh, in my estimation, any harm done. I cannot, therefore, agree with Colonel Ewart, that at least their services should be given gratuitously to the police. Such a privilege would be open to abuses, which are visible even now, when the use of these agencies is restricted only by the discretion of individuals. For instance, I have known no less than ten telegrams sent to announce to various officials that the wife of a station master had committed suicide by throwing herself under an engine. Nor do I see any practical value in the suggestion that a detective shall be attached to the travelling post-office to inspect the *outsides* of letters and packages with a view to the interception of suspicious missives. In connection with the assassinations of Mr. Norman and Lord Mayo, the *insides* of all suspicious correspondence passing through certain post offices were placed at my disposal for police purposes, under the authority of the Supreme Government. The only letter found that even touched on these horrid murders, was written evidently in view to its being read by the authorities. I remember, however, one eminently successful instance of surveillance of this sort. It was a case in which a high postal

official, suspecting an intrigue, opened and read a letter from his own wife to her paramour.

I come at last to a subject upon which Colonel Ewart and I are wholly at one. I mean the use of photography as a means of identification of persons who have been previously convicted. This valuable police agent is not, as Colonel Ewart says, used so extensively, or so systematically as it might be. Under the provisions of the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1871, registers of criminals are kept at the central police offices of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to these offices the governors of prisons send photographs of habitual criminals with full particulars as to personal appearance, peculiarities, and antecedents. The prisoners themselves are sent to the offices at which they are to periodically report themselves, and are there scrutinized and compared with their photographs by the local police previous to release. The photographs and descriptive rolls are kept at the central offices for reference. The number of portraits so received at the Scottish office, in the first year of the system, was 870. In England no less than 117,568 persons were photographed in the first three years, and about 30,000 per annum afterwards. In France, also, photography is still more extensively used. During the past six years no fewer than 60,000 malefactors sat in prison for their portraits. And with a view to facilitate identification, these portraits are all classified according to height or other undeviating measurement of body. Further sub-divisions are made in accordance with marked peculiarities of person or manner. Thus instead of having to search through thousands of portraits, the number to be examined can be reduced to quite a small number. Something of the kind was attempted by an officer of the Bengal Police well known for his inventive genius. He placed his *badmashes* in a sort of close fitting cage, like the wire envelope of an Exshaw's brandy-bottle, each mesh of which was numbered, and then noted in a register the number of the particular mesh which fell against the various salient points of the body. The idea was perhaps more ingenious than practical, and so met the fate of many other early efforts of great minds in a right direction. The French system would, at any rate, obviate risk of the mistake said to have been made by the police of a trans-Caucasian station, who, on receiving six photographs of a 'wanted' Nihilist, each showing him in a different position, telegraphed to the prefect at St. Petersburg—"Your Excellency,—I have the honour to report that I have already caused to be arrested four of the atrocious criminals whose portraits you recently sent, and from information received, confidently hope to capture the other two very shortly." And such mistakes are specially likely to occur

where natives of India are concerned. Only a few days ago I showed a photograph of a neighbour to some villages, and half of them identified it as one man, and half as another man. One more positive than the rest, said 'why that's the necklace he always wears.'—The necklace being the iron neck-ring and tally of a convict!

Photography is cheap—on the sands at Weston the likenesses of my children were taken at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a dozen!—and criminals working under *aliases* are, alas! to be counted by thousands. A set of albums on the French system should be prepared at Central Jails, and be open to the inspection of police officers. Spare copies should be kept to despatch to distant places on receipt of intimation that an unknown criminal had been arrested. A brief description of person would indicate to the jail superintendent which volume of the album to send. It was by aid of photography that I was enabled to trace the antecedents of Abdulah, the assassin of Mr. Norman, Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal. I sent photographs to the up-country stations he was thought likely to have visited, and a *quondam* school-fellow, at Mirzapore, at once identified him. The victim of the Amherst Street murder was also identified by means of photography.

The incubus of superfluous clerical work complained of by Colonel Ewart does not exist in Bengal. Persistent effort is made by our inspecting officers to relieve us of all unnecessary writing. There is no doubt a great deal of writing, especially at stations. The double system in force is responsible for much of it. The office of District Superintendent has to answer the calls of both Inspector-General and Commissioner, and the police station to satisfy the demands of both Sub-divisional officer and District Superintendent. Colonel Ewart urges a more extensive use of the printing-press, the supply of lithographed *pataari* maps, or *camera lucida*, to investigating officers. The aid of the printing-press can only be usefully and economically applied under certain conditions, and where these exist we have already taken advantage of it. To supply the local police with spare plans of large towns and railway premises might be a practical measure, but to distribute broadcast over rural districts maps of each village, or other small agricultural area, on the chance of a murder or other crime needing cartographical elucidation, some day occurring therein, is, to say the least of it, a provision of somewhat too bountiful a nature.

There are many ways, no doubt, in which the operations of the police might be facilitated and rendered more certain and effectual. For instance, phenyle might be supplied for the preservation of corpses, or still better, such a number of competent medical officers as to obviate the necessity for dragging

bloated bodies about the country. Chowkidars might be presented with umbrellas, lanterns, and alarms; police stations be furnished with clocks and sun-dials; and districts with a museum of false scales, forged notes, base coin, and other interesting products of the criminal brain, for the edification of police neophytes. The line must, however, be drawn somewhere, and as Colonel Ewart plaintively remarks: "in these days of an impoverished public exchequer, whenever the question of efficient establishment is raised, it is at once met with the reply, that there is not enough money."

But of all the various mechanical and scientific appliances ever enlisted to aid an overworked, baffled, and exhausted police, the telephone is Colonel Ewart's especial favourite. Having with much personal labour, and at his own expense, successfully introduced this instrument at Delhi, he is now desirous of extending its benefits to every town in India, the population of which amounts to 50,000. He maintains that by establishing rapid communication between stations and the central office, time and men may be saved and greater efficiency be secured. That telephonic or electrical communication may be advantageously applied to great cities, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and perhaps a few others, where fires are frequent and fire-brigades kept up, I will not gainsay. But that the advantages secured in smaller towns, such as Gaya, and Bhaugulpur, would compensate for the cost of construction and maintenance, I absolutely deny. The number of occasions in these towns in which sudden concentration of police, or extremely rapid inter-sectional communication is required, is quite insignificant.

The benevolent exertions of Colonel Chapman and others, in behalf of military pensioners have my full sympathy, provided that these men be not benefitted at the expense of efficiency in other branches of the public service. Sir Henry Maine, it was I think, who said there was no worse policeman than the old soldier, and I entirely agree with him. Our ranks were filled with them when first the force was organized, and now that we have weeded them out, let us not again hamper ourselves with men, who, to other disqualifications, add that of old age. There is, I think, only one capacity in the police in which military pensioners can be usefully employed, and that is drill instructor. I once employed a pensioner in this manner and he gave unqualified satisfaction.

For watch and ward duties I confess to having more faith in patrolling constables than in sleepy superannuated soldiers, in charge of telephonic dials, liable to be gagged or upset in their sentry-boxes, like the old watchmen of London in the days of Pierce Egan, when 'boxing a Charlie' was a favourite

pastime of young bloods! I should like to hear from a less interested source than the patentee how telephonic kiosks have successfully superseded the policeman in the streets of that wonderful city, Chicago, and how the American 'Crooks' are prevented from rendering the telephone unavailable by the simple expedient of spiking the lock of the kiosk.

Telephones may have been found most useful in Delhi, but it is disappointing to find no explanation as to why they failed to efficiently supplement police action, either in the oft-quoted Dariba outrage, or other heinous offences said to have become so prevalent of late.

As a matter of economy it would certainly, in some of the towns selected by Col. Ewart, be cheaper for the State to make good all losses by theft than to establish and maintain telephones or telegraphs. Labour is cheap enough in this country to compete successfully with mechanical contrivances in many cases, where at home it would be beaten out of the field. But even in London, the electrical communication between stations is found more adapted to fire-brigades than to police purposes.

The system of employing informers, the extension of which is advocated by Col. Ewart, is one which, like the approver system, needs to be worked with the utmost caution. Usually the only distinction between the informer and the approver is that the guilt of the latter has been, or can be, proved, the authorities having, therefore, a greater hold on him. To him they can offer the alternative of life or death, liberty or perpetual imprisonment. To the informer they can hold out only the inducement of handsome remuneration for the very unhandsome services rendered. As I have already remarked, the knowledge of the informer will ordinarily be in exact proportion to his villainy. It will usually be the interest of the professional informer to convict the innocent in preference to the guilty, provided he can do so with impunity. He has less to fear from the vengeance of innocent victims, specially selected from spite or for their helplessness, than from desperate associates, hardened by crime. Moreover, if crime be put a stop to by the conviction of the real, but very impure, Simons, the vocation of informers is gone. This is not mere theory; for nothing came out more clearly in the revelations at Gaya, than that the advantage of keeping the ball rolling was fully recognized by both police and their spies. Wherever the services of such agents have been freely used abuses have always followed. In England, in the early part of the last century, the public were plundered by Jonathan Wild and his crew to such an extent that legislative measures became imperative, and for the first time "persons taking money or reward under pretence or upon account of recovering goods

that had been stolen, *without apprehending the felon*," were themselves treated as felons. The unfortunate Jonathan was himself one of the first of the felons executed under this law—the second charge against him being that he had formed a kind of corporation of thieves of which he was the head or director, and that, notwithstanding his pretended services in detecting and prosecuting offenders, he procured such only to be hanged as concealed their booty or refused to share it with him. This salutary law, though still in force, and very necessary in the interests of justice, is not always appreciated by the victim of a heavy theft, and quite recently a certain noble earl so far forgot himself as to advertise a large reward for the recovery of his wife's jewels, promising that no questions would be asked!

At the time of its enactment the advantage of this law was quite neutralized by the ill-advised action of the Government of the day, which offered a large reward for every conviction of burglary. In 1755 four men named Berry, Salmon, Macdonald and Gahagan, were detected and convicted of conspiring with others to induce people to commit felonies so as to obtain the blood-money. They were sentenced to stand in the pillory, where they met with frightful maltreatment from the hands of an infuriated populace—one of them being instantly killed, and others left for dead.

In 1816 a similar conspiracy was detected in which, as in the previous case, the Bow Street runners were mixed up. Some of these men, says a well-informed writer,—such as Lavender, Ruthven, Smithers (killed by Thistlewood), Townsend, the brothers Forester, and Charles Frederick Field, were men of great courage, energy, and shrewdness, but many more were of a very inferior calibre. These latter proved as venal as there were ruffianly, and were as frequently the accomplices as the foes of the malefactors, with whom they alternately caroused and fought in the "finishes" and "flash-houses" of the time. Mr. Jack Thurtell had cracked many a bottle and rattled many a dice-box with the Bow-Street runners of his day before he was there captive. The blood-money system involved the disbursement of increasingly large sums, and it at last became apparent that many innocent persons were being wrongfully convicted. An act was then passed by which the whole system of rewards was swept away.

About the same time this dangerous system was being abused to the fullest extent in France, where that archtraitor Vidocq was carrying on his pranks, and Chateaubriand ironically described a good police as "that which bribes the servant to accuse his master; which seduces the son to betray his father; which lays snares for friendship and mantraps for innocence."

The system has nevertheless always found advocates, and seems to exercise a sort of fascination over some minds. In 1808, when on the breakdown of Lord Cornwallis's police arrangements, and consequent fearful prevalence of crime, the authorities were at their wit's end as to what remedy to apply, a regular establishment of police spies, called "*goindars*," was organized, with men called *girdawars* to supervise. The duty of the *goindars* was to point out the robbers, that of the *girdawars* to apprehend them, corresponding in this respect exactly with '*les agents secret*, and *la service de sûreté* of the present police of Paris. So far from answering the end in view, these men caused a very material increase to the crime they were employed to suppress. Sir Henry Strachey, in the celebrated Fifth Report, tells us that "the people are harassed by the vexatious visits and outrage, and the plunder of *goindars* and *girdawars*; who constantly, when supported by the least colour of authority from the magistrate, intimidate, extort, suborn, and rob, under pretence of bringing offenders to justice." The following admission was reluctantly made by a member of the Government, himself a warm advocate of the system: "That abuses have been practised by *goindars* or informers, but still more by *girdawars* or those entrusted with power to apprehend, is unquestionable. Seeking a livelihood by the profession in which they had engaged, but not able always to procure it by the slow means of the detection of crimes and proof of guilt, they have no doubt resorted but too often to various modes of extortion; sometimes from persons of suspected character, and at other times from the honest part of the community under threats of accusation, and have occasionally proceeded to prefer groundless charges, and even to support them by false evidence, and instances have actually occurred where there has been too much reason to believe that the *goinda* himself devised the robbery, of which he convicted the unhappy wretches, reduced by his arts to a participation in the crime." "To such a height," writes Mr. Mill "had the enormity of convicting innocent persons for the sake of the head-money proceeded, that in 1810 the necessity was felt of destroying the temptation by putting the reward offered for the conviction of offenders on a new foundation." The judge of circuit reporting on the state of the 24 pergunnahs pointed out the existence of another danger, *viz.*, a strong disinclination on the parts of magistrates to redress grievances caused by their own agents. Mr. Grant, as we have seen, found that human nature had not improved in this respect by the lapse of near half a century. The enquiry into affairs at Gaya, and neighbouring districts, revealed a state of things precisely similar in principle, and only less scandalous, from the absence of official sanction, and the consequent

necessity to conceal the system from the authorities. The most dangerous dacoits and burglars were found acting as spies and informers, unregistered and unknown, except to the subordinate police with whom they were in league. Since then the regular employment of spies has been specifically prohibited by circular orders.

A large sum of money is still at the disposal of the police department for the purposes of procuring information in regard to opium smuggling. If this money is devoted, as I understand it is meant to be, to tempting to isolated acts for treachery, persons engaged in, or having knowledge of, smuggling on a considerable scale, such as is carried on by traders and cultivators in collusion, no harm may be done. But if, under misapprehension of the intentions of Government, informers are engaged beforehand for the purposes of detecting smuggling, petty or other, then I cannot but fear evil results. Proof of smuggling can be easily and securely fabricated. Few persons, likely to be victimized, possess a character which would be held conclusive of their innocence of an offence not differing in degree from one which is held in light estimation by some English gentlewomen. I will give an instance, of which, with others, I am personally cognizant. A district Superintendent, finding that nothing had been done in the way of detection of smuggling at one of his out-stations, sent for a chowkidar, who had the reputation of being in the secrets of the smugglers, and exhorted him to action, promising liberal reward. Within a month, a smart constable, wearer of a good conduct stripe, brought to the station a man, he said he had met on the road and searched on suspicion, finding upon him upwards of an ounce of opium concealed in some meal tied up in a cloth. The officer in charge of the station went through the form of a minute investigation, and sent the man for trial. In his defence he stated that the son of this very chowkidar had enticed him along the road, and then asking him to hold the cloth, while he went to buy some tobacco, made himself scarce, and the constable, at this moment turning up, arrested him. His story was disbelieved by the Magistrate, who knew nothing of the recent action of the District Superintendent, and imprisoned him for two months. Can there be a reasonable doubt that the constable and chowkidar arranged the plan between them in the hope of obtaining the promised reward?

Mr. Meason remarks that in the informer-system there is no certainty. "The reward offered may or may not induce one of those guilty to come forward and denounce his partners in guilt." In Ireland it has succeeded in one instance, * but this may

* If the Maantrasna murders are meant, the case is no exception, as the approvers, Casey and Philbin, have since repudiated the confessions on

be regarded as quite exceptional. In England, as the Police authorities will say, there is hardly an instance in which any amount in the shape of a reward has induced a thief, murderer, or other criminal to inform against his companions. So much is this the case, that the saying of "honour among thieves" may be regarded practically true. This is precisely the result of my experience in India. If any one doubt it, let him go to any jail and attempt to bribe a *Chamar*, convicted of cattle-poisoning, to tell truthfully whence came the arsenic with which the crime was perpetrated. False accusations may be bought by the bushel, but not the betrayal of confederates in crime, except in rare instances, when from spite or other reason, the information would probably have been given for nothing. A reward of Rs. 10,000 was offered for information as to the instigators of the assassin of Mr. Norman, and numerous were the attempts made to secure the prizes by adventurers of various creeds and nationalities; Affghans, native Mahomedans, Hindoos, and even one European. Fortunately, in every case, it was possible to demonstrate the falseness of the story. I had the assassin and his weapon under lock and key, and false identifications were difficult. When the informer professed to be well acquainted with Abdoolah, I took the precaution to dress him as a warder and make him produce, for inspection, other Affghans arrayed in prison costume. This simple device was successful in all but one case, in which the informer had, I suppose, made a careful study of Abdoolah's photographs, by that time to be seen everywhere. He positively identified Abdoolah as a Wahabee *Kâsid*, who it was afterwards satisfactorily proved had been dead for ten years! As an instance of the difficulty of watching spies, I may mention that one of these gentry proffered me his services in the above case, and I gave him a commission, but distrusting him, set some skilful detectives to secretly watch his movements. He shortly returned and professed himself unable to act if followed by detectives.

From the foregoing remarks on the principle features of Colonel Ewart's scheme, it may be gathered that, in my opinion, so far from there being any paramount necessity for the creation of a special detective force in Bengal, I think that unless it can be organized on some novel plan and safer lines than those upon which forces of this description have hitherto been based, I think we are much better without such an agency. The principal factor in an effective police system is, I think, a trustworthy intelligent police unit, liberally paid, closely supervised,

which Myles Joyce was hanged and others imprisoned, attributing them to the temptation of a reward of £300 offered by the Crown, and adding that the real criminals are still at large.

and responsible for the peace of a circle of such a size that he may be able to efficiently watch it, and so become acquainted with the personal appearance, means of livelihood, and general repute of every person therein residing—every part of the country being included in such a circle. It was by means of a wide-awake watchman of this kind that the dynamite plotters were discovered and defeated at Birmingham, and not by any occult detective method. In large towns, where criminals most do congregate, there must be no stint of watchmen. The proceedings of Amir Khan and his gang would have been earlier checked, had there been an efficient watch and ward in Delhi and Meerut. Such outrages could not take place in Calcutta. Prevention is better than detection, is a good maxim for policemen, only too often ignored—because, forsooth, its adoption as a rule of conduct, leadeth not straight to the glittering goal of individual glorification! “To my mind,” said Sir H Hawkins, in a recent friendly address to the London Police, “the constable who keeps his beat free from crime deserves much more credit than he does who only counts up the number of convictions he has obtained for offences committed in it.”

In order to approach perfection in the line, I have indicated, much, no doubt, remains to be done. Our chief desideratum is perhaps a reformed rural police. Regarding this, our most pressing need, Colonel Ewart says little. Our next want is, a larger number of competent and trustworthy investigating officers. *Thirdly*, we require schools—not to teach such trifles as the art of disguising oneself, as suggested by Colonel Ewart—but firstly to examine and test the capacity of candidates, and afterwards to impart to recruits a thorough grounding in criminal law and the rules of the department, so that they may enter upon their onerous duties with some little knowledge, instead of as at present in a state of crass ignorance. *Fourthly*, we should be the better for some enactment legalizing the detention of criminals believed to be old offenders, till their antecedents have been ascertained, and a proportionate term of imprisonment awarded them. In the case of homeless wanderers, against whom no previous convictions can be adduced, they might, on release, be sent to a colony established under the Criminal Tribe's Act. *Fifthly*, as I have already said, our system of photography for the purpose of identification might be improved. With good material and proper direction the ordinary police are, I think, as likely to cope successfully with ordinary crime as any special detective agency. When unusually intricate or ramified cases present themselves, they can be successfully dealt with by temporarily selected officers, as heretofore; and if secrecy is required, it can

be more easily secured under this system than by the use of a permanent detective staff, the most prominent members of which must soon become known.

For the rest, we may safely trust to the general advance of civilization to keep us abreast of the criminals. It is not by a detective police that within the last century the high-roads in England have been made safe ; nor is it to such an organization that we must look, primarily, for progress in India. Uttering forged notes and base coin remained unchecked, even when punishable with death, till the appliances of science rendered these offences almost impossible. A repetition of the atrocities of Burke and Hare was prevented by an Act of Parliament regulating the supply of bodies for dissection. The lighting up of the streets of London was followed by a large decrease of crime. Reformatories have, perhaps, done more in the way of diminishing crime than anything else. In less than ten years the number of juvenile convicts in England was reduced by this means more than fifty per centum. In India, postal robberies have, by Colonel Ewart's own showing, almost disappeared under an improved postal system. And there can be no doubt that the splitting up of districts into magisterial sub-divisions has, by bringing justice more to the doors of the people, had a good effect upon crime.

Sir Walter Scott wrote, with reference to what he called the "frightful agency of the police." "This institution may, even in its mildest form, be regarded as a necessary evil ; for even though, while great cities continue to afford obscure retreats for vice and crime of every description, there must be men, whose profession it is to discover and bring criminals to justice, as while there are vermin in the animal world, there must be kites and carrion-crows to diminish their number ; yet, as the excellence of these guardians of the public depends in a great measure on their familiarity with the arts, haunts, and practices of culprits, they cannot be expected to feel the same horror for crimes or criminals, which is common to other men. On the contrary, they have a sympathy with them, of the same kind which hunters entertain for the game which is the object of their pursuit. Besides, as much of their business is carried on by the medium of spies, they must be able to personate the manners and opinions of those whom they detect ; and are frequently induced by their own interests, to direct, encourage, nay, suggest crimes, that they may obtain the reward due for conviction of offenders."

If, then, funds be available, let them be devoted rather to the improvement and perfection of existing machinery, and to such indirect and unobjectionable crime preventives as above indicated, than to the creation of an engine, powerful equally for

harm as for good, difficult of control, and only to be tolerated as a necessary evil, under the surest safeguards, within the narrowest possible limits.

In conclusion, I trust it will not be thought that I have exaggerated the propensities and opportunities for evil, or unnecessarily aspersed the character of the department to which I have the honour to belong. If it can be shown that my experiences are altogether exceptional, or that I have failed to apprehend aright the teachings of two and twenty years, no one will rejoice more than myself. In thus, for the first time, publicly expressing my views, I have been actuated by a desire, rather to prevent a threatened danger—an increase to the numerous difficulties with which we have already to contend—than to expose iniquities which cannot be altogether prevented, and from which, I firmly believe, the Police of Bengal to be at present, as free as the police of any other province of India.

A. H. GILES.

ART. III.—THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

NOW that the agitation in connection with the Franchise Bill is over, it may not be amiss to enquire whether, and in what directions, the House of Lords requires reform. The chief objection raised by Radicals is to what is called the hereditary principle, *i. e.*, the system by which a man sits and votes in the Upper House, simply because he is his father's son. That a young nincompoop should, by the untimely death of his father, be elevated to the rank of a legislator and take his seat among venerable and experienced men whose whole lives have been passed in the service of their country, does seem absurd. If the Radicals would confine themselves to the remedy of this grievance, it would soon disappear.

The right to sit and vote in the House of Lords is almost the best valued privilege that attaches to a peerage. But there is reason for thinking that the Radical mind does not hanker so much after the abolition of this privilege as after the withdrawal of others which are more valued. To prove how indifferent a large number of peers are to the right of sitting and voting in the Upper House, we need only compare the division lists of the House of Lords with those of the House of Commons. All told, about 500 persons have a right to vote in the House of Lords, and 658 to vote in the House of Commons. Divisions of over 500 are quite common in the Lower House, while on several occasions more than 600 votes have been recorded. Add to this that there is often a large number of pairs, and we may conclude that, in every important question, the opinion of nearly every member of the Lower House is recorded whether he may be touring in Palestine, hunting in Nepaul, or exploring the glens of the rocky mountains. This is not the case with the House of Peers. A division in which more than 200 votes are recorded is a rarity. The oratory is for the most part maintained by a few representatives of old families, and a large number of men who made their names as statesmen in the House of Commons.

The origin of the House of Lords, as well as of the House of Commons, was in the royal command. A peer, if summoned, was bound to appear just as an ordinary defendant in a civil suit. So boroughs and counties were bound to send up representatives to Parliament, failing which penalties were incurred. To represent a borough or a county in the Lower House was for long looked upon, not as a privilege but as a duty, the non-performance of which entailed unpleasant consequences. It was for this reason that members of Parliament

were paid by their constituents instead of by the State. But what was originally a duty, and often an unpleasant one, became in time a valued privilege, and this in the case of Peers and Commons alike. The necessity for a Peer to attend Parliament no longer exists. The result is, that nearly half the Peers never attend at all. The duty of sending representatives to the House of Commons is practically enforced by our system of party government.

On the face of it, it would appear, that there was now no longer any necessity to retain the hereditary principle so far as regards the right to sit and vote in the Upper House. A young Earl with no taste for politics simply stays away and finds a position among men of his bent in literature, art, science, or even athletics. A young Earl who does care for politics, goes to the House of Lords, chiefly because he cannot go to the House of Commons, where he would get a much better training as an orator, and find more scope for the development of such abilities as he possessed. Accordingly it is no longer necessary to maintain the hereditary principle in its present form, or to give a seat in the House of Lords to every Peer, irrespective of age, or other qualifications. Mr. Froude has suggested that only Peers who are also Privy Councillors should be summoned. His suggestion does, to some extent, meet the requirements of the case. The Privy Council embraces every leading politician of the time, and there is no reason why the list should not be made more elastic and include every foremost man in the worlds of literature, art, science and commerce. At any rate, the spirit of the age requires that some other qualification, besides being his father's son, be necessary to entitle a man to sit in the House of Lords. The foundation of the influence of that House was in landed property and territorial dignity. It is not necessary, and certainly not advisable, to ignore these now. They are as important now as they were five centuries ago. But five centuries ago they belonged almost exclusively to Peers; while now there are many Peers with less landed property and less local influence than distinguished Commoners.

There is, further, no necessity to alter the designation of the House of Peers. Most distinguished Commoners can even now be elevated to the Upper House while their party is in power; and, in fact, the House of Lords is chiefly recruited in this manner.

But the above reform would not be deemed sufficient unless it also admitted of the employment of distinguished Indian and Colonial officials as members of the Upper House. At present India and the Colonies are represented in the Upper House by a few Peers who have, from time to time, been sent out as Governors or Governors-General. Many of these even have

served only for very short periods, at distant dates, and their opinions are consequently hazy or antiquated. In the Lower House, India and the Colonies are entirely unrepresented; for, though an Indian or Colonial official does occasionally obtain a seat, he does so, not as a representative of the Government he has served, but as the chosen candidate of one or other of the parties in a home constituency. France is ahead of us in this respect, and we might do worse than copy her example.

What we propose is, that each Government should send a fixed number of representatives to the House of Lords, who should retain their seats during the life of each Parliament and be eligible for re-election. The representatives chosen should be officials either actually in harness or very lately employed; commercial and other gentlemen who had resided for at least ten years in the colony or dependency they represent, and who were largely interested in the welfare of the said colony or dependency; and lastly, distinguished natives.

That the House of Lords, and not the House of Commons, is the place for such representatives is apparent from the following considerations:—

Firstly:—Not one in twenty of our Colonial or Indian administrators can enter fully into the party discussions at home, the result of which decides the strength of parties in the Lower House.

Secondly:—The men likely to be chosen would be, in the best sense, elders of the people, whose fitting sphere would be a Senate, composed of the venerable of the Empire.

Thirdly:—It would be desirable to attach them to a House which represents the fixed opinions of the nation, and other than to one which represents its passing whims, or its present fancies. They would be of more use in directing the opinions of the people into proper channels, than in recording the results of a general election.

Another body from which the House of Lords might conveniently be recruited, is the consular and diplomatic staff employed in foreign countries: representatives of this body might be placed on a par with those of the Indian and Colonial governments.

In conclusion, we should warn the Radicals that in proceeding against the House of Lords, they are likely to go too far. So far as they object to the hereditary right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, the spirit of the age is on their side, and the people recognize that the House of Lords needs reform just as much as the Lower House. But when Radicals attack the principle of hereditary right to property in land, the people will fail to see why the principle should be sacred where

stocks and shares are concerned ; and we feel sure that when the question is fairly put to the nation, the nation will not be found on the side of the Radicals. If, perchance it is, the Radicals will probably get the worst of it after all, when their ideas are carried to their legitimate ends. When, again, they object to the social supremacy which the title of " Lord " gives, we answer that it is beyond their power to take that supremacy away. They cannot wipe out old traditions. The descendant of a " Lord " will be just as proud of his glorious ancestors whether he retains his title or not.

This was tried in the French revolution, with the effect, that a more severe distinction than ever was drawn between the old families and the upstarts who presumed to replace them. It was tried to a lesser extent in our own English revolution with exactly the same result. A " Lord " is a " Lord," and will continue to be one as long as he can, or cares to, point to his pride of birth and station, and he will point to these whether he has a seat in the House of Peers or not. What is more, others will point to them. The Radicals themselves will acknowledge them, and bow down and serve them.

What we want now is to reform our Senate. That is all. We have pointed out the direction in which reform is required. If these reforms are carried out, we shall have a Senate superior to that which now exists, and immeasurably superior to any that exists elsewhere. We shall also have one that will knit in bonds of closest union the various dependencies of the greatest empire the world has seen. By this we shall strengthen the mother-country and colonies alike. We shall face the world as a united people and shall not tremble, though the rest of the nations rise combined against us.

M.

ART. IV.—THE THEOSOPHICAL MOVEMENT.

NO reasonable man can hope to avoid misunderstandings altogether in connexion with a new movement of thought. For anyone concerned with such a movement, the hardship of being saddled with assertions he never made, and doctrines he never propounded, is very great ; but this treatment has to be accepted with patience as a natural consequence of the mental activity characteristic of our age and country. People of quick imagination cannot help criticising new ideas wherever they crop up, no matter how crude and fragmentary their presentation, and such ideas are lucky if not so dealt with on the basis of a fragmentary statement purposely put forward as a caricature. This last fate, as well as the first, has often befallen the Theosophical movement, but in truth, it is an effort which no cultivated and well-disposed person of any nationality, who comprehends it rightly, can have any ground for regarding either with ridicule or hostility. If false impressions, concerning the objects of the Theosophical Society are kept aside, as well as mistaken notions in reference to abnormal occurrences that have perhaps been too much talked about in connexion with its work, there will remain,—a path of operations, which every one may not make it worth while to enter upon, but which no man, amenable to the force of reason, can condemn as a path leading to evil consequences or emerging from any sort of delusion.

In other words, people who have become zealous members of the Theosophical Society are governed by a disposition to think that highly important truths, relating to the origin and future destinies of man, may be reached by a certain line of study, and that a great deal may be done towards obliterating the acrimonious warfare of sects, by uniting for the purposes of such study in a broad, loosely organised association, which exacts from its fellows no subscription to any test or belief whatever, beyond a simple recognition of the principle that men may wisely engage in a fraternal search for those fundamental truths which must underlie the discrepant creeds of the modern world, so far as each or any of these creeds have real truth in them. Already, indeed, some members of the Theosophical Society believe that they have prosecuted this search along the lines indicated by the founders of the Society, with great success. Individual members may conceive, with varying degrees of confidence, that certain persons who have communicated to them within the pale of the society the results, or

some of the results of *their* search after spiritual truth, have shown themselves so richly endowed with knowledge and intellectual capacity as to be manifestly qualified in an extraordinary degree to point out the way to others, and thus to save new inquirers 99 per cent. of the trouble they would otherwise have to take. But if ever it is represented that Theosophists are the blindly credulous recipients of a great volume of cut and dried Oriental dogmatism, that statement can only be a more or less disingenuous perversion of the state of things just described. As Theosophists they are simply inquirers after truth, and may not be the less Theosophists because they are also, as the case may be, Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Parsees.

Will an objection be raised at the threshold here, to the effect that so vague an aspiration as the desire for spiritual truth can be no bond of union; that everyone who reads or thinks of serious things is to that extent a Theosophist, by this definition already, and without having ever heard of the persons who have especially arrogated to themselves that title? Certainly, every open-minded person who reads or thinks with the view of revising, and not merely with that of confirming, established conceptions, is a potential Theosophist, but in the society that has recently been formed to pursue such revision systematically, there is just so much of a predominant leaning towards enquiry, in a certain direction, as to give the society a clearly-defined reason for its existence, without militating against the intellectual liberty of its members. This leaning has been determined by what the present leaders of the society regard as their great success in obtaining an insight into spiritual science, with the help of some members of a certain organization, that has its principal seat at present, in Tibet. It is only within very recent years that anything has been known of this organization beyond the circle of its own initiates, and whenever, among persons who have paid any attention to the matter at all, a low estimate is formed of the importance of the Theosophical movement, this can only ensue from a doubt whether the information now current in the world, concerning the organization referred to, is to be relied on. For if I am even approximately right in the statements, which in some books of mine on the subject, I have ventured to put forward, the assistance of those who are known in the East as the Mahatmas cannot but be of priceless importance for all students of spiritual truth, whatever their creed or nationality.

The convictions formed by those of us who think we have ascertained with certainty that the occult fraternity of the Mahatmas, or adepts, has a real existence, are to the effect that

the members of this fraternity have developed, by extraordinary exertions, a faculty for exploring the mysteries of nature along some other paths besides those marked out by the physical senses. The chain of evidence on which those convictions rest is long and intricate, and it is in reference to this evidence, especially that misunderstandings on the part of careless readers of fragmentary Theosophical writings are so apt to arise. Just as in the case of a very long trial before a court of justice, some detached portions of the evidence will seem, by readers of these alone, to have no connexion with the main facts under examination. so the records of some isolated occurrences that have interested Theosophical enquirers, as contributing to establish some link in the chain of their evidence, will often be scoffed at as trivial and insignificant bases for the large conclusions supposed to be derived from them. But the evidence, patiently summed up, if examined as a whole, will not be found insufficient, and the smallest incident, revealing on the part of those who are invested in any degree with the abnormal powers of the Mahatmas may be a brick in the edifice,—may serve its purpose in demonstrating the possibility that, by the methods of self-development, which the Mahatmas employ, faculties are awakened that subserve the investigation of natural laws, ranging beyond those that can be appreciated with the aid of the physical senses only. The mistake constantly made in reference to this branch of the argument is, that the abnormal phenomena which are thus treated as of importance, are gloated over with a mere wonder-loving enthusiasm by their narrators as supernatural occurrences, held, because they are supernatural, to be miraculous guarantees of a new religion. Nothing of the kind is claimed on their behalf. There are no students of physical science in any laboratory in London, who are more emphatic in repudiating the supernatural, as an absurd contradiction in terms, than the students of occult science. These are quite well aware that when they encounter a physical phenomenon, apparently doing violence to what are commonly received as the laws of matter, its importance lies,—*not* in the notion, which they never contemplate for an instant, that the order of Nature has been reversed in this case,—but in the evidence so afforded that the previously received conception of the order of Nature has been shown to be incomplete. And when they find that the phenomenon under consideration exhibits, on the part of those by whom it is provoked, a grasp of some higher generalisation than that which has sufficed to embrace more commonplace phenomena, the importance they attach to that discovery is as follows: They argue, as it seems to me, not unreasonably, that within the limits of that

higher generalisation it is very likely that a purview of Nature is obtainable, that may bring within the knowledge of those enjoying it, an enlarged group of experiences calculated to throw light on many problems which appear to transcend "the knowable" from the lower standpoint. It is quite true that none of the very many abnormal phenomena that have been witnessed by many theosophic students, nor even all of them collectively, constitute a demonstration of the whole scheme of teaching concerning the past and future evolution of humanity, that has been obtained, by this time, from the Mahatmas. But these phenomena and the assurances of a variety of persons in a position to know, do prove that Mahatmas exist, and exercise powers which link the operations of mind with the phenomena of matter, and exhibit the consciousness and will of man as forces, under some circumstances of extraordinary potency, capable of effecting consequences far beyond the range of the nervous and muscular systems in which those forces habitually reside. The phenomena of which I myself have been the observer, not to speak of many others of a far more striking character testified to by others quite as well entitled as I am, to be credited with common honesty in giving their evidence, distinctly demonstrate the fact, that some persons are capable of exercising their faculties of perception and reflection and of communicating ideas at places far remote from those at which their bodies may be stationed at the time. The laws of Nature, of which they avail themselves in doing this,—just as we may avail ourselves on the physical plane of the laws relating to the constitution of gases, when we send the voice along a speaking tube,—are on that which, till we understand it better, we may be content to call the psychic plane, but are laws of Nature none the less, and it is just this fact which renders the evidences so afforded important. Our detractors erroneously suppose that we are delighted with these phenomena, because we conceive them to be supernatural. We are delighted with them for exactly the opposite reason—because we know them to be natural, and knowing this perceive the splendid range of possibilities in the direction of acquiring knowledge concerning the higher truths of Nature with which the power of observing on the psychic plane may very probably endow their authors.

The Mahatmas are not fond of putting forward *ex-cathedra* statements, and that which may have been most inclined to do so far as they have taken any active part in directing the philosophic studies of the Theosophical Society, has been to indicate the light which may be thrown upon the evolution of humanity, and the laws of Nature in her higher realms, by the intelligent consideration of old Aryan literature and philo-

sophy, and most of the doctrine so far conveyed to us by the Mahatmas may be shown to lurk under various intricate disguises, in Sanscrit writings, which have either not yet been translated at all, or have been translated with reference to the surface meaning only, so that the translations sometimes obliterate the esoteric meaning altogether. Still, of late, and by degrees, with the help of the Mahatmas, some of us in the Theosophical society have picked up so much of this esoteric meaning, that when it comes to be presented in a coherent shape, people often find fault with it because they regard it as *ex-cathedra* statement.

This is only one of the misunderstandings it is my present purpose to dispel. The Theosophical Society is an organisation of enquirers after truth, but unless it is perpetually unsuccessful in its search, it cannot help the accumulation in the hands of its most earnest and persevering members of (what they regard as) a large harvest of truth. New comers are certainly not expected to accept this *en bloc*, but in charging the society with being a band of crocheteers who pin their faith unreasonably on a system of cosmogony, and anthropology, as unproved as it is stupendous, the opponents of the theosophical movements are certainly misdirecting their criticism. It is open to any person to state the conclusions to which his own studies have led him, and if other persons find these conclusions sufficiently interesting to trace them back to their origin, well and good. No one who shrinks from the trouble of so tracing them back, will derive much benefit from them; but, at all events, this trouble may be considerably less than that which, in the first instance, gave rise to their evolution. So far every one who may be disposed to try the path of Theosophical enquiry, even in the most tentative spirit, will be inconvenienced and need not be deterred by the fact that his forerunners have formulated and published by this time a good many of the discoveries they believe themselves to have made.

The core, or main truth, underlying these discoveries, as far as I comprehend them, is this:—The spiritual evolution of man is a process that is blended as it goes on, with the physical evolution of the race as traced by the Darwinian theory, but it is not included in that physical evolution. It may be taken note of, by some of those higher faculties brought into play on the psychic plane of natural phenomena, and may be observed to be going on, on that plane, quite independently of its progress on the physical plane. That which, for convenience sake, we may here speak of as the human soul,—though the constitution of the soul examined in the light of esoteric science, is so complex, that the word is not perfectly applicable all along the line,—goes through a process of evolution as prolonged and elaborate in

each individual case, as the evolution of the physical types in which it manifests on the physical plane at successive periods of its growth. The soul is an entity, having materiality of a kind, though the matter of which it is composed is not in the same order of matter as that which constitutes human bodies on this earth, and many of the phenomena which interest students of occult science are valuable, because they demonstrate the existence of this matter of the higher kind. The soul entity or individualised ego, of a human creature, having once attained to that condition, by passing through the lower forms of animated nature, is then educated by successive human incarnations, and refreshed by successive periods of existence on the higher psychic plane. Its individuality is preserved throughout these successive processes of growth, and the fact that the personal adventures of each incarnation are forgotten by the time the next comes on, does not in any way, when the circumstances of such forgetfulness are rightly appreciated, militate against the unity of the individual. They are summed up in the essence of the ego by the time the period for re-incarnation arrives, and thus constitute the advance which that ego has made by virtue of its last life, along the path of spiritual evolution, but they are not even forgotten until they have been fully developed in all their consequences in the psychic existence immediately following the physical life to which they have belonged. There is ample time for this exhaustion of their effects, because the whole process of human evolution is so deliberate, that thousands of years may elapse between the successive incarnations of the same individual ego. If this gradual wearing away of the life memories in each case, strikes a new-comer to the theory as a comfortless notion, that can only be due to an inadequate appreciation, on his part, of what long periods of time really mean. Anyone who says "such or such a feeling in me can never be exhausted, my interest in the life experiences I am passing through, my desire to remember myself as I know myself now, and to compare any later fate that may await me with the destinies I have already endured, can never die away;" in saying that, he is simply failing to realise the ultimate significance of the word "never." A man may be so full of thought and affection, and his mental grasp of his "personality," *i. e.*, of the bundle of specific recollections which have grouped themselves during his life around the central core of his imperishable individuality, may be so strong, that he may quite rightly regard that personality as logically, and in justice entitled to a prodigious prolongation. Very well: there is no law of Nature, according to the esoteric interpretation thereof, to say Nay to his aspirations. These recollections, affections and active mental states,

inhere not in the body, which goes to the coffin, but in the far more durable psychic body which death sets free from its grosser encasement. The true ego thus liberated is under no obligation to return to earth, as long as the feelings and aspirations referred to, continue in activity, and let us attempt for a moment to measure the future possibilities of their activity by a retrospective comparison. We can look back over some few thousand years of history. We can retrace our steps in imagination along the story of our own country, till with some distinct impression of the length of time concerned we get back into the Roman era, and across that stepping-stone of thought we can roll fancy backward into the misty period of Egyptian civilisation. Let the man who feels that he will be wronged if he does not retain his personal recollections "for ever," imagine himself, perpetuating them along a channel of thought in experience which these exclusively engage, all through the future history of the earth, till the Victorian era of British civilisation has been covered with later strata of events, as thickly as the era of the heptarchy is covered for us. Is his unconquerable love of his own personality unsatisfied still? There is, still, at all events, no natural law, if so, which blots it out. In the processes of geologic change this country itself may melt away, and new continents may be formed to be colonised afresh and slowly bear their social organisations of civilised men. If the ego of our hypothesis is egotistic still, he will hold on to the existence in which that egotism has free scope; but, in truth, the conjecture does a wrong to human nature. The most pleasurable day wears to a close, the most active votary of its enjoyments craves at last for rest, the fullest and brightest life of the kind we are familiar with so far, is for time and not for eternity. At last its feelings, its emotions, its experiences will be sublimated to a true essence which represents the progress of the real individual along the path of spiritual evolution, and thus advanced, the fully refreshed ego will be born again, to take a fresh departure, as from the day-light of another morning.

And it is well for our ultimate perfection that this is the law, for only by a long series of such new departures can the human soul accumulate the attributes required to lead it on to that higher evolution to which it is naturally destined in the future, and from the standpoint of which the humanity we know at present will be looked back upon, almost as we look back upon the lower forms of animal life. This is one of the many profoundly satisfactory aspects of the esoteric doctrine. The history of humanity viewed by the light thus thrown upon it, is not the purposeless agglomeration of suffering which some less highly sensitive interpretations would have

it. It is not a crude tangle of injustice, in which one person is blessed with all happiness, and another cursed with all misery, and both alike treated to an equal share of an unchangeable beatitude afterwards. We may discern in the nature of the esoteric teaching the operation of a retributive law which does not merely obliterate the inequalities of its earlier working by a deluge of results out of proportion to any merit or demerit that can be concerned; but which meets every case with absolute flexibility, and never departs one hair's breadth from the strict fulfilment of justice to each and every human being. Not merely in its operation as regards the ultimate spiritual perfection of the soul, but in regard, also, to the worldly experiences of incarnation, the law of consequences, to which the oriental philosophy gives the name *Karma*, tracks each individual along the almost interminable procession of his incarnations and metes out to him the fruit of his own growth. The doctrine does *not* teach its followers to be callous on that account to human suffering, to leave unturned any stone, the turning of which may afford such suffering relief. But it does supply a sublime justification of suffering which may reconcile us to that which is truly inevitable in our own destiny, as well as in those of others whom we can only reach with a helpless sympathy.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the religious system round us may reconcile us to this by teaching a profound, if as yet unenlightened, trust in the benevolence of God, in whose inscrutable government of the world we may be sure that good will come out of evil eventually, and the dark mysteries of existence in this world be unriddled by-and-bye. And no esoteric teacher would resent this trustful confidence: he would only point out that the esoteric doctrine gives us the explanation much sooner than might have been expected, of the manner in which the good is evoked from the evil, of the providential ways that we might have feared would remain inscrutable much longer. The esoteric doctrine does *not* come to break down, sweep away, or discredit existing religious systems. It comes, on the contrary, to justify them in their essentials, to put aside, with all gentleness, if possible, distortions of original divine truth which have crept over the face of theological dogma, but mainly to give the world a last exact knowledge of spiritual science, so that the actual verities underlying a great many shadowy, but not on that account erroneous, beliefs, may present themselves in clear outlines to the understanding, and constitute intelligible springs of action, the intelligent recognition of which may thenceforward conduce much more efficiently to the higher spiritual evolution of the future, than could be accomplished by the further influence of a blind, however beautiful, a piety.

In this country the Theosophical movement must, probably for some time to come, present itself chiefly to public attention in its aspect as a system of philosophical inquiry ; but its true importance would be ill-appreciated if we considered it merely in this light. In India the movement has another bearing, and there its philosophical, is intimately blended with its social and philanthropic aspects. The rivalry of warring sects in Europe, keen as it may sometimes appear, is a small evil compared with the hitherto irreconcilable hostility of the various religious schools, sects and castes into which the population of India is broken up. The Theosophical Society has, for the first time in modern Indian history, succeeded in constructing a common platform on which Hindoo, Mussalman, Buddhist and Parsee may stand in a fraternal alliance. It has, in actual fact, laid the foundations of the "Universal Brotherhood," which it emphasises as the foremost object of its appeal to the world. With a hundred branches in different parts of the country,—the magnificent fruit of Colonel Olcott's untiring exertions,—the nucleus of this grand union of humanity has already taken shape. In the beginning some objections were raised to the programme of the Association on the ground that beautiful as the idea of universal brotherhood might be, it was merely another phrase for the millenium, and that no practical result was likely to ensue from the promulgation of an idea as vague as the motto of a copy-book. But the Society has lived to prove that in alliance with the philosophical views, it is enabled to suggest its aspirations towards an all-embracing fraternity, are by no means an ebullition of empty sentiment. To begin with the fraternity it aims at is not vitiated by the lower objects of material socialism. It is no community of goods which the Theosophical Society desires to set on foot, but a community of spiritual aspiration, of intellectual endeavour. And it claims this by helping to show that every man whose religion embodies a desire to ascertain essential truth, and not only to trifle with the formalities of ceremonial, or to fight for the predominance of a dogma, *must* at last reach a common platform on which he will find himself side by side with every other truth seeker, no matter from what point of the compass he sets out. This is the way in which the guidance in the study of ancient Aryan literature afforded to the visible leaders of the Society by the real adept founders of the undertaking in the background, has proved of such inestimable value. An immense number of the more thoughtful classes of the Indian people have been persuaded to seek for the correspondences in their respective faiths rather than to dwell upon their discrepancies. And all philanthropists who may, for any reason, be shocked by the crude idolatry and incoherent fancies which

disfigure oriental religions, would do, far more wisely to co-operate with the Theosophical Society, in trying to lead the imagination of the Indian people up from these to the primary divine truths they have so sadly caricatured, rather than to waste good effort in a lateral attack. Such an attack cannot be successfully prosecuted from the point of view of a religion which Europe has so far refined in the minds of its most gifted representatives, that these are sometimes apt to forget how it strikes an entirely unprejudiced stanger, when its cut and dried doctrines are crudely presented to him by preachers unable to illuminate their symbology as they proceed. Indeed, we may gather a higher lesson yet from the theosophic position, even than that which would recommend a generous recognition of the good wrought already in India by its fraternal counsels. We may be enabled, at last, to perceive that in penetrating to the core, and partially obscured significance of our great European faith itself, with the help of the light shining from the Oriental Brotherhood, we may discern something more than a moral benefit for India in the establishment of fraternal sentiment there,—something which may reveal to European philosophy that its highest triumphs can only be attained when the universal brotherhood of the Theosophical Society has truly extended its influence across both continents, and has bound together the lovers of Divine Wisdom in England and in Hindustan in an even closer union than that which, for the welfare of both, let us trust, will long continue to attach them in physical allegiance to one governing organisation.

A. P. SINNETT

ART V.—THE MORAL PROGRESS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

THE question is often openly raised, and perhaps more often revolved in the secret working of men's minds, whether the world, which in the history of invention and discovery, exhibits such wonderful advance in physical power and knowledge, can as reasonably boast of progress in the sphere of moral and philosophical thought. Without going back into the shadowy æons postulated for his processes by the evolutionist ; without extending enquiry further than the earliest ages of received history, men have always found the question deeply interesting : " Do the minds of one age merely repeat, in a slightly varying form, the ideas of preceding ages ; does the current of human thought on moral problems merely ebb and flow like a restless sea which yet never passes its immemorial barriers ? Or is it true, that in the revolution of time there is moral as well as physical progress ; that in the well-known words of the Laureate ' the thoughts of men *are* widened with the progress of the suns ? ' The answer to this question must largely depend on a man's surroundings ; on what, in the philosophic phrase of the day, is called his " environment." I propose, however, in the following remarks to assume that most, if not all, readers of this Review would favour the assertion of progress. The suggestive philosophy of Sir Henry Maine discriminates between Stationary and Progressive Societies in the realm of social and political law, and there can be no arrogance in making, for practical purposes, the assumption that English-speaking communities belong to the latter class. If moral progress is not to be found among the peoples that regard the Magna Charta and the Reformation as standpoints in their national history, where, indeed, shall we look for it ? If England then is, as a nation morally progressive, her Government, her policy and administration, both at home and abroad, should show it. My present purpose is to examine the marks of moral progress discernible in her administration of that great dependency which, for weal or woe, is indissolubly connected with her ; which, according to the character of the leading principles of such administration, will prove either her glory or her shame.

Reference to such leading principles seems specially desirable at the present time, when there are signs of movement all round us alike in the social and political life of India. We are in a period of transition and development : the old barriers of stationary thought, immovably restrictive through so many generations of oriental rule, are beginning to give way under the

manifold influences of English administrative civilisation. Religion, social custom, nay the characteristic quintessence of Hindu social life, cast itself—has begun to come under the influence of that unobtrusive revolution in life and thought which ever follows in the wake of the railway and the telegraph. The leaven at present is small, but it is spreading, and such fermentation, once begun, extends with an ever-increasing strength and speed. The directions which the new social forces will take, must, to some extent, remain at present matter of conjecture, and where conjecture only is available, men will frame the future variously according to their temperament. No wonder that many minds, both in India and England, looking on these uncertain and complicated tendencies set in motion, and gravely appreciating their enormous potentiality for evil, if not wisely controlled; remembering too, the many-sided earnestness of irresponsible democratic opinion in England which ever more and more seems to seek its reflex in India; no wonder that many minds are anxiously asking the same question about the future of the State that the Roman poet put in his day under not more pregnant and critical circumstances:—

“O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus? O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antennæque gemant * * *
Non tibi sunt integra lineæ;
Non Dî—”

Now this anxiety is not lightly to be put away, much less is it to be ridiculed. The very first lesson to be thoroughly grasped in Indian politics is the gravity of our situation as the ruling power. It is, I believe, unique in the history of the world as to the sublime, yet matter of fact, audacity with which it has been assumed: it may be, I trust, unique in the splendid beneficence of its results. But the task is literally stupendous, and can only be adequately discharged, under the Providence of God, by a nation the majority of which shall prove themselves heroes. In endeavouring to speak worthily on such a theme, one is content to risk the reproach of being grandiloquent.

In order to gauge the moral progress of English rule in India, it will be necessary to obtain as broad a view of the historical facts as possible. The advantage of doing so is two-fold; we are less likely to be wrong in our generalisations on the past, and consequently have a better chance of correctly forecasting what is to come; and at the same time we shall incur less danger of being blinded by the glare and dust of controversy on passing events. It is a corrective used too seldom, to adjust the relations of such events to our minds, by viewing them as part

of a series ; to seek the future by comparing the present with the past. Much of the tumultuousness of our political writings might thus be subdued, while subjects which owing to near personal connection have obtained undue prominence, would be relegated to their proportional place and importance.

A salient fact early presents itself to the student of the History of British India. There appears at each interval of a quarter of a century or thereabouts, some important change, or crisis of development in the administration of the country. Taking the famous year of Plassy, 1757, as the starting point, we find in the creation of the Board of Control by Pitt's Bill of 1784, and still more in the Act passed four years later declaring the scope of that Bill, the first intimation of the national conviction that the affairs of India could not permanently remain under the control of a trading association. Nevertheless the narrowness of the age asserted itself. The most powerful minister England has ever seen had to bow before the storm of popular clamour and self-interested prejudice, and the renewal of the Charter in 1793 seemed to promise the continuance of the Company's all but unchecked management. Education of the people was not as yet considered a duty of the ruling power, while the benevolent labours of missionaries were vetoed as likely to produce disloyalty and revolt. This reaction produced its own Nemesis. The renewal of the Charter in 1813 destroyed the monopoly of Indian trade held by the Company, though the government of the country was inconsistently but, perhaps, considering the times, wisely continued in their hands. At the same time the illiberal restriction on the presence of missionaries was taken away, and the first vote was granted for education. The advance made characteristically showed itself most in the treatment of matters of trade : further movement became only a question of time. Accordingly, twenty years later, in 1833, the remaining monopoly of the trade to China was taken away, and the jurisdiction of the Crown indicated its aggressive influence by arranging for the legislation of the country. Further liberality was shown by permission to Europeans to hold land, and on the other side the immense step was taken of declaring that no native nor any natural-born English subject should be barred from holding Government office by reason of his religion, birth or colour. Such changes as these could not take place without influencing the views of the administrators who were to carry them out, and we find in the councils of the East India Company, after 1833, a new sense of the responsibility of Government, and an increased desire to discharge the trust of that Government in a worthy manner. Meanwhile, public opinion in England still moved on. In 1853, a kind of breathing

time was allowed to the moribund Company; a temporary compromise was made as to government, the head was left, the arms and hands were changed; the Directors still remained semi-independent, but their patronage was seriously crippled, and that representative of the march of modern ideas, the "Competition-wala," came into existence. The catastrophe of 1857 only hastened a further change which, by its striking character, has obtained for itself a more than proportionate importance. In 1858 the Crown assumed the direct Government of India, thereby affirming the principle of England's national responsibility. The other points in the Queen's proclamation flow from this principle, but the proclamation itself is no new departure; it is in reality the logical outcome of the policy of the Charter Act of 1833 as developed by time.

We take one step more, though it be into troubled waters. The assumption of the title of Empress of India by her Gracious Majesty the Queen, in 1877, was not the empty ceremony that hostile critics call it. If we compare it with other things in home politics, it will appear in its true character, as an expression of that strong and noble feeling, held perhaps most definitely by the conservative party in England, that the mother-country and all its vast colonies and dependencies, form one empire, the integrity of which is essential for the credit, not to say renown, of the British name, and for the fulfilment of that destiny which seems marked out by Providence. In India we shall never do wisely to make little of the Kaiser-i-Hind anniversary. The name itself should indicate a rallying point, both to Europeans and natives, for all loyal aspirations for the good of the country. And if the ceremony of 1877 may be attributed to conservative influence, the Local Self-Government resolutions of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882, represent in a marked degree, and in an aggressive manner, the outcome of the advanced Liberalism which at the present moment is a prominent feature of home politics. They represent not unfairly the contribution of men, like the members of the Cobden Club, to the historical policy of England in dealing with India. In particulars they may be wrong; the adviser of Lord Ripon who obtained the abortive order for dignifying each member of a local body with an 'honourable' title hitherto won only by high native officials after distinguished service should, if political work were governed by a utilitarian code, be punished by penal servitude. But such points as these drop off from the scheme when brought into practical action; the collective force of circumstances, an impersonal name for the beneficent direction of Providence, will shear away, quietly but decisively the crotchetty and impractical excrescences foisted on to the broad principles of policy by minds which were misled by an

overweening self-confidence, or disregard of practical advice. The result will remain vital, and as I believe salutary. England has given a gauge of honour to India, and will, unless she turns false to all her glorious traditions of courage and freedom, redeem it well. Let India see that the hireling voices of a few unprincipled demagogues, as selfish as they are reckless, do not betray her to her own hurt, by sowing the seeds of mistrust and misunderstanding between the two races.

If, then, we can cut ourselves off from the acrid influences of momentary feeling and look back along the broad path of English administration in this country, we see in each successive generation substantial moral progress in the sense of national responsibility toward India. And if at times the current of opinion at home seems to show a bias which to better local knowledge is unaccountable, such prejudice must be attributed to want of knowledge, not want of conscience. I do not for one instant believe that the great mass of public opinion of England desires anything but the good of India. The best safeguard for Indian Government is not isolation from the influence of England, but increase of knowledge and intimacy of intercourse. As with individuals, so with nations; ignorance is the parent of mistrust; in India, at any rate, it is its main cause. I have been told emphatically, and delight to think it true, that natives, especially Hindus, are disposed to like Englishmen, and do so when they get to know them—they are often repelled from making advances by fear of their being unacceptable. In return for such testimony as this, it is pleasant and only fair to say that the longer experience one obtains in India, the more ready one becomes to recognise the many good points in native character, the more bound, by common sense, to attribute their special failings to faults of education and hereditary habit.

The growing sense of national responsibility has shown itself in various other ways beside that of modifying the framework of Government. The suppression of "Suttee," the series of attempts to put down infanticide, and the splendidly strenuous organisation of 1877 to mitigate the horrors of famine are all the outcome of a policy which in itself is a high moral teaching by emphatically enforcing the value of human life. We cannot always claim practical wisdom in all details of such measures, but the broad outlines stand out fair and clear for all men to note, and it is only determined perverseness that will ignore them.

The question of education brings us upon more debatable ground. We have already seen that it was in 1813 that money was spent first in teaching the people. Hardly anything could show more clearly how things have changed since then

than comparison of that first education vote, either one or two lakhs I believe, with the enormous amounts now annually spent. Such opinion, as still holds to the ignoble belief that the less education people have the better, has long ago shrunk from prominent public place; the question of the day is rather, how best, shall Government discharge a duty which all authority now recognises to be of primary obligation. And in the form of solution which this question appears to be taking, we may, perhaps, trace a morality deeper even than that of the general fact of progress. In the anxiety lately manifested, which administrative reasons, as well as considerations of beneficence may well make supreme and unremittent, to lay a broad foundation of primary schooling, the thoughtful mind will see a sincere and large-hearted care for the good of the mass, for the welfare of even the humblest classes of the people which comes with it its own honour, and will, if persevered in, ensure practical success. When I think of beneficent popular education, it is not that of the University, or even that of the High School; it is in its essentials, the provision of the elements of thought for the daily humble life of the artisan, or the agriculturist; it is something which shall raise the "dull mechanic pacing to and fro" by a simple but decisive step, far above the brute life of the apathetic animals which, by their constant companionship, seem to drag down the human beings who tend them toward their own level. The three R's are no doubt treated now-a-days too much as a sovereign specific for poverty and its attendant evils, but without falling into this error, it is allowable to insist on the great difference between a peasant who can read, and one who cannot—on the still greater difference in the next generation if the sons are brought up in the respective ways of their fathers. You may say, if you please, that education unfits a peasant for the plough, and in some stages of popular progress in the cultivation of intellect this, no doubt, will be the case; but it cannot be too often urged that such conceit, or idleness, or perverseness as this shows can exist only so long as education, up to the level of the offender's acquirements, is rare. As soon as the general level rises, the *relative* superiority of the primary scholar, which turned his head before, will have been lost, and his position as regards his associates no longer enabling him to look down on them as illiterate and ill-informed, he will probably recover his mental balance. Nay, so far as experience has been obtained in other countries, this has been found actually the case. The fact is, that all gain in human life is preceded or accompanied by risk, often by temporary loss. The Horatian reflection on the history of Rome is true in a wider and deeper sense of the whole human race, whether regarded

collectively in the matter of social and moral progress, or individually as regards the inner and higher life of each man's soul :—

‘ Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
‘ Nigræ feraci frondis in Alpido
‘ Per damna, per cædes ab ipso
‘ Ducit opes animumque ferro.’

Yes, “education” even in the simple and crude form of primary school training, means gain. Increased knowledge is gain and in itself is no evil. Yet it brings with it increased power of will, and an increase of scope in which the will may range. Under these new conditions, volitional power sorely needs the guidance of religion : and this is what is meant by the saying that there is no true education without religion. The question is well worth pondering ; whither are we leading the thousands of scholars of Government schools ? How are we guiding those quickening minds to which we are constantly presenting new ideas, new subjects of thought. Their old world—its cosmogony—its moral and religious system—is being metamorphosed. New light is thrown across the scene. The relations of all things in the mental world are disturbed, sometimes turned upside down. The students want some new centre, some new standard round which to rally, to re-arrange and systematise their ideas. And the experience of centuries shows that the only “steady and ever fixed mark” is religion. The moral government of the world, by a just and omnipotent creator, is the foundation of all human sanctions—the only foundation, as history shows, which can give reality and stability to the sanctions of society. Yet we, a nation professedly, and in many of our national actions really, Christian, carefully stifle anything in our scholastic system which might make men think of religion. With this moral aridity in Government schools, it is refreshing to turn to the thought of the noble and devoted labours of missionaries. Broad facts would be ignored, and the whole case thus very imperfectly stated, if conspicuous recognition were not given to these, when speaking of education in India. We Christians are often too modest, not indeed in making statements about ourselves, but about our religion. The missionary life itself, as I see it lived in numerous instances around me, is a moving testimony of England's highest sense of responsibility toward India ; of a heart-sympathy which no difficulties can daunt, no indifference shown by its objects, can render weak or cold. But reference at present is made rather to missionary work in schools. This has excited, and is increasingly exciting, influence over the minds of large numbers of scholars ; an influence gentle, refining, humanizing, even when it does not become so strong as to make the scholar turn Christian. This beneficial effect

very important to the administrator, is not to be limited to the number of Christians baptized as converts from Muhammadanism or Hinduism. Beyond this comparatively narrow circle, there is a wider one, filled with men whose hearts feel the beauty of Christian precept even when they do not receive the truth of Christian doctrine. Many, indeed, inwardly acknowledge that truth, but fear to openly profess it. The bonds of cast, of kindred, or of family, make the task too hard, and we who are great social cowards ourselves, should be the last to cast stones of reproach at them for it. But even this partial or timid reception of the truth does something for the mind; at the earliest approach of the "true dawn," "the ghosts and fays of superstition fly affrighted to their owlet holes," and the general tenor of life and conduct becomes purged of its grosser habits. Many can bear testimony, I feel sure, to the high average of respectability and morality shown by Mission School students. If from a misplaced fear of seeming to favour Christian proselytizing, Government curtail the funds hitherto given in aid to such institutions, the action will be an administrative blunder which will work unsuspected but real evil.

More than this, perhaps, it is not desirable to urge, in a paper of this kind, respecting the beneficial action of Christianity itself on native life and manners, but one point at least must be pressed home. If there is one thing more than another that can make English rule thoroughly acceptable to India, it will be the personal character of English administrators. Courage the people fear and respect, justice they admire, but their fullest and freest trust they reserve for the Englishman who consistently professes his religion, and consistently acts in its spirit. If a golden rosary were made of the names of our countrymen who have been loved most by natives, it would largely show those who have, in all their ways, acknowledged the God of Christendom, and have attempted to show before the masses of alien religionists the purity and charity of their Divine Master. I do not say, indeed, far from it, that there are not among the ranks of the administrative services, hardworking and conscientious men who gain the affection of natives who yet do not recognise the source of their virtue, and their intellectual strength. I know such men myself, and honour them for many things; my present point is that their want of confession of Christianity, still more their professed unbelief in its truth, creates a feeling of bewilderment in the naturally religious oriental mind. Something is wanting, "conspicuous by its absence," and the want mars the winningness of any influence such men possess. "Sir, he is very clever, but I do not say anything about his morality: he is an atheist" was the naive and spontaneous remark once offered upon a person of high academic attainments.

To return to the main subject. Much of what is said above as to administrative progress may be considered optimistic by critics of a certain kind who, following the distinguished example of the elder Mill, view deeds of Englishmen with severely hostile eyes. The charge is not admitted, but if it were true, the answer would be that such optimism, if it ruled our practice, goes far to secure its own realisation in fact ; meanwhile there are other matters which admit of no optimistic treatment, but which must be referred to, however briefly. The Indian service is said to be the purest administration in the world as regards its European members, and no doubt since the old days when English gentlemen did not think their hands soiled by bribe-money, there has been great improvement in respect of positive corruption by bribery. But even here is there not something wanting ? Are there not instances familiarly known to the members of the administrative services of men among them : [I speak of men of English birth.] who are generally known to be untrustworthy, who are commonly suspected of being corrupt ? Such things are not a secret, yet they seem very imperfectly known to the highest authorities ; if they are known, the case becomes worse. In such a matter it is not fairly necessary to secure judicial proof of particular overt acts. Like Cæsar's wife, a judge or a district officer should "be above suspicion." Wherever an official obtains a thoroughly bad name for venality, this fact of itself should be considered sufficient ground for calling on him to give a satisfactory explanation. Exceptional circumstances of personal unpopularity, or the infamous conspiracy of an offended clique, may now and then fix unjust suspicion on unfortunate and innocent individuals. But such mines are easily sprung. The partial character of the testimony will refute itself. Where, however, a candid and patient enquiry can show no reason, save, that of its truth, for such a consensus of opinion, the man should not be merely transferred, or warned, but should openly and at once be removed from the service on which he has brought dishonour.

A smaller point quite worth passing notice, on which improvement is still required, is the practice of receiving "dâlis," or small presents, on occasion of visits from natives. Many of us have, I fancy, abjured such things entirely, and experience shows that the refusal, far from exciting resentment, may be accepted as evidencing a desire to see the visitor for his own sake. But in many parts, especially, perhaps, in outlying districts, the objectionable practice still prevails ; a thrifty housewife has been heard to express her satisfaction at getting sugar and oranges enough in Christmas "dâlis" to make marmalade for all the year ! A trivial matter truly to us, but one of real

consequence often to the donors, who may be subordinate officials on small salaries. The thing is an anomaly and an anachronism, and should be wholly brushed away like an obnoxious cobweb.

Let us turn to a graver subject ; the alienation of mind and feeling which too often exists between European and native. There is no use in blinking the fact of such alienation ; it is better to look it full in the face, and without indulging in the extreme utterances of whimsical and irresponsible visitors, sorrowfully acknowledge that here we find one of the most important difficulties in the way of the future harmonious progress and development of India. It constitutes also a possible political danger of a serious kind. Let us attempt a brief analysis of some particulars. Faults are shown on both sides—in manners, for instance, our countrymen are too often chargeable with a want of consideration, and an offhand abruptness which are not unnaturally though mistakenly construed as intentional rudeness. If the native, on the other hand, is very complaisant and obsequious in manner, it is put down to servility, without any allowance for hereditary training and modes of thought. If both parties possess a real friendliness in desire, such matters must eventually improve. The one will gain affability and courtesy of demeanour, the other will learn a graver self-respect, and a more restrained use of compliment. Even now, indeed, do not all Englishmen who honestly try to make friends with natives have experience now and then, of a manner suave yet self-respectful, of a polished courtesy and behaviour which are really delightful. Yes, we find it oftener, I fear, than we show it? In this respect the balance of fault probably lies with us.

But there are deeper differences than faults of manner. In the dislike even contempt for colour which is such a frequent failing among Europeans, there is some justifiable reason mixed up with, and overgrown by, a mass of detestable sentiment. The reasonableness is this, that an uncertain amount of experience, which, however, is large, shows dark colour to exist along with certain evil or despicable qualities. Yet this experience is by no means so large as to form the foundation of a practical law, and reflection will supply several explanations of the observed facts other than the condemnatory conclusion above-mentioned. For instance, the actual darkness of skin may be caused by the sun ; in fact there is no doubt that in Aryan races at least, it is. Centuries of exposure to a tropical sun are quite enough cause to explain the change of hue in the skin ; approximate confirmation of this is found in the difference of tint which prevails among natives of India themselves according to the degree of exposure to sun and.

weather, which is required by the life and occupation. Millions of Indians are not one whit darker than Italians, Spaniards, or Portuguese. So that the antipathy, if it is to be reasonably sustained, must base itself on the allegation that the climate and sun of India produce necessarily the faults and vices which are said to be characteristic of dark-skinned races. This is a quite different matter; the allegation cannot be consistently advanced by any one who believes in an overruling Providence at all, *i. e.*, by the enormous majority of Englishmen, for we cannot willingly believe that vice was meant to be a radical and inherent defect in human character. Climate, indeed, has influence on character, but that influence is very far from being certainly defined. The social phenomena of moral character are too intricate for us to say positively that any fault or vice in the natives of India is the result of the climate of their country. The qualities which are often found, and presumed always to be found, going along with dark blood, may well be the result of long centuries of evil or senseless custom; of want of education, coupled with enervating and debasing influences of a political kind. It may well be urged that if the vices of Indians are the result of blood or climate, their virtues should likewise be. One of the most conspicuous of these latter is the love of family, especially showing itself (I do not forget the exceptional phenomenon of infanticide for which special cause, not irreconcilable with this, can be found) in love of children. No one would admit that a cold climate makes an unloving parent, yet if the tropical climate of India produces special love of family, this converse would appear probable. The fact is, the affectionate devotion of the Hindu to his kinsmen is the result of certain family customs and laws, and this being so, it is only reasonable to attribute social and individual faults to similar causes. Until we can prove the negative of this, until we see all the prejudicial causes taken away without finding the evils complained of also taken away or materially lessened, it is illogical and unphilosophical, to say the least, to entertain bias on the subject. Granted that there is a wide-spread sentiment a kind of bull-dog feeling that says "you may preach till you are black in the face, but you won't convince me that a 'nigger' (note the word, it is a great *weapon*) is ever a true man." It is something to reach this, to force prejudice to repudiate reason, and entrench itself in the fortress of that much abused faculty—"common sense." The sentiment reduced to this extremity must gradually give way before the progress of larger-hearted thought.

The antipathy to colour, which is too frequent among Europeans (though always strongest among those who know natives least), has its vicious counterpart in the unintelligent

aversion felt by natives in respect of Europeans as belonging to a race of foreign conquerors. The feeling is unintelligent, because, though natural in origin, and even reasonable enough when certain aspects only of our rule are considered, it is unjustifiable in the face of the whole set of facts, and must be repudiated by any thoughtful man who wishes well to India. If India is to go forward, it must be under English rule and protection: the withdrawal of that rule would be the greatest calamity possible for the country. The great majority of intelligent natives adopt and admit this, and for the small minority who assert, or hint the contrary, Government should be ready, though not in a hurry, to use short and sharp discipline. The knowledge, indeed, that this is available, and meant for use, on occasion, would be enough to put matters right. At present sedition is here and there preached by a few pariah-like adventurers, who would disappear at once if authority showed its teeth. Anything like "gagging" the public press is of course to be deprecated, under any but exceptional circumstances. A mild but firm surveillance, however, is certainly wanted, in the interests of the increasing numbers who read the newspapers without knowledge enough to sift their unscrupulous fabrications, and irresponsible distortion of fact. Some of the native papers would require no notice, but there are others which hardly publish a number, without sowing broadcast seditious lies and insidious attacks on English policy and government.

When we turn to the English press, candour requires the admission that much of the writing therein is dictated by a spirit of ridicule and contempt for the natives, especially for those who show their admiration for us by attempting to adopt our language and customs. There are several reasons for this: none of them justifiable. The circulation of no Anglo-Indian journal can be very large; there is very little competition, and the circumstances of English society here, have a tendency to make the tone and drift of opinion fall into a somewhat narrow groove. Many of the readers again are military men, and officers in the army; at least, those of British regiments, are rarely disposed to view the native with favour. Then again the climate, which perhaps causes faults in Indians, certainly makes the Englishman, when he is not kept out of mischief by hard daily work, somewhat flabby in mind, and he requires amusement, which comes ready to hand in his daily newspaper in the shape of a story against "the Native." Some, perhaps most journals, adopt quite a different tone in speaking of a European from what, in dealing with similar facts, would be used about a native. There are other points, on which I should like to dwell, which seem to constitute difficultie

in the way of Indian progress on the social side. But these, though intimately connected with administration, must in the narrow limits of this paper, make way for two matters, both of the very highest importance, as principles of Government. I refer to the necessity of developing decentralisation to a much greater extent than has been attempted; and, secondly, to the increased employment of natives in the public service and in the general administration of the country. Either, fully treated, would be subject for a volume, but even a few brief words may do good by drawing attention to facts. As regards the evil of centralisation, it is difficult to write with patience. Ask any practical man, in almost any department of Government employ, what is the greatest obstacle to good and expeditious work; what is the benumbing paralysis which attacks men of energy and ability, and is at the same time the refuge of imbeciles and slugs, he will at once say—centralisation: “no body can do anything now-a-days except the head of a Province, and he only with the previous sanction of the Governor-General.” This, of course, is somewhat beyond the facts, but it fairly represents the despairing state of feeling which earnest men get into when experiencing the eternal check of reference and report, which precedes or accompanies, or follows upon, all official action now-a-days except the veriest trifles of daily routine. Year by year the incubus grows more crushing; individually, every sensible man sees its stifling and utterly pernicious influence; even in high places of authority, occasional anxieties arise about the minatory Frankenstein conjured up by the continued incubations of bureaucracy. But what is wanted is some official of sufficient determination and ability; some Titan of the Indian Council Chamber, or better still a Governor-General with all the power of the Empire at his back, who being fully possessed with the fact of this gigantic evil, shall make it his first purpose and work to stop, and roll back the advancing deluge of reports and memos. and figured statements, and all the other abominations of paper-government, until they sink back to their proper dimensions. Such a man would think himself blessed if he could do away with an annual report! Would, unless he had reduced a statement to smaller dimensions, grieve like Titus that he had lost a day. We hear a good deal of economy now-a-days, surely here is the primal and best lesson of economy—economy of time—, paper—, clerks—, labour—, *and lies!*

The modern Secretariat is largely responsible for this. Given a competitionwala of eight or ten years standing or less, [not more than this or the character of the mixture will be endangered], sprinkle his head with a smart decoction of Bentham and Mill, a pinch of Sir Henry Maine, and a soupçon or more

of Herbert Spencer ; stir him up with the long pole of ambition and self-complacency, and sweeten with a little conscience (to make his activity more acute), and the first requisite of the Secretariat is obtained. He has a ready pen, and can indite suggestive memos on any subject you please ; his practical knowledge is his weak point, but he is strong in quasi-scientific generalisations. It is obvious, that such a spirit as this must evoke writing from any one who can write. He will at an early stage of tenure of office point out to his appreciative Chief, the fact that no complete means of checking information received from below exists on such and such an important subject ; that the office files show that something was asked about it ten years ago, but the matter seems to have dropped out of notice. Whereon a circular will issue asking for cyclopædic reports bringing the history of all districts up to date. When these reports are received after much cudgelling the heads of good working subordinates, a neat monograph is prepared by the Under-Secretary, and this concentrated essence of unnecessary print, is returned to the reporting officer "for information and guidance." Centralisation is, if we might borrow Secretariat language, "an unhappy exhibition of the phenomenon of deficient altruism ;" in plain words, the egotism of governing authority is too great to allow of trust in its subordinates. Fancy John Nicholson's report now-a-days—"Sir, I have the honour to report that I have just shot a man who came to shoot me." No proper Secretariat could tolerate such brevity ; such very meagre information. In the first place, who was the man, what were his antecedents, how and when did he come, did he use a Colt's revolver, or a flint-lock, and a hundred other questions would of course be asked and have to be answered ! But the matter is past a joke, it is *the evil of evils in our administration*. The district officers, that is to say, the men who if they live among the people, with time to see to their wants, and power to do what they see to be necessary, are the *very backbone* and salvation of the Empire ; these officers are crushed with a lot of paper work, and reports which they must get through. No eye but One, knows how much right work is left undone, because of the demands of this work which is most of it wrong. The very fact that report has to be made of it, spoils many a piece of noble work by spoiling the mind of the doer. No man can always stand the thought that he has to "tell all about it ;" and with some men it is ruin. There is talk of a commission of enquiry into the question of reports and statements, but little good will come of any such proceedings until the higher powers of the country can be content to efface themselves somewhat ; to ask a little less what goes on beneath them ; to trust their

subordinates more. By such loss they will gain ; they will lose some details of statistical knowledge ; they will gain immensely by the *vis viva* they will thus impart to the actual bearers of the burden of executive administration. If once this wise trustfulness is developed, arrangement of details will be found easy. It were well worth a man's life to see such a golden age of government. That the tendency of Indian administration is not this way at present is one of those things which may well, amid many hopeful signs of moral progress, cause anxiety and doubt as to the future. It does not appear in any way a sufficient explanation to say, that as the civilisation of the Empire more nearly approaches that of England in its character, the more settled the various provinces become under our rule, the less necessity for dependence on local authority, the less objection to a strong central source of authority. This sounds specious : it is in reality unsound : the more the minds of the people wake up to mental life, the more necessity is there of strong personal local authority, to be used by the district officers as guides of popular opinion and sentiment. Otherwise we get

- two facts which even, separately considered, contain incidental elements of danger to the body politic. There is an increase of life and knowledge among the masses. This is well in itself, but in the comparative ignorance still remaining, such development calls imperatively for careful watching and guidance. There is also a diminution of power among the officers who are immediately in charge of the masses, the District Officers. This, in itself, is hardly a colourless fact, while combined with the other, it indicates a fault of policy which to a religious mind can hardly be accounted for, except on the theory "of quem deus vult perdere," &c., and if one can jest on such a bitter theme the irony might be noted of giving less trust to Europeans, at the same time that increased trust in every way is being exhibited toward natives. Such an inverted notion of true policy must in its development prove ruinous alike to ruler and subjects. This is the iron that is made to enter into the soul of every earnest Englishman as he goes on in his service—"the trust shorn in me is miserably small, the central ruling power grasps too much." High officials, like Commissioners, even Revenue Boards, are overruled, and checked, and dictated to in matters of comparative detail ; the Governor of the Province wants to be everything, circumference as well as centre of the administrative circle. Subordinates are required to have no wills of their own ; if they remonstrate on points which to every one outside the gubernatorial centre, palpable mistakes are being made, they are reminded that their responsibility consists in carrying out orders. The Civil Service is in some quarters, though happily not where opinion is of any considerable weight,

attacked as being disloyal and insubordinate. But the only truth in this is, that the controlling authorities have usurped more and more of the functions of the immediate executive, that at each usurpation, each tightening of the already too strained check and supervision, the humiliated officers ask the reason of the change, or respectfully point out its inexpediency. When any specially speculative change is in contemplation, opinions are indeed asked from selected officers, but the request is couched in such terms as to lead the referees to suppose that the principles of the measure are determined on, and that all required of them is to show ingenuity in suggesting executive details. The outside world has more than once been misled by such procedure, and capable and experienced officers have been made to appear responsible for opinions they entirely dissented from. Such disingenuous autocracy, however, may perhaps be treated as only a temporary characteristic of Indian administration. Whatever the general merits of the Government of Lord Ripon, patience of opposition, and candid consideration of objections, will probably, in the verdict of history, be not reckoned as conspicuous. In that of his successor—furnished with diplomatic experience of “many men, many minds”—we can confidently look for both.

The remaining subject is a more pleasant one: the share to be borne by natives themselves in the amelioration of Indian government will, as time goes on, become more and more important and hopeful. The wisest among them, however, feel that political reform, if such be necessary at all, can be really beneficial only if preceded by a series of domestic and social reforms, among which the relaxation of caste, the abolition of child-marriage, and the general adoption of monogamy, where it is not already practised, are the most practical, and at the same time most pressing. The emancipation of widows is intimately connected with these matters; Government has done its part here, and all that is wanted is that social thought and practice should become enlightened enough to free the millions of women concerned, from the life-long imprisonment of widowhood. And signs are not wanting that this healthy change is beginning to come into operation: all friends of India must long for its development. Before long, perhaps, it will become a question if Government should not step in and either forbid, or place restrictive conditions upon child-marriage, but, in order to justify this, public opinion must move on beyond its present inchoate stage. There is great room here for the practical energies of reformers, whose motto should be the social and intellectual enfranchisement of woman from that thralldom and ignorance which many centuries have put

upon her. If the status of women improves, many things now looked on as chimerical will become reasonably to be thought of, and in the end, actually feasible. Meanwhile such progress will find its counterpart in the larger share of the administration which, without any hasty and ill-advised precipitation, will come to natives. The principle and its seasonable development, it has been already noted, are derived from the Charter Act of 1833, and this fact should be remembered as we sometimes hear that the idea is a new-fangled hobby of some one or other modern ruler. This allegation will bear no historical scrutiny. Such development is the national policy, directed, as I believe by Providence, and bearing on the face of it, broad credentials of justice and righteousness. Adoption of the principle in no way or degree requires the abandonment of statesmanlike prudence. On the contrary, he who opposes it must clear himself from the charge of advocating a selfishly narrow-minded, and in the end, a disastrous policy. Speaking of such a policy in connection with an important administrative measure, one of the ablest men of India recently said (I am sure he would not consider the quotation a betrayal of confidence) "If we do not in these matters recognise the just demands of natives, we prepare for ourselves in India, another Ireland!" The words reach far forward into a terrible future, but such warnings are needed to make that future impossible.

The prejudice, for it is not fittingly called opinion, no doubt exists that a native never is, and never can be, trusted; that he should never be put in anything like an independent position; that he is disqualified by ineradicable tendencies of character for any administrative charge where integrity is imperatively necessary. And the concession must be made that at present most natives are untrustworthy, and are not trusted by natives themselves. But this is by no means giving up the whole case; there is still possible an amelioration of morals and motives, which it is our duty to foster in every way compatible with what has already been postulated as an end in itself, the stability of our rule. And experience shows that professional advancement is one of these ways; that there is a professional morality which, of itself, becomes a powerful spring of action; which even in our own country is perhaps as powerful over the mass of men as any. And even under the unfavourable circumstances of the past, there have been honourable exceptions of natives who are truthful and high principled. These are enough to prove the error of the noxious assertion which would place an eternal bar to the moral enlightenment of the millions of India. Yet the folly of the extreme opposite is also to be avoided, that of the doctrinaire Radicals

who basing their ideas on nothing but a distorted humanitarianism, can see no moral obliquity even at present, distinguishing the Indian from the European. These men are few, and do not often express their opinions broadly, but in one or two instances they occupy high position, and their influence is out of proportion to their numbers. In such persons the faculty of intuition as regards social relations seems wanting, or it is overshadowed by a set of theories evolved from their own mental consciousness. Considerations of fitting time, and place, and administrative expediency, weigh little with them as compared with the fancied dictates of equality and justice. They are in fact, under the present circumstances of India, a dangerous kind of social fireworks! From both of the extremes here noticed, I believe that the main body of English opinion will be kept, from the one by an honest sense of justice, from the other by common sense. Justice will not allow us, in the midst of progress, "*stare super antiquas vias*," common sense imperatively forbids us among a series of social and administrative changes which no one yet can see the end of, "*to wed raw haste crude sister of delay*."

There are doubtless some departments which are better adapted for employment of natives in their present intellectual phase than others. As a rule, judicial work will be better done than executive. But such executive departments as the Post-office, the Telegraph, and Forests, might be much more largely manned by them in the upper ranks than at present. In the first, perhaps the most successful branch of the executive, there is, I believe, already one Postmaster-General who is a native, and there might well be others, or at least natives at the head of the minor circles. And below this rank there are subordinate offices which Europeans fill at present, but which natives would work more cheaply, and perhaps more effectively. One of the present blots on the Post-office administration, *viz.*, extensive nepotism in patronage might thus be checked. In the other two departments there is some hindrance arising from the nature of the work which is partly scientific. But such science is really very limited; there is nothing that requires the brain work exhibited by a good native pleader or magistrate; nothing that could not easily be learnt. In such offices might be found employment for a considerable number of the better class of educated natives, men who reasonably want good pay, but would willingly escape from the special temptations of judicial employ. Yet we sorely need something for the members of noble families who have not brains enough to qualify for such employ, or do not care to undergo its grinding drudgery. Why should not such men, or the best of them, be given commissions in the army, not

merely to remain Ressaldar or Soubahdar Major, but to rise to full command of a Native Regiment? The number of such appointments need not be large, the qualifications might be made as rigorous socially, politically, and intellectually as prudence would dictate, but until some door, however narrow, is opened in this direction, an important link is wanting in the chain of confidence which we desire to put between the two races. Let it be essential that the candidate for such high military service shall go to England and pass through Sandhurst, or better still, let a military department be attached to such an institution as the Mayo College at Ajmir. I believe that the higher the qualifications required, the greater would be the attractiveness of the career, and we should have the pleasure of knowing that some of the finest blood in India was in our army, flowing in the veins of high-spirited gentlemen who would, we may be sure, reckon their distinguished allegiance to the Queen-Empress their proudest social distinction. If made with judicious selection and fitting knowledge, such appointments might be valued as much as the bombastic honour of a salute, and the personal distinction gained in actual war, in noble emulation of English commanders, would in itself furnish a strong link of loyalty to the British Throne.

The problems touched on in the brief limits of this paper are too complex for any one to treat exhaustively, but it has been possible, I trust, to indicate the spirit in which they should be approached. It is not that of the self-confident and dogmatic theorist, still less is it that of the arrogant and selfishly "insular" tone adopted in some quarters. No; let us recognize the noble solemnity of the work to which we English are put in India; we are not here to make fortunes; we are not here merely to exercise power. We have been sent with the destiny of an immense country in our hands: that destiny will take its shape from our characters and policy as governors. If we are narrow and selfish in that policy, we shall reap its fruit in due season; it may not be in our day, but worse, in that of our children. If, on the other hand, our aims are directed constantly to the good of India, if our progress is tempered with discretion, our power with sympathy, our beneficence with firmness of authority, we shall be carrying out the purposes of Providence with regard to India, and in such case success must be ours. A noble and solemn work truly. Among the shadows of the past, shine out the lights of great departed spirits. The genius of a Clive and Wellesley, the noble-hearted beneficence of a Bentinck and Canning, the devotion to duty of a Cornwallis and Lawrence, the glorious lives and more glorious deaths on Indian soil of hundreds of English

gentlemen, English heroes, all conspire to make us feel that in our continued action of the great drama, selfishness, or meanness, or indeed, anything but sustained desire to show wisdom and devotion and intrepidity like theirs, must be cast away as abominable. ' And, then, if in the future, near or distant, there looms a question of foreign policy which if developed must dwarf all others; if it is written in the arcana of history to come, that the British Empire must meet on the confines of India, a foreign and barbarous, invader, the insensate enemy of liberty and refinement, we shall not fear the struggle. We may well believe that the peoples of India will recognise its true character: in the time of external conflict the troubles of petty domestic differences will be quieted, and the Empire will present a solidity of front which will defy intrigue, and a physical power resistless in its cause of moral right, which will hurl back the alien armies discomfited from their blind and brutal undertaking. The blood of Englishmen shed in common with that of Indians in such a war, would draw both peoples nearer to each other, and from such a gloomy interruption a brighter future would issue. Thus, alike in war and peace, our watch-words will be the same—justice—loyalty—order. Under such auspices may India ever move!

“ COVENANTED. ”

ART VI.—THE TURKS IN ALGIERS.

The Scourge of Christendom : Annals of British relations with Algiers prior to the French conquest. By Lieutenant Colonel R. L. Playfair, H. M. Consul-General at Algiers, author of "Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce ;" "Hand-book to the Mediterranean ;" "Hand-book to Algeria and Tunis, &c. : with Illustrations." London ; Smith, Elder & Co., 15 Waterloo Place : 1884. (All rights reserved.)

“THE City of Algiers, sometime the royall seat of the great king Juba, called of the Romans Julia Caesarea, “is in forme of a triangle, scituat fast by the sea towards the “North, having a haven, but neither great, neither safe for “the North Wind. The houses further off from the sea, “stand in seemly order upon the rising of a steep hill, as it “were upon degrees : in such sort, that the windows of one “row still overlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into “the sea, most beautifull to behold.”

The above is the description written in the beginning of the seventeenth century by the old English historian, Knolles, of “Ghazi Gazair” (warlike or heroic Algiers), as it was fondly called by the Turks ; “the outpost of the Frontiers of Islam,” whose garrison of hardy and merciless sea-rovers maintained for three centuries the sacred rights of true believers over the persons and property of infidels. For so long were the Algerines the common curse of sea-faring humanity, and the nightmare of the dwellers on the coasts of the seas frequented by their daring and vigilant corsairs, and their history has only been happily closed within the memory of living man, by their expulsion from the city which had so long been the chief market of their abominable trade, and the shambles of their human prey.

The history of Algiers is only one episode in the age-long struggle between the hostile creeds of Christianity and Islamism, in which the whole civilized world was divided into two hostile camps under the banners of the Cross and of the Crescent, and the lands of Western Asia and Eastern Europe were alternately the spoils of the victor of the day. The Mediterranean sea had long been a Christian lake, when in the seventh century its North African shores were suddenly flooded by the tide of Arab conquest, and the victorious Moslems passed over from Tangier and Tunis into Spain and Sicily, and colonised the coasts of Savoy and Apulia. A band of roving Arabs from Spain established a piratical State in

the Island of Crete, which was for centuries the curse of Christian commerce. Similar corsair communities maintained themselves in the Balearic Islands, and the Arabs of Africa were for long dominant in Mediterranean waters. But their power and prestige were shattered by the Norman rovers, and they were afterwards unable to cope with the growing naval strength of Genoa and Venice. The shores of Tunis, for long the most powerful of the Moorish kingdoms, were twice visited by a European armament during the wars of the Crusades. The Moslem pirates of Crete were extirpated with ferocious cruelty by the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, and the island reconquered to Christianity : while the Arabs were gradually driven from all their possessions on European soil. Not content with expelling them from their last foothold in Spain, Ferdinand the Catholic's victorious arms followed the flying Moors into Africa. Oran, Algiers, Bujeya, Tripoli fell successively before his armaments. Spanish garrisons occupied these and many other important points along the coast, and the Moorish kings hastened to swear allegiance and promise tribute to the conqueror of Granada to save themselves from sharing the fate of Abu Abdulla.* There was great talk of establishing a Christian empire in Mauritania under a prince of some European royal house. All of a sudden a new actor appeared on the scene and gave an entirely unexpected turn to the play.

It was in the beginning of the fourteenth century that the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, appeared on the eastern horizon of Asia Minor, which soon swept away with the force of its increasing torrents, the tottering fabric of the Eastern Roman Empire. In little less than a hundred years from the date of their first appearance, the Ottoman Turks had pushed their conquests in Asia and Europe as far as the present limits of their Empire. Unlike Timúr and his Tartars, the sea proved no obstacle to their adventurous spirit. The victor of Angora had gazed in vain across the narrow straits that separated his Asiatic conquests from European soil, and had been braved by Ottoman and Byzantine galleys rowing almost within bow-shot of his victorious squadrons. But the Osmanli, despite his shephérð ancestry, had no sooner extended his career of conquest to the shores of the Ægean, than he proved himself quite at home on the new element. He soon became as formidable to his foes on the deck of his war-galley as he had ever been upon the back of his war-horse. Bands of hardy Turkish adventurers issued from all the ports of Asia Minor carrying death and destruction through the islands

* Called by Christian writers "Boabdil," the last Musulman King of Andalus.

of the Archipelago. Making more advanced lodgments in these, they extended their operations to the shores of Greece and Italy. By the year 1,400, A. D., the terror of the Turkish corsairs had spread all through the Mediterranean. The Moorish Princes of the Barbary coast eagerly welcomed them as allies against the all-powerful Spaniards, and gave them succour and shelter in their harbours. After the capture of Constantinople and the conquest of Greece, the seas swarmed with these filibusters who made private war on all Christian nations under the Sultan's flag, and freely disposed of their booty and captives in all the ports of the Ottoman dominions, as well as in the harbours of the Moors in Africa. The Sultan, on his part, extended his favour and protection to the corsairs, sent them succour when they were menaced with the vengeance of the Christian powers, and promoted their most successful Captains to the dignities and titles of Begs and Pashas, often entrusting them with the command of his own fleets. These sea rovers, though they were at once stigmatised with the epithet of pirates by the European nations, were in their own estimation simply privateers, who made war for their own profit, as it were, under letters of marque from the Sultan : and at the time of the commencement of their enterprises, the Ottoman Porte did indeed avow itself in a state of continual and open hostility with the whole Christian world.

At the beginning of the reign of the great Sultan, Suliman the Magnificent, the principal settlement of the Corsairs was at Mehedia, a seaport on the coasts of the kingdom of Tunis. It was presided over by a captain called by the Christians "Curtogalli," probably, really, Kurd-oghli, the son of the Kurd.

The names of all the most famous of the Corsair Captains were household words of terror among the Christian peoples bordering on the Mediterranean ; strangely twisted, most of them, from their original Turkish or Arabic form and metamorphosed into a Latin-sounding appellation. Thus the Turkish Baba Khurúj, became to the Italians Barbarossa, and the two brothers who bore that dreaded nickname, Khurúj, and Khyr-ud-Dín were known as Horuccius and Hariadenus.

Kara Khojah (the Black Priest), the Corsair, who reconnoitering the Christian armada before Lepanto, in his eagerness to fight, gave such a report of it as lured the Turks to their own and his destruction, he himself perishing in the wreck of the lost battle, was known as Caracoza : Torghúd Pasha of Tripoli had his name twisted into Dragut, and Point Dregate at Malta still commemorates the scene of his "martyrdom : " while Uluj Ali, the Calabrian renegade, is written of as "Occhiali" by Italians, as 'the old Arch-pyrat Vluzales' by

Knolles, and in the pages of Don Quixote figures as "Uchali, King of Argeir, a bold and fortunate Corsair." Many of these worthies were only known in Europe by nicknames bestowed on them by their victims: thus Sinan the renegade Jew, who died Admiral of Sultan Suliman's fleet in the Red Sea, was always spoken of as "Il Gfudeo:" and another famous Corsair captain, one of Barbarossa's righthand men, was "Caccia-diavolo," called by English contemporaries "Drub-devil."

The brothers Barbarossa were the sons of a renegade Greek of the Island of Mitylene, and their exploits as successful pirates soon attracted such numbers of kindred spirits, that they were enabled to commence business on a large scale, establishing themselves at Jijeli, a port on the coast of Algeria. These Turkish filibusters possessed fire-arms, which were still unknown to the Moors and Arabs: and though we read of the first use of cannon in real warfare as occurring in a sea fight between the king of Tunis and the Moorish king of "Ishibiliya" (Seville), it was Barbarossa's arquebusers who first made the "hand-gun" known in Mauritania. The Moorish soldiery of that day are described by Knolles as "for the most part youths half-naked, with long haire not vnlike the Irish, using no other weapons but darts."

The Spaniards at that time occupied the two islets from which Algiers derives its name of Jazair (according to the Maghrabi pronunciation Gazair). The Moorish king besought the aid of the Barbarossas against the Christians: it was readily given, and the elder Barbarossa finding himself in Algiers, treacherously surprised and slew his ally and made himself master of the city. He carried on war against the Spaniards by land and sea, but at last was in one of his expeditions against them overcome by superior numbers, and slain. His brother Khyr-ud-Din had meantime by very similar means made himself master of Tunis, and he soon came from thence and took possession of Algiers also. He joined the two islands to each other and to the mainland by a mole, on the construction of which thirty thousand Christian slaves were employed for two years. He thus made a commodious and safe haven for his piratical fleet, in addition to the splendid harbour which he already possessed at Tunis with its entrance defended by the strong castle of the Goletta. He now commenced to carry on his piratical operations more methodically and on a larger scale, sending out strong fleets to sweep the Christian coasts, and dignifying his expeditions with the pretensions of regular war.

The whole commerce of the Mediterranean Sea came to a standstill, and watch-towers had to be erected within

signalling distance of each other all along the Spanish coasts to give notice of the approach of the corsairs. The Emperor Charles the Fifth, moved by the unanimous entreaties of his subjects, determined to chastise the pirates; and he assembled a splendid fleet and army for the purpose in Sicily. The best troops of Spain, Italy and Germany were picked for the expedition under his most famous captains. The Emperor himself commanded in person with Andrew Doria as Admiral under him. Barbarossa, on his side, assembled all the corsairs under their captains at Tunis, purposing to defend it to the last: but they had no chance against such a force as was brought against them; the flower of the steel-clad chivalry of Europe, the pick of the famous Spanish infantry, the heroic knights of St. John, the most skilful captains from all parts of Christendom. The Goletta was carried by storm; the corsair fleet in the harbour protected by it was burnt to the waters' edge; the Christian slaves in the city rose: and Barbarossa and his Turks fled by land to Bujeya where they had a few galleys, on which they escaped to Algiers. Drub-devil, among many others, perished of thirst and fatigue during their hurried flight.

A Spanish garrison was placed in the Goletta: the representative of the old Moorish dynasty received back his crown as a vassal of the Emperor; and the victorious Armada returned in triumph to the European shores with the spoils of Tunis, and with twenty thousand liberated captives.

Now that Tunis was lost, Algiers became the common resort of all the corsairs, and the chief market for their plunder. The temporary check to their operations only seemed to intensify their ardour, as if they were resolved to recoup themselves for their losses, and revenge themselves for their defeat: and five years later Charles was undertaking another expedition against Algiers, in the vain hope of finally extirpating the untiring tormentors of his people.

This expedition was on a scale more splendid than the previous one, and it was made at a time when Barbarossa and most of his confederate captains were absent, assisting the Imperial Ottoman fleet in the Adriatic. He had left, as his deputy in Algiers, a Majorcan renegade, now named Hasan, who had been in his youth captured and made a eunuch by him, and had since served him as a slave; and was now so trusted by the 'Corsair Chief, that he committed the government of Algiers into his charge during his own absence.

The Christian armament arriving before the city, which was garrisoned only by a handful of Turks, it was hardly supposed that they would attempt to defend it against so mighty a force: and the Emperor sent envoys ashore with proposals to

Hasan to surrender the place, and to seize this opportunity of revenging the wrongs of his captivity and cruel mutilation by his master Barbarossa. To him Hasan, in full Divan of his corsair captains and the officers of the Janissaries, "with a grinning countenance, made answer," that he would make proof to his master that he was well worthy of the trust reposed in him, and would make good the place against all the hosts of united Christendom.

The army landed, but before they could commence operations, one of the most fearful tempests ever known in those seas burst upon them. The fleet was scattered, and most of the vessels wrecked, the stores and munitions of war, all destroyed, the crews, who escaped to land, massacred by the Arabs, or enslaved by the Turks, and the Emperor was glad to crowd the famished troops into such ships as had weathered the fury of the storm, and return to Spain in a miserable plight.

Barbarossa was afterwards made High Admiral of the Turkish fleet, and under his command it dominated the whole Mediterranean. Every year at its head he plundered the coasts of Christendom. He several times appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. He landed in Italy on purpose to carry off Julia Gonzaga, renowned as the reigning beauty of the time, intending her for a present to his master Suliman; who, both in his wisdom and amorous complexion, resembled his ancient namesake. But the lady, on the first alarm, escaped on horse back in her night-dress, and Barbarossa had to content himself with a meaner prey. He lay long in the harbours of Marseilles and Toulon as an ally of the Most Christian King Francis the First against the German Emperor, and it is said that many fair women and sturdy peasants mysteriously disappeared during that time, and that some of the latter were recognised at the oars of the Turkish galleys. It would hardly have been safe, however, to go on board to identify them. From hardship and ill-usage, the galley-slaves continually died and were thrown overboard into the harbour, yet the Turkish captains contrived to keep their row-benches always fully manned.

Another time Barbarossa sold by auction, near Constantinople, sixteen thousand Italians and Greeks of both sexes and all ages, whom he had swept up in one cruise out of Corfu and the neighbouring coasts of the Venetian territories. In those days States arrogated to themselves dominion over the seas adjacent to their possessions, and all foreign ships were expected to lower their topsails and salute the flag which ruled over that sea. Barbarossa was lying off the coast of Epirus waiting to transport a Turkish army into Italy. Two of his galleys happening to pass the Venetian fleet near Corfu, omitted to pay the customary salute; on which the

Venetians chased them and forced them to run aground. To avenge this insult, Barbarossa, though Venice was then under truce with the Porte, attacked the Venetian coasts and committed the most frightful ravages, afterwards sailing for Constantinople with his ships and galleys packed so full of captives under hatches, that though numbers were thrown overboard dead, of suffocation and misery every day, yet sixteen thousand remained to be sold for the profit of the captors.

Barbarossa erected a mosque and a mausoleum at Beshiktash, near Istanbul, where this pious and profitable act was performed, and was afterwards buried there, dying quietly in his bed after all his perils passed. He was a king among the corsairs, and a really skillful sea-commander. He was often victorious in naval battles over the Spanish and Italian fleets, and on one occasion defeated the great Doria himself.

After his death his mantle descended upon Torghúd or Dragut, a Turkborn, a corsair, of Kurd-oghli's old colony of Meheddia, commonly called by the Christians Dragut Rais (Captain Dragut). He had long made himself famous by the extent of his depredations along the coasts of Spain and Italy, while still only captain of a galley. On one of his excursions as he was returning through the Straits of Gibraltar, he was chased by a war-galley of the knights of Malta. The shades of night were falling and Dragut ran for the friendly shelter of the African coast. But a lucky shot from the cruiser's bow-chaser struck the corsair between wind and water, and she sank with every soul on board the only man who escaped being Dragut, who saved himself by swimming ashore, a feat of strength and endurance which, in that age, could only be attributed to direct Satanic agency. These valiant Christian Ghazis of Malta were a continual thorn in the side of the corsairs and their most relentless and indefatigable foes. It was old Kurd-oghli and his brother captains who persuaded Sultan Suliman to employ the whole force of the Ottoman Empire in the expulsion of the "cursed crossed pirates of Rhodes," but the gallant defenders of the island received an equivalent for their loss from the Emperor Charles the Fifth in the possession of Malta and Tripoli. They were soon again upon the war-path, and wherever Turk and Christian met in fight, their eight-pointed cross was to be seen flying in the fore-front of the battle.

From Malta on the one side, and Tripoli on the other, they sorely grieved the Corsairs of Meheddia, and at last joining their force to the imperial fleet under young Doria, they came down on the colony and sacked and utterly destroyed it, and Dragut returned from a successful cruise to find his stronghold a heap of ruins. He went straightway off to Sultan Suliman at Constantinople to pray for succour and redress, and the

Sultan in the next year sent a great fleet, with many troops and artillery on board, under the command of Sinan Pasha (not the Jew, but another of the same name) to reinstate him in Meliedia. Sinan and Dragut together to be revenged of the accursed "Al Aspitars" (the Hospitallers) attacked them in Tripoli and won it, after a most heroic defence by the knights. Dragut then established his head-quarters in the conquered city, and was nominated Pasha of Tarábulús (Tripoli) by the Sultan.

He now assembled round him such a number of corsairs that, like Barbarossa, he used to put to sea at the head of a considerable fleet. The exploits of the Tripolitan corsairs soon eclipsed the fame even of the Algerines: and Dragut became such a notorious pest, that it was agreed that a great effort must be made to finally destroy his power of mischief. King Philip the Second of Spain sent a powerful armada under the Duke of Medina Celi to re-capture Tripoli. The Spaniards occupied the island of Jerba over against Tripoli and proceeded to fortify it, to make it serve as a base for their future operations: but Dragut, who had got early intelligence of the designs against him, had sent off in hot haste for help to Sultan Suliman, and a Turkish fleet was despatched from Constantinople under the command of the renegade Piali Pasha to his assistance. At Tripoli, Dragut and his men joined it, and the combined forces proceeded at once to Jerba, where they came on the Christians by surprise, their vessels at anchor and half manned, while the troops were employed on the fortifications ashore. The Turkish galleys dashed in among the Christian ships, pouring in their fire right and left, sinking some and boarding others; and the Christians, panic-struck, only thought of getting under weigh and escaping as best they might, leaving their comrades on shore to their fate. The latter made a long and gallant resistance in their unfinished fortifications, but were at last compelled to surrender at discretion.

Piali afterwards made a triumphal entry into the Golden Horn, his vessels decked with flags, and music playing, with the captured Christian galleys towing astern, their yards all across, their rigging slack, and their ensigns trailing in the water. Sultan Suliman soon afterwards sent him with a mighty fleet, carrying an army under the command of Mustafa Pasha, to make a final end of the Knights of Malta, and Dragut Pasha collected all the corsairs of Barbary to join in the siege of Valetta. When he arrived on the scene, the Turks were already hotly engaged in attacking the Castle of St. Elmo, but they made but little progress, as succours were constantly thrown into the place from Valetta across the harbour.

Dragut at once advised planting a battery on the point of land which still bears his name (Point Dregate) to command the approaches by water : and this measure soon brought about the fall of the castle. But while he was one day in the battery directing the gunners, he was struck on the head by a stone splinter thrown up by a cannon shot, and stunned ; and he was only aroused from his trance some days afterwards by the thunder of the guns which the Turks were firing as salvos on the fall of St. Elmo. On opening his eyes he asked, was the castle taken ? and being told it was, he piously thanked God and expired. His death was a sore blow to the besiegers, and the siege ended in disastrous failure, for the Turks, owing to the heroic defence of the Grand Master la Valette and his knights, "the brute whereof," says old Knolles, "then filled the whole world."

After Dragut's death, the leadership of the corsairs fell to Kilij Ali, the Pasha of Algiers. He was a Calabrian by birth, had been captured in his youth by the Turks, and had tugged for twenty years at the oar as a slave in the Sultan's galleys, and then apostatised in order to revenge himself on a Turk who had struck him without cause. His courage and skill in seamanship raised him to command, and he was captain of a galley under Barbarossa. The Turks had now become so powerful at sea, that when Sultan Selim, the drunken, attempted to wrest Cyprus from the Venetians, all the Christian powers of the Mediterranean joined in a league against them : but they could not prevent Nicosia and Famagousta falling before the overwhelming hosts of the Musalman. The infamous violation of the capitulation of the latter place when the brave Venetian Commander Bragadino was flayed alive by Mustafa Pasha, can hardly be paralleled for treachery and atrocity even in Turkish annals. The skilful Piali was disgraced by Sultan Selim for not having given battle to the Christian fleet, and was superseded by the rash young Ali Pasha, who attacked the confederate fleets in the Gulf of Lepanto. The Barbary corsairs on that famous and fatal day formed the left wing of the Ottoman fleet under the command of Kilij Ali. "The Turkes," says Knolles, "came on gallantly "with their battell set orderly after their manner in the forme "of a Croisant, their fortunate ensign." Kilij Ali manœuvred to outflank the Christian right, and when they extended their line to meet him, he skilfully changed his tactics, pierced their line, and cut off the Genoese and Maltese who were stationed on the right, from the rest of their fleet. Kilij Ali himself carried the admiral's galley of Malta by boarding, and hauled down the grand standard of the order. Never had the corsairs fought so fiercely and so fortunately ; but the

total defeat of the centre and left brought the victorious Spaniards and Venetians down upon them, and Kilij Ali had to cut all his prizes adrift, and trust for safety to the speed of his galleys. When the flag-galley of Malta was retaken by the Christians, its decks were found loaded with three hundred corpses, attesting the desperate character of its defence; but the Algerine carried off the captured standard as a present to the Sultan, who in recompense gave him the title of Kilij Ali (Ali of the Sword), and made him High Admiral of the Turkish fleet in the place of his namesake who was slain in the lost battle. At Lepanto no fewer than "fifteen thousand Christian slaves, who had been chained to the Turkish oars, that day recovered their long-wished-for liberty." But the chief result of the battle was the total destruction of the naval prestige of the Ottomans, completely removing, says Cervantes, "that grievous error which the Christian nations had so long laboured under, in believing the Turk invincible by sea."

Kilij Ali would not again give battle to the confederates: but when this league was dissolved by the jealousies of the Venetians and Spaniards, and their combined fleets no longer kept the seas, he recovered Tunis for the Ottoman Empire. That city being dominated by the Spaniards, who had a garrison in the strong fortress of the Goletta, afforded a secure refuge for "the crossed warriors of Malta" and other Christian cruisers in their enterprises on the Barbary coast: "for which cause," says Knolles "the Turkes, especially these pyratts "(of whom the Turke makes great account, as not his least "strength at sea) wonderfully desired to have these strong places "gotten out of the Christian's hands." Accordingly they besieged Tunis by land and sea, Sinan Pasha commanding the land army, wherein were seventy thousand regularly paid Turkish soldiers, with an immense train of artillery; and the place soon falling, the Spanish garrison were made slaves, the old Moorish dynasty finally extinguished, and a Turkish Pasha appointed to govern the country with the aid of a strong force of Janissaries.

The final conquest of Tunis by the Turks closed the epoch of Ottoman conquest in Africa. The whole coast of Barbary, from the confines of Egypt to the boundaries of Morocco, now owned the sway of the Sultan, and was divided into the three Pashaliks of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. The corsairs had extended their settlements still further to the westward, for some of them had established themselves in the Mediterranean ports of the Moorish Empire of Morocco, and at Salée on the coasts of the Atlantic. From thence they cruised against the Spanish and Portuguese shores and shipping, under the flag of Morocco, and paid dues on all the booty and slaves

taken to the Moorish monarch. The Sallee rovers especially were formidable to Christian commerce, and were almost as much hated and dreaded as the Algerines. Oran and Mazarquivir (Marsa-al-Kebir) were the only two ports in Barbary that remained in the hands of the Spaniards, both of them on the coast of Algeria.

The Turks settled in the three chief pirate cities mustered only a few thousands, all of them corsairs or janissaries; the latter having been sent as garrisons by the Sultans at various times during the wars: but they easily dominated the whole country and kept all the Moorish, Jewish and Arab population in a state of abject submission. With all the brutality and stupidity of the Turk, there is something wonderfully masterful in his character; he always domineers over any other race with whom he may be brought into contact, and rarely is his supremacy questioned. In the Musalman world, there is hardly a sovereign or a ruling class to be met with not of Turkish blood or descent. In Tunis and in Egypt the rulers are of Ottoman race: the Shah of Persia is a Kizibash Turk of the Kajar tribe, and though Persian is his court-language, Turkish is his mother-tongue. The Khans of Central Asia are Turks of the Uzbek tribe. Hated though the Turk may be, he is feared as well, and like the Englishman in India, his government is more acceptable to the mixed races over whom he rules than would be that of a less alien master. A European traveller in Irak, condoling with the Arabs on the oppressive Turkish administration, asked them what they would do if the Turks were driven out of Baghdad? An old Arab Sheikh replied—"We would put up a Turk's cap upon a pole and do homage to it: for nothing else would suffice to keep the peace in this country." With half the energy and unanimity which the Arabs of Algeria displayed in combating the French, they might have driven the Turks out of the country at any time during the three hundred years that they occupied it: but though they hated the Turks individually, they never thought of revolting against their feeble and tyrannical rule.

But hardly had the Sultan become undisputed master of Barbary, when it slipped altogether from the grasp of his power. When the Porte concluded treaties of peace with the European nations, the corsairs found themselves in a dilemma: they must either respect the engagements of their master the Sultan, and so forego all the profit derived from their calling, or they must defy his authority, and plunder his friends, and they chose the latter course. When the Sultan sent them firmans to abstain from attacking the vessels of the English, the Dutch, the Venetians and others who were at peace with him, they replied that they were ready to obey his orders in all

other things, but that they considered themselves the forlorn hope of the armies of Islam and the vanguard of the Holy War: and to abstain from making war upon infidels was equal to an abnegation of their religion.

The Sultan, at the instance of the foreign ambassadors, sent repeated mandates to them to observe his treaties; but the Pashas whom he entrusted with the enforcement of his orders themselves disobeyed them: and in the end, he contented himself by assuring his European friends, "that their ships come not in danger of breach of league if they should shoot at the galleys of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli." With which small comfort they had to be contented, and the corsairs continuing their system of private war, otherwise piracy, troubled themselves little more about their relations with the Ottoman Empire. The janissaries and corsairs elected a Chief from among themselves, to whom they gave the title of Dey.* This officer became the real ruler, while the Pasha sent or nominated by the Porte was allowed only the shadow of power. Knolles, writing of the murder of Ramadan Pasha at Tripoli in the year 1584, and the assumption of the government by the mutinous janissaries, says, "At which their insolency if Amurath (the Sultan) did winke, and passe it over unpunished, let no man marvell; for why, the ancient obedience of these martial men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more severe discipline governed: but now grown proud and insolent (as is the manner of men living in perpetual pay) with the weapons in their hands, doubt not to do whatsoever seemeth unto themselves best, be it never so foule or unreasonable."

The Porte continued to go through the farce of sending a Pasha to Algiers until the commencement of the eighteenth century, after which the office was discontinued, and the Dey took to himself the title of Pasha. The chief magistracy of Algiers continued to the last to be nominally elective, the dignity being really the prize of the boldest and most unscrupulous ruffian amongst the ruffianly crew who formed the governing class. In Tunis a revolution threw the power into the hands of a Beg, who was the Dey's Secretary and Treasurer: and he made the office hereditary in his own family. In Tripoli also, the government became hereditary in the descendants of one of the Pashas, and the style of Pasha was assumed by its independent rulers. Algiers always maintained the first place, which she had succeeded to after the

* Dey: probably *Dâ'i*, a Turkish word signifying maternal uncle; the janissary mutineers in Servia, in 1800, gave the same title to their elected leaders. Ranke spells the word *Dah*.

capture of Tunis by Charles the Fifth, among the Barbary regencies; and in the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in the reign of Philip the Third, most of them took refuge in Algiers, where their numbers and their skill in the arts of civilization added greatly to the resources of the State.

The government of Algiers was probably the most odious that has ever existed in any age or country. It has been called a military republic, and was doubtless a popular government in the Turkish or Musalman acceptation of the term, and as such, may be commended to the study of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt. It was in truth a military oligarchy, founded on distinctions of race, and combining all the disorders of mob rule with the arbitrary tyranny of Oriental despotism. Its revenues were derived from the plunder of merchantmen and the ransom of slaves. Its public works were undertaken, and all the menial labour of the State performed by the forced service of Christian captives. The whole power of the executive was lodged in the Dey, who was assisted by the *Khasánaji* or treasurer by the Kadi or magistrate, and the Mufti or jurist. The Dey was responsible to the Divan or Council of State, which consisted of the Agha or General, and thirty colonels of the janissaries. On extraordinary occasions the whole body of the Turkish soldiery was assembled to decide on momentous questions, such as that of peace or war with any of the great European Powers.

The Turks in Algiers at first numbered above twelve thousand men. But after they were finally established in the country, and no more reinforcements of troops came from Istanbul or Ismir (Smyrna), their numbers greatly declined; and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, there were in Algeria not more than seven thousand of Turks and Kul-oghli together. The latter were the sons of the Turks by Moorish and captive European women: for there were no Turkish women in Algiers, except, perhaps, in the harem of the Pasha or a few of the wealthier inhabitants: and the soldiery purchased their help-mates, or took them as shares of their prizes. These Kul-oghli (slave-children) were remarkable for their spirit and intelligence, and were jealously watched by the Turks, who would not allow them to rise to any high office in the State: but they were allowed to carry arms, and served as soldiers. The European renegades, of whom there were a great number always in Algiers, were admitted to an entire equality with the Turks. These were men who were led to apostatise to escape the hardships of slavery: and it would appear that they generally became staunch defenders of their new faith. Many of the most famous Corsair captains were renegades. Cervantes says that these men used to obtain

favourable certificates from the Christian captives in Algiers, so that when taken by a European man-of-war, they might pretend that they had always been wishing to return back into Christendom, and so they would escape the clutches of the Inquisition : then they would take the first opportunity to get away again into Barbary, there to resume their wicked manner of life.

The Algerine pirate fleet at first consisted entirely of galleys, which were gradually replaced by "tall ships" as the improvements in ship-building made the latter fleetier and more manageable. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Algerines had a fleet of seventy sail, but after their chastisement by the armaments of Louis the Fourteenth, their naval power decreased considerably. When Dr Shaw, the Chaplain to the British Consulate at Algiers, wrote his minute description of the Regency in 1729, the piratical fleet consisted of only fifteen vessels, the largest of which carried seventy guns, while five others carried from forty to fifty guns. There were only two galleys in use then, both of which, with the largest ship, belonged to the State: the rest were private property. There were a great number of smaller craft which only put to sea in the summer, and were principally of use for cruising along the Christian coasts, picking up fisher-boats, and landing at lonely spots to kidnap women and children. The south coasts of Spain were continually thus harried by the corsairs of Tetuan, who used to set sail at sunset, take their breakfast on the Spanish coast, and return again under cover of the night into Africa.

The place of merchants in civilised communities were supplied by the "armadores," purveyors, who fitted out and armed the corsairs, and shipped the crews, who were always volunteers, receiving in return a commission on the value of the prizes, which often amounted to as much as one-half. One-eighth part of the cargo, and every eighth person out of the passengers and crew of a vessel taken by an Algerine privateer, was the share of the State: the remainder was divided in fixed proportions between the owner, the armadore and the captors: even the Christian slaves employed on board received their share.

Their vessels were crowded with men, for they made but short cruises, and trusted to capturing a ship, defended against them, by boarding in overwhelming numbers: they had also to furnish prize-crews to the vessels taken. About one-fifth of the crew were usually Turks: the rest Moors, Arabs and negroes. In the galleys the oars were pulled by Christian slaves, five to each oar. All these latter craft were double-banked, from ten to twenty oars aside. A narrow gangway ran along the centre of the galley between the row-benches on each side, up and down, which the Algerine task-masters walked armed with whips to keep the oarsmen to their work. When the corsair was

chasing or being chased, the labour was terribly severe, and it was more dreaded by the slaves than any other. Abul Fazl, the Vazir of the Emperor Akbar, alludes to the condition of the "halya Kashan-i-Farang"—the galley slaves of the Europeans, as the most debasing and harassing form of servitude. His reference was to the galleys used by the Portuguese of Goa on the west coast of India. All Musalman captives, taken by European nations in war, in those days, were sent to the galleys. As a general rule, the fifth slave at every sweep in the French and Spanish galleys, was a Turk or a Moor. The Turks were also chosen to row the stroke oars of the galley. When mass was said on board, they were unchained and put into the long-boat, where they talked and laughed, smoked and blasphemed as they liked, till the ceremony was concluded. Malta, which was indeed a kind of Christian Algiers, was full of Muhammedan slaves. The Knights of St. John lay in wait for the treasure ships of Egypt, plundered Turkish merchantmen, and ransacked the coasts of the Levant for slaves and booty. These things were then part of the custom of war, which sanctioned the practices of plunder, of holding captives of war to ransom, and putting them to hard labour. Sir Charles Napier, when in Portugal during the Peninsular war, expressed his commiseration for the Algerines working in the dockyard at Lisbon in chains. "These men," he writes, "are slaves to worse men than themselves; for an Algerine privateer will always beat a Portuguese Frigate." The Barbary corsairs were within their rights in the seventeenth century in spoiling and enslaving men of the nation with whom they professed to be at war: but they continued these practices long after they had been abandoned by everybody else, and were condemned by the unanimous consent of the civilized world. It is a remarkable fact, that though great numbers of the Christians taken by the corsairs apostatised to regain their liberty, there was hardly a single instance of a Musalman in similar circumstances abandoning his religion. The solitary case that we have heard of is that of Ali Bey, the Turkish captain, taken prisoner by the Portuguese at Zanzibar.

It might be thought that the corsairs ran great risks in employing Christians to row their galleys: but, in fact, the difficulty of combination among the slaves was great, owing to their differences of race and language, and the instant terror of their tyrant's brutality banished every other more remote consideration. But it did sometimes happen that the galley slaves made a desperate bid for freedom, as when the galley of the son of the famous corsair, Barbarossa, was chased by the "Sea-wolf" of Naples, when the Christian confederates were cruising against Kiliç Ali's fleet, in the year after the battle of Lepanto.

This son of Barbarossa was a most savage corsair captain,

and used his galley slaves with barbarous cruelty : and Cervantes relates how, when his vessel was chased by the hostile galley, as he was standing upon the stantrel, encouraging his slaves to row lustily, those nearest to him caught him by his dress and pulled him down among the row-benches, where they tossed him from one bench to another, striking him with their fists and the links of their fetters," so that before ever his body had passed the mainmast, his soul had passed into hell." The galley slaves were, however, only a small proportion of the Christian slaves in Algiers. Colonel Playfair writes :—

" Everything connected with the subject of Christian slavery in the Barbary States is of the deepest interest. When that institution was at its height, there were from 20,000 to 30,000 captives, at a time, in Algiers alone, representing every nation in Europe and every rank in society, from the viceroy to the common sailor, men of the highest eminence in the church, literature, science and arms. delicately nurtured ladies and little children, doomed to spend their lives in infamy. The majority never returned to their native land, and comparatively, few have left us a detailed account of their sufferings, or a record of the dramatic events passing every day around them."

When a prize was brought in, all the captives were examined at the Dey's palace, and forced to declare their rank and profession truly, under penalty of the bastinado. All the European consuls attended to look after the interests of any of their own countrymen who might be among the captives. If a passenger on the vessel taken, belonged to a nation at peace with Algiers, he was on the request of his consul set at liberty : but all men serving for pay were made slaves of whatever nation they belonged to. Thus, an Englishman who was sailor or steward on a Spanish prize would be enslaved, and the King of England could not procure his release without paying his ransom. The captives were then put up in the public market place to auction, where they were run up and down, examined, and their qualities and points of excellence cried up by the auctioneer till no higher bid could be obtained. They were then taken back to the Dey's palace whither the intending purchasers followed them, and here the real sale took place ; the captives were put up again to auction one by one, knocked down, and delivered over at once to their purchasers.

The difference of price between the first and second sales was taken by the Government : only the amount of the bid at the first sale was divided among the captors. Before the first sale the Dey had taken the eighth part of the captives at his own pick and choice, and these were at once sent off to the slave prisons, or barracoons, which were three vast ranges of buildings, where the government slaves were lodged.

These public slaves always wore an iron ring round their ankle, when they were not actually in chains. The baracoons, or bagnos, as they were called in the *lingua franca*, were divided into small rooms, in each of which from fifteen to twenty slaves were kept. They lived on the bare ground, and received three loaves of black bread daily for their subsistence, and nothing else. They had to work from early morning till late at night except on Fridays, when they had a whole holiday. Some of them quarried stone, others drew it in carts, others were employed in the repair and renewal of the public buildings and fortifications; others in the bakeries, where the bread was baked for the rations of the janissaries or of the slaves. The slaves of private persons were seldom so hard worked, but they were very little better off. All the menial work in the houses of Musalman was performed by them, and by European women in the harems. The richer or better bred the captives were, the worse they were used in order to accelerate their ransom; for the receipt of ransom was generally much more profitable to the owner than the labour of his chattel. Some of the "Padrones," or slave-masters were kind and humane, but most of them freely vented their spite and cruelty on their unfortunate victims. The mild conditions of ordinary Musalman domestic slavery were totally absent here, simply because the victims were Christians, towards whom cruelty was not only lawful but meritorious: many of the renegados were more cruel than the Turks themselves, taking advantage of their position to gratify their personal and national antipathies, at the expense of those whose steadfast continuance in their faith was a perpetual reproach to them. Hasan Pasha, who succeeded on the death of his patron Kilij Ali to the government of Algiers was says Cervantes, the most cruel renegado ever known: and not a day passed but some unfortunate Christian slave was impaled, crucified or flayed by his orders, or otherwise horribly tortured to death: so that even the Turks cried out upon his cruelty. But these Algerine Ottomans themselves displayed on many occasions a fiendish cruelty which was not a national characteristic, but which must have been bred in them by the temptation and opportunity afforded for its exercise through their horrible system. They inflicted revolting tortures on criminals even of their own country and religion. Suspending the wretch on sharp hooks till life was extinct; breaking the arms and legs with a blacksmith's hammer on an anvil; and bastinadoing till the feet fell off, were among the punishments legally inflicted.

If a Christian slave dared even to strike a Turk or a Moor, he was subjected to the most cruel tortures. Colonel Playfair relates the case of a young Christian who killed his Turkish

master under provocation so gross as to fully justify the act. He was ordered out for execution, and the crowd of spectators, as if they had been Red Indians, all took a hand in tormenting him to the utmost of their power; he was finally crucified alive, a red-hot iron thrust through both his cheeks, and then he was scorched to death with fire-brands. Pages might be filled with the account of similar atrocities, and petty cruelties were practised daily on the domestic slaves without attracting notice or record. Mr. Shaler, the United States Consul at Algiers, in a report to his Government made in 1815, observes that "the horrors of the negro slave-trade are tender mercies when compared with the sufferings which are inflicted upon the inhabitants of Spain and Italy by these detestable barbarians."

As the slaves were of all nationalities, and their Turkish masters could speak no language but their own, there sprung up among the captors and the captives a jargon in which they communicated with each other, something similar to the Pigeon English in use in the Chinese trading settlements to-day. This was called the *Lingua Franca*, and (the great majority of the slaves being of Latin race,) it was based on the mixture of the Latin languages with Turkish and Arabic. It gradually fell into disuse after the occupation of the country by the French, though it may still be occasionally heard used as a medium of communication between sailors of different nationalities in the Mediterranean ports.

The Turks could seldom speak even this jargon with any fluency: nor Arabic either. Few of them could read or write their own language, and they prided themselves on their brutish ignorance, boasting that they were men of the sword, or nothing. They were all of them men originally of the lowest class, recruited from the scum of the population in the sea-port towns of Asia Minor; for when the numbers of the Turks in Algiers was getting low, the Dey used to send his ships to Smyrna to enlist recruits: Dr. Shaw says that he saw one of these batches of recruits arrive in Algiers, and a greater set of ragamuffins and tatterdemalions he never saw. But after a little polishing at Algiers, after they had got caps to their heads and shoes to their feet, and a pair of large knives to their girdle, they quickly learned to carry themselves as monarchs of all they surveyed, and to treat all Moors, Jews and Europeans as dirt beneath their feet. For administrative and revenue purposes Algeria, under the Turks, was divided into four provinces: one round the capital which was under the immediate control of the Dey: the others were Oran, Titterie and Constantina, each governed by a Bey with a small retinue of Turks. The Turkish garrisons in these provincial towns were relieved from Algiers once every year, and every year also there

was a flying camp of a thousand men formed in each district to collect the revenue. The amount thus realised did not nearly suffice to meet the State expenses, for all the Turkish soldiery received regular pay, and rations besides: but the chief resources of the Treasury, were derived from the sale and ransom of the captives, the proceeds of the plunder taken by the State cruisers, and the dues paid on their profits by the privateers. The Moors and Arabs in the interior did much as they liked, and outside the towns were not interfered with as long as they paid the expected sums into the Treasury: and the Bedouin tribes were kept in subjection through their own rivalries, the Beys never having any difficulty in setting the other tribes on to attack a recalcitrant one. The Arabs hated the Turks, and a single Turk, or a small party of them, hardly dared venture outside the town walls anywhere: while they on their part despised the natives, one Turk, says Doctor Shaw, valuing himself as a match for twenty Arabs.

After the Algerines had virtually severed their connection with the Ottoman Empire by their refusal to recognise the treaties concluded by the Sublime Porte, and their election of a Dey to rule them, they took no further part in the maritime wars waged by the Sultan. The battle of Lepanto had ruined the naval prestige and power of the Osmanlis, and the Turkish Imperial fleets no longer swept the Mediterranean and the Adriatic: on the contrary, the Levant was infested by the cruisers of the Maltese knights, of the Genoese, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. When the Sultan asked the Algerines to afford him some assistance in his naval wars, they declined with various specious excuses, but their real reason was that their zeal for the true faith and the Holy War had been quenched in the lust of plunder and the pleasures of prey which they derived from their profitable pursuit of promiscuous piracy. Their cruising vessels, built for speed and not for strength, overhauled every merchantman they met in the narrow seas, but they carefully avoided a trial of strength with a Christian man-of-war. They no longer attacked the enemy's forts and arsenals, but their galleys visited the unprotected parts of his coasts, sacking hamlets, burning churches, and carrying off peasants and fisher people into slavery. Lady Fanshawe, in her narrative of her exile with her husband after the overthrow of the Royal cause, says—"After we had passed the straits we saw coming towards us a Turkish galley, well manned, and we expected we should be all carried away as slaves, for, this beast,* the Captain had so laden his ship with goods for

* Lady Fanshawe was a passenger in a Dutch merchantman, the Captain of which was, she writes, "a Dutchman, which is enough to say, but truly, I think, the greatest beast I ever saw of his kind!"

"Spain, that his guns were useless. However, he called for brandy, and when he had well drunken, he and all that were with him, he gave them arms and bade them defend themselves, resolving to fight rather than lose his ship, which was worth thirty thousand pounds."

All the women on board were made to go below and locked up in the cabin, "for, if they saw only men, the Turks might take us for a man-of-war; but if they saw women, they would take us for a merchant and board us." She goes on to say—"By this time the two vessels were in parley, and so well satisfied with speech and sight of each other's forces, that the Turk's man-of-war tacked about, and we continued our course."

Less fortunate than this beastly Dutch skipper was his fellow-captain whose richly-laden tall ship, bound for the East, was attacked by Murad Reis with his pirate fleet of fifteen galleys. These sea-wasps would not venture to attempt a large ship in a breeze when she could wear and bring her broadside to bear, but they would venture upon her in a calm, working at her fore and aft, and raking her with their bow-chasers, while they kept carefully out of the way of her broadside batteries. The Dutchmen defended their ship desperately; her sides were as steep as a wall, and for long, the attempts of the Turks to board were vain: but after several hours' hard fighting they mastered her decks and drove the Dutchmen below, where they still defended themselves with the courage of desperation. The Dutch Captain seeing all lost, and the hatches crowded with Turks, determined to make them pay dearly for their victory: so threw fire into the magazine and blew up the ship with all on board, an immense number of the victorious Musalmans perishing with her, while several of their galleys which had been grappled to her were so damaged, that they could hardly be kept afloat, and most of them were more or less injured: and while the shattered squadron was on its way to Algiers to refit, it was by ill luck espied by the Florentine galleys of Cosmo de Medicis, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which gave chase and several of the pirate vessels were captured, others had to run ashore to escape being taken, and the whole fleet was scattered. This Duke Cosmo was a sworn foe to the corsairs and continually harassed them with his fleet of well appointed galleys from Leghorn. He also visited the coasts of Barbary, serving the Turks and Moors as they served the Christians, carrying off men and women into slavery. In one of these excursions a rich Turk's country villa was plundered, and his daughter, a girl of great beauty, carried off. It happened at the time that three monks had come to Algiers with funds to ransom Christian captives,

and had already ransomed one hundred and thirty : but when the news of the capture of a Turkish woman was brought to Algiers, the Dey ordered the ransomed slaves back to their chains, and in addition, seized the three monks and sent them to the galleys till the girl should be returned : and the Turks offered large ransom for her too, but her captor, a Genoese captain, had become enamoured of her and would not give her up : so the unfortunate monks and the slaves whose ransom had been actually paid, remained in hopeless captivity. About this time there was some talk of exchange of prisoners of war between the Christians and the Turks, and the question of its legality was referred by the latter to the Ulama at Constantinople : some of these were for, some against it ; but the opinion of the majority was that an equal exchange was not lawful ; but that it might be permissible to release one, or a few Christians, if the liberty of many Musalmans could be obtained thereby.

Murad Reis was the last of the great corsair captains, who carried on piratical war at the head of whole fleets, and who maintained the connection between the Ottoman Empire and the Turks in Barbary. His vessels were welcome in every Moslem harbour, from Smyrna to Sallee. He showed the corsairs the way into the Atlantic, and he once ravaged the Canary Islands. Following his footsteps the Algerines extended the limits of their cruises further and further, till their blood-red flag, with the device of the naked arm and hand grasping a scimitar, became known and feared in the North Sea and the British Channel.

Between the years 1609 and 1616 the Algerine corsairs had captured four hundred and sixty-six sail of British ships, all the crews of which were reduced to slavery. In the latter year the English Ambassador, at the Court of Madrid, writing to the Duke of Buckingham, says—"The strength and boldness of the Barbary pirates is now grown to that height, both in the ocean and in the Mediterranean Sea, as I have never known anything to have brought a greater sadness and distraction in this court than the daily advise thereof. Their fleet is divided into two squadrons : one of eighteen sail remaining before Malaga, in sight of the city, the other before the Cape of Santa Maria, which is between Lisbon and Seville."

These corsairs attacked and captured every vessel approaching the Straits of Gibraltar from either side, and absolutely put a stop to all the carrying trade of the Mediterranean, till the very want of more prey compelled them to scatter, and to cruise farther in quest of prizes.

In 1631 another Murad Reis, a Flemish renegade, surprised the town of Baltimore in Ireland, with two hundred men landed from his corsair ships. It is said that he had picked up some

fishermen who belonged to the neighbouring town of Duingarvan, and these, to save their own homes, piloted the Algerines to Baltimore. "Thence they carried off 237 persons, men, women and children, even those in the cradle. That done, they brought them to Algiers, where it was pitiable to see them exposed for sale: for then they separated wives from their husbands, and infants from their mothers. They sold the husband to one, and the wife to another, tearing the daughter from her mother's arms without any hope of ever seeing her again. I heard all this at Algiers from several of these slaves, who assured me that no Christian could witness what took place without melting into tears, to see so many honest girls and so many well brought up women abandoned to the brutality of these barbarians."*

A news letter of July 4th, 1640, states:—"Those roguish pirates which lie upon the western coast have taken from the shore about Penzance, near St. Michael's Mount, sixty men, women and children. This was in the night, for in the day these rogues keep out of sight for fear of the King's ships."

And in the same year the Mayor of Plymouth reports that three Turkish men-of-war had taken an English ship near the Lizard. The Deputy Lieutenant of Cornwall reports that there were at least sixty pirate vessels on the coast, and the fishermen were afraid to put to sea.

A petition presented to His Majesty King Charles I. in this same year, states that there were 3000 English captives at that time in Algiers: Pere Dan says the total number of Christian slaves in Barbary was prodigious, there were 25,000 in Algiers alone, and 8,000 renegades besides.

About the same time an Algerine squadron found its way to Iceland, piloted to Reykjavik by an Icelandic whom they had taken in a Danish prize. The unfortunate natives had never even heard of such beings as Turks, when these swarthy and turbaned ruffians fell upon them, as it were, from the clouds. The Algerines made a clean sweep of the whole population and everything portable in Reykjavik. When two years later, a mission was sent from Denmark to ransom the captives, it was found that nearly all were dead of sickness, misery, and ill-usage.

Another famous expedition made at this time was that of Hali Pinchinin with fifteen galleys to surprise the Holy House at Loretto, and carry off the accumulated treasures of the shrine. The Algerines used diligently to enquire among their renegades and slaves for likely objects of their enterprises, and the Santa Casa was supposed to be a rich and ill-guarded booty. But

* Pere Dan's "Histoire de Barbarie," p. 313. Paris, 1649.

somehow the destination of Hali's fleet leaked out, and the Christians were ready to receive him, when he arrived, in such force, that he gave up attempting Loretto. Not to return home empty-handed, however, he fell on the neighbouring Venetian coasts and ravaged them furiously, amassing a great booty: but lingering too long over the business, the Venetians had time to equip a fleet in hot haste, which forced him to take refuge in Valona, a Turkish sea-port in Epirus. Here he landed all his spoil and captives in apprehension of an attack, and, indeed, the Venetians, by a clever stratagem, cut out all his galleys: but a cannon-shot having struck a mosque in Valona during the operation, the Sultan, who always secretly favoured the corsairs, demanded that the Venetians should restore all the captured galleys, or prepare for war. They, to escape from the dilemma, burnt the captured vessels and pretended it had been done by accident. Hali Pinchinin and his crews had to convert their spoil into cash in Turkey, and get home as best they could.

A detailed account of the expeditions and exploits of the corsairs during this time of their greatest prosperity and activity might easily be made to fill several volumes: but Colonel Playfair's book only casually touches upon their general history, and principally confines itself to the subject of the relations of the Regency with the British Government as set forth in the Consular archives. At first the European Powers, at peace with Turkey, carried on their communications with the Barbarous Regencies, (as the piratical States were conveniently called for want of a better expression,) through the Sublime Porte and our Queen Elizabeth frequently and seriously addressed remonstrances to the Sultan on account of the outrages committed by his nominal vassals upon her subjects: but when it was found that all the Sultan's Firmans and Khatt-i-Humayuns produced no effect at all upon the pirates, applications for redress and threats of vengeance were addressed direct to the actual chiefs of the corsair communities. The first English Consuls in Algiers seem to have been the leading merchants in the place, for, strange to say, in this nest of pirates, there existed a considerable body of merchants from divers European nations, almost from the earliest times of the corsair occupation. These were always fairly well treated by the Turks, to whom they were exceedingly useful, supplying them, as they did, with all kinds of Europe articles, gunpowder and munitions of war, tackling, cordage and marine stores for their vessels, in exchange for the goods plundered from their own co-religionists and countrymen. The Worshipful Company of Turkey merchants had for long an agency at Algiers, and treating for, and arranging the ransom of, English captives,

and discounting the ransom money, was a regular branch of mercantile business. The Algerines always professed a kind of Hibernian affection for the French and the English, on account of the natural hostility which both those nations bore to their common enemies the Spaniards, and the first European consuls in Barbary were from these two Powers. A French Consul was appointed in 1581, and an English merchant of the Turkey Company received letters patent as Consul in Algiers four years later, his appointment being formally ratified by the Sultan.

The history of the dealings of our Government with that of the Algerines is a bewildering, and not a very edifying story. Treaties of peace and solemn agreements were made and sworn to over and over again, only to be shamelessly broken by the corsairs. The Dey insulted the English consuls and braved the consequences when he had nothing to hope or to fear, but became wonderfully amenable to reason when an English squadron appeared off the coast, and positively complaisant and obliging when he sniffed a present in prospect, either in money or gunpowder.

"It seems incredible at the present day," says Colonel Playfair, "that such a state of things could have been permitted to exist: that so infamous a rabble should have been allowed the undisputed right of interfering with the commerce of the world, and enriching themselves with the ransom of the best blood of Christendom." In fact, many proposals were made for a general league of Christian powers to destroy these nests of pirates: one notably in the reign of our James the First which provided for the payment of the expenses of the proposed expedition *by the sale of the Turks and Moors as slaves*. But national rivalries always stood in the way of such a combination; and in fact, though it is a shameful fact, the English and French were really not sorry for the maintenance of a system which completely destroyed the commerce of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and threw all the carrying trade of the seas into their own hands: and they were still more rejoiced when there was a rupture between the Algerines and a rival great Power, for then, their own commerce increased and flourished in proportion as that of their rivals was diminished by the risks it ran from the pirates. We can hardly wonder at these unworthy jealousies in those times, when in our own day we have seen an English Government trying, however shame-facedly, and however vainly, to uphold the worst Government in the world, in order to prevent the aggrandisement of a rival European nation.

England and France were the only two nations who were powerful enough at sea to exempt themselves from the payment

of actual tribute to the Barbary Regencies besides Spain, which was too proud to stoop to the ignominy of purchasing a peace with her relentless tormentors. Neither were the Portuguese or the Italians admitted to the benefits of this so-called peace, however much they might be willing to pay for it: ostensibly because they were "the hereditary enemies of the Musalman faith," and no doubt also, because their convenient proximity made their plunder more profitable than any payment would have proved. It was not till the year 1812, that the Portuguese were admitted to the peace *through the mediation of the British Government*, on the following terms: they paid a million of dollars for the release of all Portuguese slaves in Algiers; they agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty-four thousand dollars, and the usual presents also to the Dey and Chief officers on the appointment of a Consul. Sweden, Denmark, the Hanse Towns, Holland and the United States of America, all paid regular tribute to Algiers, while the French and English vied with each other in the costliness and splendour of the presents which they constantly despatched to the Dey. The American Consul, Mr. Eaton, who was sent in 1798 to Algiers, with arrears of tribute due by the United States, very pertinently observed of the Dey:—"Can any man believe that this "elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two Republics and "a Continent tributary to him, when his whole naval force is "not equal to two line-of-battle ships?"

Colonel Playfair tells us that—"The weaker nations which "had to submit to the humiliation of paying actual tribute "were treated in the most contemptuous manner, and in the "event of arrears remaining too long unpaid, their consuls "were sent to hard labour in chains, from which some of them "actually died."

The first actual treaty, between the English and the Algerines, was made by the Long Parliament. James the First had sent a fleet of twenty sail to Algiers to coerce the Corsairs; but the Dey cajoled the Admiral with fine promises, and secretly sent away all the English slaves out of the town: then he demanded reparation for outrages committed by the English as a set-off against the damage done by the pirates, and finally delivered up eighteen English slaves as all that there were in Algiers: the English were thoroughly fooled and went away thinking they had put a stop to the piracy, and that same year the corsairs captured forty sail of British ships.

The Dey after this, often proposed to negotiate a regular treaty with the English, always receiving a large present through the Consul as a preliminary: after which nothing more was heard of the matter.

In King Charles the I.'s reign, a general collection was made

by order of the Parliament, throughout the United Kingdom for the charitable purpose of the redemption of the miserable English captives in Algiers. The total sum thus collected was only £2.848. The illegal levy of ship-money which caused the first disputes between Charles and his Parliament, was intended to defray the charges of protecting the southern coasts against these pestilent corsairs. The peace concluded with the Algerines by Edmund Casson, the Agent of the Parliament, was to be "till the end of the world, and no man should break it." No Englishmen were to be made slaves in future, and no English ship molested. The English merchants in Algiers were to be allowed a place of worship, and if any Englishman had committed any offence against the laws of Algiers *even to striking a Turk or Moor* and escape, neither the English Consul nor any other Englishman, should be called to account for it: the English slaves in Algiers amounting to six hundred and fifty, with one hundred besides absent in the cruisers, were to be freed on ransom, at the average rate of £32 per head. Great trouble was experienced in getting some persons to part with their private slaves for any consideration whatever. Colonel Playfair gives *in extenso* some pathetic letters written by English slaves at this time to friends in England, imploring that money may be sent for their ransom. A list of slaves liberated by Casson containing 242 names, with the ransom paid for each, is still extant. Among them occur the names of many women, and of many Irish also, probably some of the victims from Baltimore.

In Cromwell's time Admiral Blake visited Algiers and was very civilly received, for good reason: for he had just before chastised the Tunisians and completely destroyed their pirate fleet of nine sail at Porto Farina. However, the Lord Protector was soon afterwards complaining of the capture of an English ship by the Algerines; the Dey replies with recriminations that the English carry cargoes and passengers of the Spaniards, Portuguese, Genoese, &c., and so defraud the corsairs of their lawful prey; and he gives notice that henceforth he will hold the English Consul responsible for such doings. Charles the Second on his restoration sent another mission to Algiers to settle these matters, and a fresh Treaty was concluded, the most remarkable stipulation of which was that "*Liberty was granted to the Algerines to search British vessels and take out all foreigners and their goods.*" But King Charles, to his credit, refused to ratify the Treaty: the Algerines obstinately insisted on the obnoxious article: the King sent two more Missions to Algiers, one of them supported by a fleet, and the negotiations, or rather wranglings and contentions were continued for ten years, the corsairs pretending to be on the

point of yielding, and all the time snapping up English Merchantmen on the plea that the Treaty was in abeyance: while the funds raised for the redemption of captives had been embezzled (they called it "appropriated") by the English Government to pay the debts of the Navy. At last the patience of King Charles was exhausted, and he formally declared war against the Algerines. A combined squadron of ten English and four Dutch ships set out to hunt down the corsairs, and in 1670 they met with and completely destroyed the Algerine Atlantic fleet of six ships, and next year Sir Edward Spragg burnt the ten ships of their Mediterranean fleet in Bujeya harbour. "Infuriated at these disasters the janissaries rose in revolt, murdered their Agha, and carried his head to the Divan. The Pasha looking out of his balcony, asking them the reason, they answered that they must have peace with the English."

The obnoxious article was now left out of the revised Treaty. The English slaves then in captivity were not, however, liberated unless ransomed in hard cash. All English ships were to carry passes, with a peculiar stamp on them (for the Corsairs could not read even their own language), and shewing these passes should exempt them from search.

Afterwards several cases occurred of English vessels being taken because unprovided with passes, and the Consul had hard work to get them released. At length the Algerines brought in an English sloop of war which had tried to defend a Dutch Merchantman attacked by an Algerine squadron. The Algerines grumbled much at having to surrender the prisoners taken in these ships, but they absolutely insisted on keeping the cargoes. Matters came to a climax, when one of the finest of the Algerine vessels arrived in port almost a total wreck. She had only destroyed seventeen small English fishing vessels in the Atlantic, and brought in forty one Englishmen as captives; she had been then wantonly attacked by a British frigate and most grievously mauled, only escaping capture under cover of a dark and stormy night.

The whole city was thrown into an uproar at this evidence of the perfidious and inhuman conduct of the English. Some were for killing the Consul at once: but calmer counsels prevailed, and he obtained liberty to remain under arrest in his own house. War was again waged by the English against the Algerines, and in 1681 the Earl of Torrington took the Algerine cruiser, the *Golden Horn*, of 38 guns, having a crew of 460 men, whereof 70 were Christians: and Captain Cloudsley Shovel took the *Rose* of 22 guns with 30 Christians among her crew of 200 men. Eventually, peace was again made, the principal stipulations being that the boat sent by an Algerine cruiser to

search a British ship should only contain two men besides the rowers.

No sooner were the Algerines fairly at peace with the English than they began to plunder the French : for they could not afford to remain friendly to more than one of the great trading nations at the same time. About this time the Dey had consented to admit the Dutch to peace under promise of tribute, to the great disgust of the corsairs, who represented to him that they could not make their calling pay, if they were debarred from making prizes of the ships of the three great mercantile nations, the English, the French and the Dutch at the same time ; and when the Dey alleged the great loss and damage done to the State cruisers by the English and Dutch men-of-war, they replied that the gains out of the captured Merchantmen quite counterbalanced that loss : and, moreover, quoted an expressive Arabic proverb : " That those ought never to sow who are afraid of the sparrows. "

But Le Grand Monarque would stand none of their nonsense, and bade them at once make full reparation, or prepare for war : and as they were little used to hearing such peremptory language from the European Powers, they bade him do his worst. They immediately became very complaisant to the English, and agreed that their corsairs should never again go into the English Channel, and that they should demand no passes from English vessels from Cape Finisterre northwards. Louis the Fourteenth was as good as his word, and in 1683 he sent a strong French fleet to attack Algiers, under the command of the Marquis Duquesne. They threw 6,000 bombs into the town, and seven or eight hundred Turks and Moors were killed in the ruins of their houses. The whole place was in disorder, the janissaries rose in revolt, murdered the Dey and elected Haji Hasan, the Captain of the galleys, to succeed him. Some say that his nickname of " Mezzomorto " was derived from his cadaverous appearance ; others that he was so called because he was left for dead in a combat between the corsairs and a Christian cruiser. The new Dey sent a message to the French Admiral that if the attack were renewed, he would blow every Frenchman in the place away from guns. This threat he partially carried into execution : the French Consul and twenty other Frenchmen were blown from the mouths of guns. Duquesne's squadron having expended all their ammunition were obliged to retire.

The Algerines, in retaliation, sent their galleys next summer to the coasts of Languedoc and Provence where they committed the most frightful ravages. King Louis again sent a stronger fleet to Algiers under the Marschal Duc d'Estrees and they mercilessly bombarded the city, lying before it for nearly a

month • and, continually renewing their fire, they destroyed almost three-fourths of the town, and made the streets run with blood. The Algerines blew 50 Frenchmen from the mouths of guns, and the French retaliated by strangling their Turkish captives, and sending their bodies ashore lashed to rafts. But the Algerines were determined not to give in, as they knew that to shew the white feather would be to ruin their future chances of success altogether. After throwing 13,000 bombs into the city, d'Estrees had to withdraw for want of ammunition without bringing the Algerines to terms, but after showing their bravado, the Divan made peace with the French next year rather than risk another visitation. This peace was so unpopular with the Turks, who could not bear to confess themselves beaten, that Mezzomorto thought it wiser to abdicate the Deyship, and he afterwards took service with the Sultan, and commanded his fleets against the Venetians in the Levant, and against the Russians in the Black Sea.

Though the Algerines did their best to put a good face on this matter, there is no doubt that it cowed them dreadfully, and they were no longer so secure of themselves as they had hitherto been. After this they leaned more and more to England, and the conquest of Gibraltar and Minorca by our fleets had a great influence on their behaviour, still they would not release English slaves without ransom. In 1696 there were 120 English slaves in Algiers, whose ransom, as demanded, averaged £60 a head. In the year 1724 died Mr. Thomas Betton, of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, who left all his fortune in trust for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey or Barbary. Under this will the sum of £21,000 was paid away between the years 1734 and 1835; The money has since been appropriated for other charitable and educational purposes under authority of the Court of Chancery.

All through the eighteenth century the Algerines continued in a nominal state of peace with England: with a monotonous current of complaints, recriminations, and counter charges, running through their mutual diplomatic intercourse. The English men-of-war fire shotted guns at the Algerine cruisers, make them come under their sterns, and take Christian slaves out of them. English merchantmen fire at Algerine boats boarding them with the two regulation sitters only, besides oarsmen: Turkish and Moorish slaves are found aboard English ships: the soldiers in the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon throw stones at Algerine boats' crews.

“An English privateer meeting a small Algerine cruiser, fired
“a gun to make the Turk lower his topsails in honour of his
“Britannic Majesty; the other did not comply or was unacquain-
“ted with the ceremony, whereupon nine guns were fired into

“him in earnest, and answered by as many as the Turk* could bring to bear. The privateer then fired her whole broadside “into the Turk, killing seven men and wounding one.”

On the other hand, in 1713, the Algerines captured a British ship with a large sum of gold on board destined for the payment of the British troops in Minorca: they surrendered the ship and the crew afterwards, but they would not give up the gold. A Spanish man-of-war took an English ship in which thirty Moors were passengers, and these were sold as slaves in Spain. The Dey, not very logically demanded reparation or satisfaction from the English who were themselves at war with Spain.

In 1749 the Corsairs took an English Government packet-boat from Lisbon to Falmouth, on the pretence that she had no pass on board. The sum of £25,000 in specie, which was on board, was kept by the Dey, though he released the ship and crew. In vain the English threatened him with war: he did not believe that the British Government would go to war with him for so trifling a matter as £25,000, and he was right. He asked for time and brought forward counter claims until every one was tired of the whole business, and it dropped.

When the French took Minorca from the English after Admiral Byng's failure to relieve the place, they found in it a store of passes which the Governors used to issue to ships under the British flag leaving the island. These passes the French and Spaniards proceeded to issue to their own ships, who, by hoisting false colours and showing these passes, used to escape capture by the corsairs. When the latter found out the trick, they were very angry; but the Dey was quite equal to the occasion, and gave orders that all ships with passes should be made prizes of hereafter as if they had none. A number of English ships were thus captured and carried into Algiers: and the Algerines made a great merit of consenting to their ultimate liberation. This matter was arranged by James Bruce of Kinnaird, the great African traveller and discoverer of the sources of the Blue Nile who was then Consul at Algiers. The English consuls had anything but an enviable time of it: the Deys used to seize any pretext to get rid of them in order to get the presents which were always given on the appointment of a new Consul. Sometimes they had the impertinence to dismiss the Consul from his post as if he had been their servant, and the English Government, after some feeble altercation, swallowed this affront also. But captains of English men-of-war were not at all so forbearing, and the Turks had a very wholesome respect for the Union Jack.

A Spanish transport conveying part of the “*Regimento di Hibernia*,” a loyalist Irish Regiment in the service of Spain

from Italy, was chased near Majorca by an Algerine squadron. The first Xebecque that came up boarded the transport, but the Irishmen repulsing the attack, themselves boarded the Xebecque and drove the Turks overboard into the water: the other Algerines coming up, attacked them on all sides, the Turks crying out, "these are no Spaniards; if they are not Englishmen, they are devils!" All the ammunition of the Irishmen being expended and their vessel made a total wreck by the enemy's guns, they were obliged to surrender, and were all carried to Algiers and sold as slaves. There were several officers' wives and children among them.

After their defeats by the Dutch and English fleets, the Algerines rarely cruised in fleets or squadrons; but two or three corsairs usually sailed in consort for protection against men-of-war, or to be able to overpower a well-armed merchantman by force of numbers. Three of them were often to be seen at one time bearing down on their unfortunate prey, their slant decks covered with swords from stem to stern, the turbaned gunners stripped to the waist ready at their guns; "all sail set, every rope a taunto, and the red flag of Muhammad flying at the foremast head." Sometimes, especially when 'picarooning' on the coasts, they played cunning: hoisting false colours, and making their men all lie close, for fear of showing their turbans; while the renegades went on deck with European sailors' hats on. In 1815, an Algerine squadron cruised off the coast of Italy, and by hoisting British colours decoyed on board three hundred and fifty of the inhabitants. On hearing that the American fugates were off Algiers, "these miserable victims were landed at Bona and driven like cattle overland to the capital. Fifty-one of them perished on the way, and the remainder arrived and passed the Dey's inspection literally naked and perishing from hunger, ill-treatment, and fatigue: one of them actually dropped down and expired in his presence."

On another occasion a knavish impresario or manager of an opera company, engaged a number of Italian singers for an imaginary operatic company, and shipped them from Leghorn in a coasting vessel, which, by a preconceived agreement, met with an Algerine cruiser in the offing, where a pretended capture was effected, and the unfortunate tenores and contraltos were all carried off to Algiers where they were sold as slaves for the benefit of the villainous impresario and his Algerine accomplices. The domestic history of Algiers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a monotonous record of mutinies, massacres and murders: not one out of ten of the Deys ever dying a natural death.

The "Kul-oghliis," or half-breed Turks, once formed a

conspiracy to seize the Government, and very nearly effected their object ; but after a bloody struggle, they were overpowered by the Turks, assisted by the European renegades ; numbers of the Kul-oghliis were put to the sword, and the rest disarmed.

The Algerines had been unceasing in their endeavors to recover Oran, which was the last port possessed by Spain upon their coast : and at last they succeeded in driving out the Spaniards after they had held possession of the place for two hundred years. The Turks were overjoyed at this success ; they cast cannon out of the metal of the bells which they took from the steeples of the churches of Oran : and the brazen throats, which had bidden their Catholic masters peace and good-will, vomited destruction against them from the batteries on the mole when they came on their unsuccessful errand to the corsair city in 1784.

The pirates always continued to plague the Spanish and Italian coasts most horribly : and at length their victims determined to make a united and supreme effort to root out this nest of man-stealers, and to destroy it for ever. The Spaniards furnished the chief force, and they were joined by the Portuguese, the Neapolitans, and the Tuscans ; while the gallant Knights of Malta for the last time “ unfurled against the infidels of Algeria the blessed banner of redemption.” Their combined navies covered the seas before Algiers for the space of twenty days ; but the warriors of “ Ghazi Gazair ” gallantly upheld their ancient fame. The Algerine flotilla of galleys and small craft sallied out daily, and prevented the Christian gun and mortar boats from coming near enough in shore to do any damage : and after continual desultory cannonading and fighting, the huge Christian confederate armament retired without having accomplished anything.

But though their stout defence on this occasion somewhat recalled their ancient fame, the might of the Barbary corsairs was steadily on the decline. In spite of the spoils and tributes of Christendom, the power of the Algerines was continually decreasing all through the eighteenth century, and this not so much from any exertion of their enemies, or change of fortune, as from the mysterious decay, like some kind of political dry-rot, which overtakes the institutions, and enervates the national character of all Musalman peoples in this age. The Turks of Algiers appeared incapable of improvement, and perhaps their apparent decline was really owing to the fact, that they remained simply stationary while other nations were moving on in the paths of enlightenment and progress.

For years before his final suppression by the French, the Algerine corsair was no longer a warrior but a sneaking sea-thief, who generally combined the calling of a smuggler

with his more ostensible one of pirate. His picturesque figure in high Fez cap, red jacket and yellow *shalwar*, with brass-barrelled pistols and curved scimitar, might often be seen in the slums of neutral ports in the Levant and Mediterranean in company with disreputable Jews and Christians on the lookout for any dirty and profitable job.

During the great wars of the French Revolution, the profits of the Algerines from their piracies greatly declined. Owing to the complete mastery England had obtained over the seas, nearly all the merchantmen afloat sailed under the protection of her flag: and the ubiquity of the Union Jack also greatly interfered with the freedom of action of the corsairs, for, in spite of treaties and agreements, the word 'Algerine' was a synonym for everything abominable to the British Tar, and the Algerine ships used to return into port complaining that they had been chased and wantonly fired into by British men-of-war. But the cup of the iniquity of Algiers was full, and the spirit which had moved the English nation to the abolition of the African slave-trade was not likely to endure the continued existence of the white slave markets of Barbary.

The first nation which had the boldness to revolt against the ignominious homage paid to the corsairs was the United States of America: the Yankees had consented to pay tribute: but when they found that the Algerines' view of a treaty was a one-sided one, and that their merchantmen were plundered at the same time that their money-payments were graciously accepted, their honest souls revolted against such an unbusiness-like arrangement. A squadron of American frigates entered the Mediterranean in 1815 under the gallant Commodore Decatur, and soon brought the corsairs to their knees: the Pasha of Tripoli who blustered and shewed fight, had his castle knocked about his ears, and his piratical fleet of crazy old craft sent to the bottom, and Tunis and Algiers hastened to make terms with the unwelcome visitors, placing America on the footing of the most favoured nations.

After the general peace of 1815, Lord Exmouth was sent with a British fleet to the Mediterranean to try to negotiate for the total cessation of Christian slavery. The Tunisians and Tripolitans at once agreed to admit all their slaves to ransom, and to abstain from capturing any in future; but the proposition excited the most violent opposition in Algiers. The English Consul went in peril of his life. The Algerines sent off an embassy to the Sultan to claim his countenance and support against the unheard-of and preposterous demands of the English Government: and they sent as a present to their Suzerain, among other things, forty Christian slaves.

While the negotiations were in progress, the fury of the people

could not be restrained from outrages on Europeans and Christians, and at last the Dey ordered the arrest of all English subjects. In consequence the Italian coral fishers at Bona, who were under the protection of the English flag, were set upon, and one hundred of them cruelly murdered by the Turks. The Dey was now frightened at what he had done, and ordered the liberation of the survivors: but his repentance was too late. The anger of the English nation was roused, and they determined thoroughly to humble the insolence of the Algerines.

The result was the famous bombardment of Algiers by the British fleet under Lord Exmouth, and the total destruction of the fortifications and of the whole of the corsair fleet. The Dey hastened to agree to all the British demands, and gave up sixteen hundred European slaves, all who then remained in Algiers (eighteen of these were English): along with those released at Tunis and Tripoli, the total came to over three thousand. The Algerines engaged never again to make slaves of prisoners of war, and the Dey had to make a public apology in full Divan to the Consul for having imprisoned and chained him, in terms dictated by the English.

The irrepressible Algerines were soon upon the war-path again in spite of their severe chastisement, and in 1819 a combined English and French fleet anchored before Algiers and required the Dey to make a solemn and formal renunciation of piracy by a written agreement. This he positively refused to do alleging "that the rights of the Algerines were recognised "by solemn treaties, and had been respected by the whole "world for several centuries." The allied fleets quietly withdrew on receiving this rebuff, and the Dey boasted of having set all the Powers of Europe at defiance.

The rebellion of the Greeks afforded the Algerines a plausible excuse for sending their fleet to the Levant to aid the Sultan against his revolted subjects, and their frigates there carried on a general piracy under pretence of cruising against the Greeks. The plague was at that time raging in Algiers, and their plague-stricken vessels diffused the disease all through the Mediterranean.

Cases were continually occurring of European women and girls being kidnapped by the Turks, and it was impossible to recover the victims, except after years of negotiation. In 1824 the English were again involved in hostilities with the Algerines, owing to the arbitrary expulsion of their Consul by the Dey on account of the former resisting some high-handed proceeding of the Turkish Government. The Dey grossly insulted the Consul, and refused to permit him to remain at his post. This led to long and tedious negotiations, and eventually to war, and to a second bombardment of Algiers by Sir Harry

Neale in 1824. On this occasion however, very little damage was done. The most noteworthy incidents in the whole operations were the appearance of a war-steamer for the first time in the British fleet, and the gallant defence of a small Algerine cruiser against a very superior force: this vessel had been at the favourite game of "taking men out of their beds in Spain," and was returning to Algiers with seventeen Spanish prisoners, when she fell in with the English squadron. They fired upon her within half pistol-shot for three-quarters of an hour without being able to force her to surrender. The English boarded her and took the gallant Turkish captain and his Spanish slaves out of her: but the vessel was so shattered with shot, that she was useless, and was cast adrift. The Captain who behaved in a manner that elicited universal admiration, was sent back to Algiers on the conclusion of peace.

The Dey after all got his own way by wearing out the patience of the English Government, and the obnoxious Consul did not go back to Algiers. The Dey had a picture painted representing Sir Harry Neale's bombardment, and this picture was found in his palace when it was taken by the French five years afterwards. A facsimile of it is given in Colonel Playfair's book.

"The final *denouement* of this miserable history is now at hand." The Algerines were this time in hot-water with the French, and in an interview with the French Consul, the latter having laughed at the idea of the King of France and the Dey of Algiers being on a footing of equality, the incensed Turk struck him on the face with his fan. The French declared war, and their fleet blockaded the coast for two years, without producing any impression on the Turks, but in the month of June 1830, a French army landed in the Bay of Sidi Ferruj, close to Algiers. The Turks hastily assembled all their forces, and, assisted by swarms of Arabs and Kabylis, attacked the invaders, but they were totally routed, and all their guns and stores taken. The victorious French soon brought their batteries to bear on the town, and the Dey and his Turks seemed like men stupefied and paralysed with amazement. They hardly made any attempt at effectual resistance. On the French effecting a lodgment on the walls, the Dey surrendered at discretion.

There were at this time only 3,000 Turks and 12,000 Kul-oghli in Algiers. The latter were disarmed by the conquerors: but the perpetual banishment of the Turkish ruling race was decreed. All the unmarried Turks were at once marched on board the French troop-ships and transported to the coast of Asia Minor, where they were turned adrift to shift for themselves, each being given five dollars. The married Turks were

allowed a month to settle their affairs and put their houses in order, and then they were bundled on board French ships and sent off, "bag and baggage," to Smyrna, as if in anticipation of the Gladstonian policy. The Dey was allowed to exile himself to Italy, where he smoked and sauntered away his life in peace. Great store of gold and silver was found by the victors in the Treasury, for the wealth of their country was reckoned by the Algerines, as by all orientals, to depend on the amount of hard cash uselessly and, safely locked up in the State coffers.

This was the ignominious end of the Government of the Turks in Algiers which had, for close on three hundred years, been the scandal of humanity and the curse of all the neighbouring nations, a veritable "Scourge of Christendom," as Colonel Playfair has styled it. To those who care to know more of the dealings of these cruel corsairs with their fellow-men, we recommend Colonel Playfair's book, which sets forth in detail, a little known and not very creditable chapter in European history. It will not have been written in vain if it teaches us the folly of dealing with semi-barbarous communities as if they were civilized nations, of relying on treaties and agreements with them which bind only our own hands, and of imagining that the sums we pay to purchase their venal friendship will ever be taken into account when they have an opportunity of safely enriching themselves at our expense.

The book is very well got up and printed, and contains some interesting old views of "the famous and warlike city of Algiers" with several maps and plans.

F. H. TYRRELL.

ART. VII.—“SHOPPING” IN INDIA AND IN EUROPE.

A SHOP is a shop all the world over, whether it is called a “Store,” as in America, or is dignified by the name of “Establishment,” as in India, and shopping is shopping; but as we cannot well make use of the words “Storing” and “Establishmenting,” we still keep to the old word; although there is a greater difference in the purchasing of goods in Europe and in India, than in the shops where those goods are obtainable.

The latter cannot be said to differ very materially, as far as the variety and quality of their goods are concerned, but there is a considerable difference in the manner of disposing of, or selling them. In Europe, everything that a man can possibly want is generally obtainable within a short distance, and he can, as a rule, see and select it for himself; but in India a large proportion of the purchasing public have to write for the goods to be sent to them, and consequently can only endeavour to select the articles they require, from the numerous catalogues that are circulated by the trading community, and which they will, if they are wise, keep by them. Even when the purchases can be made in person a great difference exists, and while a day's shopping in London is sufficiently tiring, in India it is thoroughly exhausting.

There are certain circumstances under which, in Europe, it becomes a pleasure to wander from shop to shop, feasting one's eyes on all the new and beautiful articles of modern manufacture. After years of life in the jungles of Assam or Cachar, or in some small out-of-the-way station in Bengal, where every article purchased has to be obtained from shops or rather establishments, known to the purchaser only through catalogues and advertisements, and whose stores of merchandise cannot be inspected, except on the rare occasion of a visit to one of the large towns;—after years of this shopping in the dark, what a relief it is to be able to *see* the things we want to buy; to buy them, then and there, without the usual wearisome routine of writing for catalogues, puzzling for hours over their contents in the endeavour to find out which one contains the exact article you require, or which *is* the exact article; then writing for it, and receiving something totally different to what you expected or wanted; and finally having to return it, at your own cost, or pay for and keep an

article that is useless to you. A friend of mine once ordered a dozen shirts from a large establishment, from which he had received a special shirt advertisement. They were sent exactly three inches smaller in the neck than his pattern one, which he had been careful to send. His wife ordered a riding habit and sent a pattern also, the habit was sent with a waist nearly six inches too large. What consolation were the ample apologies and offers to rectify the mistakes? The innocent purchaser has to pay all expenses, although the fault lies entirely with the guilty supplier.

After this kind of shopping there is a decided pleasure in finding oneself in the region of shops, and in seeing all the new and wonderful inventions that have been brought into use in the years that have passed since you last walked down Oxford-street, or wandered through those delightful "passages" in Paris, where everything is to be seen, and where, provided the exchange has not made too large a hole in your income, you can purchase anything you want.

Are you a sportsman? See these rifles and guns, handle them, examine them carefully—how many will you inspect and bring up to your shoulder before you can decide which is the one? Are you a disciple of Isaac Walton? Is it not a pleasure to find yourself in the midst of all the appliances of the "gentle art?" Are you a book-worm? What gratification have you ever had from the catalogues of books you have consulted so diligently, and the occasional arrival of a parcel of them, that can compare with the enjoyment you derive from finding yourself in a good bookshop, with thousands of these treasures around you? Here is employment and recreation for you for hours and days if you like.

I remember once going into a bookseller's shop, after having been denied that pleasure for years, and looking on the tables, counters, and shelves, laden with books with the greediest of eyes. There were dozens, nay, scores of books I wanted to read there and then. I quite forgot why I had entered the shop, and was lost in admiration of all these accumulated treasures, in gloating over one that I had seized upon, as a hungry man would seize upon a loaf of bread. What a feast! I could have stayed there for hours, and probably should have excited the suspicions of the worthy bookseller by doing so, if the small folk with me had not suggested in a matter-of-fact-tone, which brought me back most reluctantly from the realms of book-land; that, as they had taken a story-book each, I had better pay for them.

Is there any other shop that can equal a bookseller's or a gun-smith's to a poor benighted jungly-wallah? The tailors and drapers may have their attractions, but they have their drawbacks

too. It makes a man feel somewhat uncomfortable to be eyed with polite astonishment as if he had come out of the ark, and to see the coat that he had thought to be quite the right thing, and that really had looked quite fashionable in his quiet little station, being examined as if it was something remarkable in the way of coats. A man takes his seat in the train, that is, to convey him far away from the scene of his every-day life, feeling himself to be well dressed, or at least quite presentable; but he experiences a sudden reversion of feeling when he stands in his tailor's shop, and does not quite recover his self-confidence until he is clothed in all the glory of a new coat, cut in the latest fashion.

If one of the nobler sex feels almost ashamed of himself in the presence of the tailor who himself supplied the—*now* despised garment, what must one of the weaker sex feel upon paying her dress-maker a visit? She dares not attempt to do the rest of her shopping until a new and fashionable costume, and a bonnet of the latest style, with gloves, &c., of the correct shade and texture, have replaced those her husband had declared looked so well only that morning. How dowdy they seem now! How the shop-girls look at her, and how very uncomfortable she feels. For men or women to be able to meet their tailor or dress-maker with confidence they must be well dressed, but what does the gun-maker or the bookseller care about the fashion of his customer's clothes, so long as that customer is a good one?

The good people, whose relations return to Europe from foreign parts, are frequently made uncomfortable by the amount of notice they attract by the strange cut of their clothes, especially if those relations have lived far away from the large centres of civilization; but the gun-maker knows that in his unfashionable customer he may find a keen sportsman who will carry off some of his best weapons with him back to the jungles of India. The customer himself, for the time being, almost wishes himself back there that he might try how straight these new and wonderful weapons will carry.

It is a very different thing buying an article when there are dozens to choose from, and when you can examine and handle each one, instead of having to judge of their perfections from a mere catalogue or advertisement, and there is a considerable amount of enjoyment in shopping when all the wealth and inventive talent of the world is displayed before you—in Europe,—but not in India, where it is too exhausting and too conducive to the loss of temper. In a climate like that of India where, as a rule, every one indulges in rather more luxury than they would in Europe, and where, in private life, every means is taken to obviate the necessity for exertion, it is singular that in the matter of shopping so little should be done in this respect.

What would the customers of any respectable London or even provincial tradesman say, and do, if they were obliged to stand at the counter while they were being served, and if they were constantly informed that such and such article, supposed to be obtainable in that shop, were "not in stock at present." Let us suppose a customer entering a shop in England, it must be very crowded, indeed, if there is no chair to be found. Let us further suppose it to be a draper's shop, and cloth, ribbon, or some such article has to be matched. If the right shade is not in stock, the customer is politely asked to wait a few minutes while it is being obtained from some other shop, and thus a great deal of inconvenience and unnecessary fatigue is avoided.

There may be some good reason for banishing chairs from most, if not all, of the Calcutta establishments, but the general public are not aware of it, and they are aware, and painfully so, too, of the inconvenience of standing about for some hours, while they are completing any considerable purchases. Let us now consider the case of a lady-customer entering a large Calcutta establishment. She has to stand about the whole time she is being served—unless, indeed, she is fortunate enough to require boots or shoes for herself, in which case a chair is kindly provided. If she happens to require the boots and shoes for several pairs of small feet that have to be fitted, her case is a hard one, for she can hardly sit on the floor, or the counter, while they are being tried on. We will further suppose that she has on her list a dozen articles that she depends upon getting in this one shop. She finds that several of them are "not in stock." They are obtainable, probably, at the next establishment a few doors off; but there is no polite offer of—"shall I send out and try and get it for you, Madame?"—such as would invariably be made in any respectable English shop. She must walk about, over the burning pavement, and under the scorching sun, from shop to shop, to try and get it; the distance may not be great, not sufficiently so to make it worth her while to get in and out of her carriage, but quite enough to exhaust her after having stood any considerable time in the shop. In and out she has to go, waiting perhaps five, perhaps ten minutes in each place, while the articles she requires are being looked for, and nowhere is there a chair for her to rest upon.

It once happened, that being ignorant of this discourteous custom of the Calcutta tradesmen, I made an appointment to meet a friend at a certain shop, where we both intended to do some shopping. He was late for his appointment, and I waited two long weary hours, wandering about the shop, and leaning against the counter. No chair was offered to me, although I explained why I was waiting, and at last I asked for

one, and had the satisfaction of hearing that one was called for ; but it must have been a long way off, for it never arrived.

Perhaps I am maligning the city of palaces, and should find a different state of things if I again visited it, for I am speaking of nearly twelve months ago. If so, I cry *mea culpa* with all my heart, but although many and great changes have taken place in late years, I fear that in these two particulars there have been none. It is difficult to conjecture why shopping in India, whether by correspondence or in person, should not be made as little of a trouble as possible, instead of being, as it is, a constant source of annoyance, and there is no doubt the desire for the Overland V. P. Post would not have arisen if the Anglo-Indian public could obtain what they require, in India, with less trouble than at present.

For those who live in any of the large towns, where there are excellent European as well as native shops, the trouble is far less, but there is no reason why even these more favoured mortals should be denied the luxury of a chair—a luxury that is obtainable in the native shops. John Chinaman always provides a chair for his customers, even though he may have to borrow a broken one from a neighbour. As for the unfortunate portion of the community who have to send long distances for the thousand and one requirements of a family, the constant annoyance and trouble it causes is enough to try the very best of tempers. It is not surprising that Anglo-Indians are anxious for every facility for obtaining small articles from Europe, considering the amount of worry and loss they have to put up with, and the inconvenience that is caused by that objectionable phrase that Indian tradesmen indulge in so freely, “not in stock.”

The delay in sending to Europe is amply compensated by the satisfaction of receiving everything ordered. European tradesmen (in Europe) cannot afford to annoy their customers by sending half the goods ordered, and telling them that the rest are not in stock, when, by sending to another shop (with whom they generally have a mutual accommodation arrangement), they can complete the order. The Indian tradesman does not hesitate to disappoint his customers in the most heartless manner, and never takes the trouble to send even to the next shop to complete their orders, although by so doing he would save them a very serious amount of inconvenience and loss. Imagine the feelings of an unfortunate officer who expects his C. C. by a certain date, and writes off, or even telegraphs, post-haste, for white gloves, or any other small article that he considers to be necessary to complete his attire, when just the very day he expects his parcel, he receives a polite apology, “regret we have none of the size required.”

A lady sends a list of the stores she requires for some special occasion—a Christmas dinner, the race week, or a wedding breakfast. She is careful to send early as delays may occur, and having done so considers herself safe to receive them, and rests satisfied. In due time she gets the cases, and finds that several of the most important items have been omitted; it is not much comfort to be told that they "shall be forwarded immediately upon the arrival of our next supply of hams," &c.

Who does not remember a score, nay, a hundred of such experiences. A certain book is ordered, but the bookseller has "none at present." If the order is sent home to any small provincial bookseller it is promptly attended to, and if he "has none at present," he does not fail to add, that "not having been able to obtain the book locally he has sent to London for it, and trust to be able to forward it by the next mail." The natural consequence of the disobligingness of the one tradesman, and the obligingness of the other is, that the Anglo-Indian, as a rule, prefers the delay that is incurred by sending to Europe, to the vexation that is caused by receiving incomplete orders, and having therefore to send twice or three times over.

As I said before, many great and acceptable changes have taken place within the last few years, especially in the quality and price of the goods sold, and that the public fully appreciate them is proved by the success that has attended the few enterprising firms that have been bold enough to strike out a new line for themselves, and to carry on their business on the principle of "small profits and quick returns." If these firms would go a few steps further, and deal with their customers as tradesmen in Europe do, treating them with the same amount of fairness and courtesy, the Anglo-Indian public would hardly wish, as at present it most certainly does, for the Overland V.-P. Post. It is unreasonable to suppose that people would send all the way to Europe if they could get what they wanted in India, unless there were good reasons for their doing so; but under existing circumstances it is probable that many of the Indian firms would suffer considerably by the introduction of the Overland V.-P. Post. Although the prices in the new firms do not leave much margin for complaint in the matter of stores and clothing, the prices of many of the establishments are ridiculously high, and should the O. V.-P. Post come in force, they will have either to follow the example of the more enterprising firms, and sell their goods at a rate that would render it unprofitable for private persons to send to Europe for them, or retire from the scene, the victims of their own system of scant courtesy and high prices. There is no doubt that the cash firms, who have taken "small profits and quick returns" as their motto, are already beating the others out of the field, and

they at least would have no need to fear the O. V.-P. Post being started, if, (and that *if* is a big one,) their customers could always depend upon their sending the orders they receive in full, and could be trusted to do their utmost to send the right thing. There are many parts of India to which letters from any of the chief towns take several days in reaching. A catalogue is received, perhaps, a week after it has been posted by the advertising firm; another week is consumed before an order can be received by that firm; a third before the goods ordered can be received, and then six times out of twelve the goods advertised in the catalogue have been sold out, and half of the order is either not executed at all, or other goods are sent that do not suit the purchaser, and have to be returned or changed; in the latter case there is the same delay and disappointment, and by the time the right article has been received, it has cost more than if it had been obtained from Europe, with very little advantage in the matter of time, and with none in the matter of trouble and annoyance.

The introduction of the O. V.-P. Post cannot fail to have a good effect on the present system of shop-keeping, and as it is a subject that concerns the whole community, especially that portion of it which now so largely patronises the Inland V.-P. Post, it would surely be more to the point to canvas our opinion on it, as well as that of the trading community, who have everything to lose and nothing to gain by it; unless, indeed, they are wise enough to turn it to their own advantage.

A man who has been fairly treated by his Indian tradesmen would be only too glad to be spared the trouble of himself sending to Europe, if he could get what he wanted even through them. Every provincial tradesman will send to London for articles he cannot supply from his own stock; why should not the Indian tradesmen send to London in the same way?

War has long been waged in England against the cruel custom of making the shop-assistants stand all day behind the counter; the necessity for reform in this matter is even more urgent in India than in Europe, but how can the assistants hope for such a luxury as a seat when it is denied to the customers whom they serve? Can this be at the bottom of Messrs. A. and B.'s discourtesy to purchasers, or is it that they consider themselves too much on a par with them to stand while they sit?

Whatever the reason may be, I hope to see the day when this objectionable custom will be done away with, and when a few other necessary reforms will lessen the contrast between shopping in Europe and in India.

ESMÉ.

ART. VIII.—NADIR SHAH.

THE closing years of the 17th century inaugurated a very remarkable epoch in the history of more than one powerful empire; remarkable, I mean, not so much by reason of stirring events, or in what has been aptly called "drum and trumpet history," but rather in the comparatively silent confluence of those undercurrents and lesser streams which have so often and so suddenly, in the annals of the world, combined to create the cataract of rebellion, or swelled into the overwhelming flood of reform. Thus, looking first for the sake of historical parallel to Europe, we find that in England at the time of which I am writing, the despotism of the Stuart kings was sinking shortly, to be crushed by the revolution which culminated in the Battle of the Boyne. In Germany, the Electors of Brandenburg were paving the way for the assumption by the Hohenzollerns of the kingship of Prussia, an effort of ambition that was soon to bear splendid fruit in the career of Frederick the Great. In Russia, Peter Alexievitch was beginning in sharp-witted, semi-barbarian fashion, his own emancipation from his sister Sophia's rule, and the regeneration of his extensive realm. In Asia, the condition of affairs was even more significant. In India, nigh upon two centuries back, the Moghul chieftain, Baber, had crowned a romantic career by crossing the Indus at the head of only 10,000 men, uprooting the Afghan dominion, scattering to its mountain fastnesses the Rajput league, and setting up the first foundations of Moghul rule. Upheld by the consummate craft of Akbar, and surviving the vices of Jehangir and Shah Jehan, the empire of the Padishahs had continued at Delhi until its grandeur reached the zenith in the reign of the "Great Moghul," Aurangzeb. The end of the 17th century saw Mahomedan rule in India at the fulness of its power; in the beginning of the 18th, the death of Aurangzeb was the first indication of its decline and fall. Turning our attention to the country with which the subject of this article is more immediately concerned, we find Persia labouring under the pressure of events very similar to those which were slowly but surely overtaking Hindustan. Almost contemporaneous with the rule of the Moghuls at Delhi, and in many respects closely resembling it, the dynasty of Shah fanatics known as the Sufi or Sufavean Shahs, harassed by Turks on the west by Russians on the north, by Afghans and Usbeks to the eastward, was now hurrying on to its end. The first real blow was to come from the east, and in 1710 we find the Afghans

of Kandahar throwing off the Persian yoke ; shortly afterwards Herat, too, was alienated ; and in 1722 the Afghans actually invaded Persia in force, besieged Isfahan, until the inhabitants were reduced to open cannibalism, and compelled Shah Husain, virtually the last of the Sufavean dynasty, to abdicate, in favour of their own leader, Mahmud. But while these events were taking place in India, Persia and Afghanistan, there was coming to his prime a man who was destined to leave his mark very distinctly upon the history of all three nations ; a man who, by the force of circumstances, and of his own extraordinary ability, was to rise from utter obscurity to the most absolute power ; a man whose name is familiar to many, but whose history, in a connected and comprehensive form, is perhaps as little known to general readers as are the contents of the Ramayan, or the early annals of the Chinese Empire.

Nadir Kuli, as he was originally called,* was born on the 11th of November 1688, in a village on or not far from the Kalat-i-Nadiri plateau in Northern Khurasan. The exact locality of his birthplace is a point upon which his biographers do not agree. One says that Nadir was born at Abiurd or Bavard, the ruins of which are still to be found about 100 miles to the north of Mashhad. Another prefers the claim of "a castle named Destegerd" which apparently lay some 40 miles south of Abiurd, but of which no further mention can be found. Hanway, in evident ignorance of the relative positions of Mashhad and Kalat, speaks of the birthplace of Nadir as being a few days journey to the south-east of the former of these places, and not far from the latter. Personally, I would place reliance upon the testimony afforded by the memoirs of a Kashmiri, Khojeh Abdul Karim, who travelled with Nadir Shah on his return from India, and who declares that he actually visited, in company with Nadir himself, the real site of the conqueror's birthplace. This he states to have been a small village situated between Kalat and Abiurd, the original name of which has disappeared. When Nadir Kuli became Nadir Shah, a mosque was here erected, and the place called Mauludgah or "the birthplace." Although Nadir seems to have taken a personal interest in renovating and peopling it, the village never attained any importance ; and I can find no further mention of it either as Mauludgah, or as Jieyukabád, the name by which the village, according to Khojeh Abdul Karim, came afterwards to be called.

* Nadir Kuli means "the slave of the wonderful (God)." How the conqueror gained the title of Shah, as well as the name Tahmasp Kuli Khan, by which he is sometimes known, will be duly related in the succeeding narrative.

The name of Nadir's father was Imam Kuli, and he belonged to the Affshars, one of the seven Turkman tribes to whose aid Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavean dynasty, owed much of his success.* The Affshars, according to Morier, are divided into two principal branches, the Shamlu and the Karklu. Imam Kuli was a very humble member of the latter branch; and subsisted, so Hanway tells us, on the manufacture and sale of caps and sheepskin coats. He died when Nadir was thirteen years of age, leaving the boy to support himself and his widowed mother, by picking up sticks in the woods, and carrying them to market upon a camel and an ass, which formed his sole inheritance. This lowly and precarious existence continued until Nadir was seventeen when, in the year 1705, the Usbeks made a successful raid into Khurasan, and amongst those who were carried off, were Nadir and his mother. The latter succumbed to the hardships of Tartar slavery.† but the son succeeded in making his escape, and returned after an absence of four years to Khurasan.

From this time until he reached the age of twenty-four, we hear nothing of our hero beyond a passing and highly probable charge of sheep-stealing mentioned by Hanway, and by him alone. In 1712 we find Nadir entering the service of a petty chief or Beg in the humble capacity of courier. Here he began rapidly to exhibit symptoms of very doubtful morality. Not only is he said to have murdered, for reasons of his own, a fellow courier on the road to Isfahan, but he even had the audacity to aspire to the affection of his master's daughter. As the Beg declined to select a son-in-law from among his couriers, Nadir slew him and retired with the lady to the hills of Mazandaran. The result of this romantic union was a son known to history as Riza Kuli Mirza, five years after whose birth the Beg's daughter died. Meanwhile Nadir, having by his spirited procedure risen into reputation, was joined by some of his late fellow-servants, and, in the simple language of the historian, "they became robbers." In this profession Nadir continued some two years, on the expiration of which he offered his services as gentleman usher or master

* The remaining tribes were the Ustajalu, the Shamlu, the Nikarlu, the Baharlu, the Zukadars and the Khajars of Astarabad. To these seven tribes as a body, Shah Ismail assigned the distinction of wearing a red cap, from which they received their Turkish name of *Kazilbashis*, or "golden-headed ones."

† Fraser speaks of her as still living in 1737, but the discrepancy is of no importance, unless, perhaps, as an example of the countless contradictions extending to the most petty details of Nadir's life, which the compiler of this article has had to either ignore or, as far as is possible, reconcile.

of ceremonies (Ishikgasi) to Babulu Khan, Beglerbeg, and Governor of Khurasan, whose head-quarters were at Mashhad. It is a striking commentary on the troubled state of Persia at this period, that a man whose open perpetration of murder and brigandage must, by this time, have been notorious, should have apparently experienced no sort of difficulty in obtaining Government employ. It was enough for Babulu Khan that the new officer of his household should be, as the world went, a man of parts; and if the question of Nadir's moral antecedents ever entered his head, it was doubtless silenced by the cogent argument that, with the Afghans supreme at Herat, and Usbegs continually raiding the Khurasan border, muscles and sharp wits were more susceptible of practical application than shining virtue. This line of reasoning proved a strong one, for Nadir soon rose into favour with the Beglerbeg, was first given command of a troop of horse, and then, by reason of his reckless gallantry in several frontier skirmishes, was raised to the comparatively important post of Mimbashi, or "commander of a thousand." Thus, gradually, in spite of humble birth, vicissitudes of fortune, and unlimited moral obliquity, this remarkable man had risen, until a sudden emergency enabled him for the first time to rise really superior to his surroundings, and as the commander, not of a thousand, but of an army, to win his first victory in an action of far greater importance than a frontier skirmish or a robber raid.

When Nadir had been about five years in the service of Babulu Khan, that is in 1719, the Usbeg Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva, thinking to profit by the rising power of the Afghans as well as by the incursions which the Kurds were now making in Irak Ajami, determined on carrying out a really comprehensive sack of Khurasan. Accordingly they appeared on the border and commenced systematic operations with a strength of 10,000 or 12,000 horse. The Beglerbeg at Mashhad, thus called upon to defend his province, was at his wits' end. His force amounted to only 4,000 cavalry and 2,000 footmen, and there was absolutely no chance of reinforcement. He therefore called a council of his officers and asked their advice. The majority declared themselves in favour of "*saue qui peut*;" but the irrepressible Nadir, with, considering his position, vast presumption, boldly counselled war to the death, and offered to take charge of the whole available force. It was significant of the times that this modest proposal was acceded to without much demur, and in a few days Nadir set forth, a temporary yet full-blown General, to encounter the dreaded Tartar cavalry. Meeting them on the banks of the Tajand, or Hari Rud, some five or six marches to the east of Mashhad, and having done his best to make his

own men underrate the enemy's strength, he stood on the defensive. With their accustomed fury the Tartars charged, but the Persians, exhorted by their young leader, amongst whose characteristics was a voice of terrific volume, bravely withstood the shock. Thrown into disorder by this most unexpected result, the Tartars failed to rally, and were actually put to flight. A signal rout ensued, and fired with triumph and now fully roused ambition, the young conqueror of thirty-two returned at the head of his victorious Persians to Mashhad.

But Nadir's road to power was fated to be anything but a royal one. On his arrival at Mashhad, he was not slow to demand of Babulu Khan that he should be confirmed in the command which he had held, as a temporary measure, with such credit, and the Beglerbeg assured him that the court of Isfahan should be duly moved to bring this about. Either, however, the recommendation was not approved, or, what, from the result, appears more probable, Babulu Khan played a double game. For Nadir shortly found that his services were to go for nought, and to accentuate the disappointment, the substantive command which he so coveted, and, with some justice, considered as his due, was given to one of the Beglerbeg's own relatives, a youth without either ability or experience. At this treatment Nadir was furious, and he, at once and openly, accused the Beglerbeg of having acted in a dishonourable manner. Babulu Khan retorted by having the rebellious officer soundly bastinadoed, and depriving him even of his command of a thousand. Thus, after five years of good service, culminating in a victory which saved a whole province from frightful devastation, Nadir found himself disgraced and turned adrift. Having digested the lesson that to put trust in princes, more especially Oriental ones, is unprofitable, Nadir retired from Mashhad only to display anew, and in a more favourable sphere, his characteristic contempt of constituted authority, and his marvellous capacity for controlling and leading men.

The splendid natural fortress of Kalat, of which Sir Charles MacGregor has given a detailed description in his "Journey through Khorasan," lies some 50 miles to the north-east of Mashhad. Of this fortress the Kiladar, or governor, was, in 1720, Nadir's uncle, a chief of one of the Affshar clans.*

* How it comes that, notwithstanding, Nadir's own parentage had been so mean, is difficult of explanation. But it is, I think, better to accept the story as it stands than to give credence to Fraser's tale, that Nadir's father had been governor of Kalat, and that on his death the uncle had stepped in and deprived Nadir of his hereditary right. This version, though romantic, is unsupported, and, moreover, does not tally with the frank allusions made by Nadir himself in after years to the extreme humbleness of his early surroundings and extraction.

Hitherto Nadir, after his disgrace at Mashhad, naturally turned his steps, and was received with kindness, or at any rate tolerated. But still restless and aspiring, he could not abstain from intrigue, and having apparently been detected in designs against his relative and host, he found it expedient, in 1721, to leave Kalat and resume his old trade of brigandage. This time his career as a robber-chief lasted for five or six years, during which we have no detailed information respecting his movements, except that, until the commencement of the year 1727, his operations were conducted with characteristic vigour and success. But now I must for a moment turn aside from Nadir and his doings in Khurasan, to dwell on the progress of history in Persia generally.

We have already seen that in 1722—the year after that in which Nadir had left Kalat, and commenced his second career as a robber-chief—the Afghans had invaded Persia, captured Isfahan, and forced the reigning Shah, Husain, to abdicate. Those who desire a closer acquaintance with these events must be referred to the pages of Malcolm or to the Turkish *Tarikh-i-Siah*, of which an English translation exists under the title of “Chronicles of a Traveller.” For the purposes of this narrative, it is sufficient to record that during the siege of Isfahan, Tahmasp, the son of Shah Husain, had made his escape from the city with a view to gathering forces outside, and with their assistance raising the siege. This result he was unable to accomplish, but on hearing of the fall of Isfahan, and the abdication and imprisonment of his father, he assumed the title of Shah, and endeavoured to keep up a semblance of sovereign power. A poor travesty of sovereignty it must have been, for Tahmasp was a weak and effeminate prince, and the Afghans at Isfahan were not the only foreigners with whom he had to dispute the possession of his empire. For, under Peter the Great and Catharine I, the Russians were absorbing the western coast of the Caspian, including a large portion of the province of Ghilan; while the Turks coming into conflict with the Afghans, were preparing to bring under Ottoman rule the whole of Kurdistan and Khuzistan, part of Azarbaijan, and several cities in Irak. To the eastward the prospect, from Tahmasp’s point of view, was equally gloomy. Persian supremacy had long ago ceased to exist at Kandahar; Herat was a separate and independent principality under the Abdali Chief, Azadullah; and even Khurasan, which had hitherto remained unvexed, save by Tartar raids, had in great measure succumbed to the Afghan Governor of Seistan, Malik Mahmud, and into his hands yielded the rich and important cities of Mashhad and Nishapur. Under these circumstances, Tahmasp’s assumption of the title of Shah seemed rather a feeble farce. Everything,

moreover, went against him. He tried to negotiate with both Russia and Turkey, but those two nations were too deeply interested in a mutual "partition" treaty, having reference to the greater part of the Shah's dominions, to pay much attention to his ambassadors. Even when Tahmasp had succeeded in collecting the nucleus of an army, a check awaited him, for one of his generals, with whom he had had a misunderstanding, made no scruple to desert and to take with him 1,500 men, whither we shall presently see. As a last resource the unhappy prince was fain to seek an undignified refuge behind the mountains of Mazandaran. Here, holding a little court at Farahabad on the shores of the Caspian, under the protection of Fath Ali Khan, chief of the Kizilbask Khajars of Astarabad, the unworthy survival of the Sufi Shahs, in 1727, seemed, in all human probability, to be entering on the last phase of his useless and miserable career.

This state of things was, as may be imagined, extremely favourable to Nadir's operations in Khurasan. From 1721 to 1727 he must have been able to harry and carry much as he pleased, and in that time contrived to gather round him a band nearly, if not quite, a thousand strong. With this force he was probably able to defy even the Afghan invader of Khurasan, Malik Mahmud, and one day when he was hovering about the neighbourhood of his uncle's fortress at Kalat, his strength was suddenly nearly trebled. That General, whose desertion from Tahmasp was noticed in the preceding paragraph, found he could not do better with his contingent of 1,500 men than bring them to Nadir, who thus became the leader of what in his hands, was quite a little army. This took place in the early part of 1727, and from that date Nadir's career as a really public character may be said to begin.

His nephew's increasing power and dangerous proximity, at last roused the serious apprehensions of the governor of Kalat. He began to think that, perhaps, it would be wise now to let bygones be bygones, and to make friendly advances to his formidable relative. Accordingly he wrote to Nadir, and suggested that there was now an excellent chance for a man with men at his back to gain distinction in the loyal and lawful service of Tahmasp. That prince would doubtless overlook the peccadilloes of Nadir and his following in consideration of meritorious deeds to come; and he (the uncle) would gladly do his best to obtain actually, in writing, the royal pardon. Nadir received this proposal, apparently, with entire compliance, and begged his uncle to communicate forthwith with the Shah—for so we must, perhaps, allow him to be called—at Farahabad. The uncle did so. Tahmasp with alacrity signed

the pardon, and the document was duly despatched first to Kalat, and thence to Nadir himself. The latter, probably, much amused to find himself no longer an outlaw, at once set out for Kalat, presumably anxious to thank his uncle for his kind assistance and to cement the bonds of future friendship. But Nadir was a man who never hesitated to combine business with sentiment. Accordingly he took with him into Kalat an escort of 100 picked men, having commissioned 500 more to hang about in readiness as near as possible to the fortress gates. The uncle received Nadir and his following most warmly, doubtless trusting to his own garrison of some 200 men, to keep the balance of power between himself and his guest. But these roscate expectations were doomed to be upset. For, on the second night after the new-comers' arrival, the sentries over the barracks of the garrison were suddenly overpowered, and the doors of the barracks themselves securely closed upon their occupants. Nadir himself went to his uncle's room and killed him, subsequently opening the gates of the fortress to the 500 men who were waiting in reserve outside. The next morning Nadir, at the cost of very little bloodshed, beyond that which had stained his own unscrupulous hands, was master of that extraordinary natural stronghold which was from henceforth to be associated with his name. The remainder of his forces thronged in from outside to support him, and for a few weeks he remained at Kalat consolidating his strength, and by politic generosity winning to his side many of his fellow-tribesmen and relations who had hitherto regarded him only as a detestable robber.

Nadir was now, to all intents and purposes, an independent sovereign, and had he wished it, could no doubt have lived in much more regal circumstance than did the wretched Tahmasp at Farhabad, or even the Afghan leader at Isfahan. But this was not by any means his policy. Although he had by his recent exploit completely forfeited the royal pardon, it was still Nadir's intention to throw in his lot with Tahmasp. As a preliminary measure, it was necessary to perform some peculiarly meritorious act which should serve as a foil to the outrageous crime he had just committed. It was characteristic of Nadir's career that an opportunity should be ready to his hand. The city of Nishapur, which lies some 60 miles to the west of Mashhad, was in the hands of the Afghans, and occupied by a garrison about 3,000 strong. To recapture it in the name of Shah Tahmasp would cover a multitude of sins; and, apparently, in a few days the thing was done. By a simple stratagem Nadir enticed the Afghans into a defile, cut them to pieces and entered Nishapur where he made his first essay in the art of statesmanship. He had come, he said, not to plunder but

to deliver; not to gain power for himself but in the interests of Persia's rightful sovereign. These noble sentiments coupled with the fact that only the effects of the late Afghan garrison were looted, and that these were duly divided among Nadir's soldiery, were full of conviction. Nearly a thousand of the Persian inhabitants hastened to enrol themselves under a leader so humane, so generous, and so full of loyalty to a fallen cause.

The capture of Nishapur was rapidly followed by a complete *entente cordiale* between Nadir and Tahmasp. To this result, it is probable that the good offices of Fath Ali Khan Khajar, the "protector" of Tahmasp, greatly contributed. For Fath Ali Khan was, apparently, like the quondam governor of Kalat, beginning to look upon Nadir as a man to be cultivated, while no doubt he imagined that his own prestige and his surrounding of faithful Khajars would be more than sufficient to keep the late robber-chief at a respectful distance. And for a while it seemed as if this was the case, for Nadir on arriving at Farahabad and receiving the King's pardon for himself and his following, now some 5,000 in number, conducted himself with studied propriety, and treated both the King and Fath Ali Khan with unwonted deference. But this state of things could not last. Nadir, with an army at his back, was hardly the man to be always bowing and scraping to one, in no way, except perhaps morally his superior, and accordingly after a few simple intrigues in which the discontent of the troops and a charge of treasonable correspondence with Malik Mahinud, are somewhat indistinctly involved, Fath Ali Khan fell a victim to the new arrival's ambition. As a natural consequence, we find at the commencement of 1728, Nadir raised to the rank of Khan, in command of the whole Persian army, such as it was, and, practically speaking, with the only available representative of the royal house of Persia completely under his thumb.

Having thus attained to a position only comparable with that of a Lord Protector or a Mahratta Peishwa, Nadir's first thought was naturally his army. Though destined to prove worthy of their leader, this army, when the latter first took their organization seriously in hand, must have been in a sorry plight. A motley discontented crew, of miscellaneous extraction, officered with a happy disregard of military considerations, they had no sacred soup-kettles around which, like the Janisseries, they could rally, no lurid glow of religious fervour to warm them as had Cromwell's Ironsides, no empire to put up to auction as had the Prætorian Guard of Rome. But they had stomachs to fill and backs to cover, and Nadir effectually won their hearts and laid the foundations of future discipline by introducing a system of regular payments made in his

own presence, and by supplying uniform at first cost. With the officers he put in practice the principle scientifically known as "the survival of the fittest." These simple but drastic measures had the desired effect, and seemingly in a few weeks, from the death of Fath Ali Khan Khajar, Nadir was ready to enter upon the first step of his career as the deliverer of Persia, the expulsion, namely, of the Afghans under Malik Mahmud from the holy city of Mashhad in particular, and, in general, from the whole province of Khurasan. But before a move could be made to the east, it was necessary to come to a settlement with the Turks who were, as has already been seen, operating aggressively in the westward and north-westward provinces. The Turks having made some peaceful advances, Shah Tahmasp, doubtless instructed by Nadir, now suggested that he himself would refer the matter to Constantinople, and that in the meantime a truce should be declared, the Turks binding themselves not to exceed the limits of their present conquests. The Turks complied, and Tahmasp accordingly despatched a messenger to the Porte with offers of accommodation which he knew would not be accepted, and, to render assurance doubly sure, the messenger was enjoined to fall sick on the road, and otherwise to delay a return to active hostilities as long as possible. This truly oriental plan for gaining time having been put in train, no further obstacle lay in the way of the expedition, and accordingly Tahmasp and Nadir marched forth from behind the mountains of Mazandaran with an army which may be conjectured as being little less than 15,000 strong.

The details of this expedition are somewhat obscure. It may, however, be gathered that on the 15th May 1728, Tahmasp and his General made a stately entry into Nishapur, that city which Nadir had cleansed from Afghans as a palliation for the murder of his uncle. This was rapidly followed by the recapture of Mashhad either, as some say, after a siege of two months and through treachery, or, according to others, by the simpler process of entire evacuation by the Afghan garrison. The remainder of the year 1728 was spent by Nadir in completing the work so finely begun. Taking Mashhad as his head-quarters, and leaving Tahmasp to enjoy his regained dignity and comfort in the pious vicinity of Imam Reza's tomb, Nadir darted hither and thither through the surrounding districts, not hesitating even to lead his soldiery, lance in hand, over that great salt desert, of which MacGregor and other travellers have given us realistic descriptions. The intimate knowledge of the country, which he had gained in former years, stood him in good stead, and by the end of 1728 the whole of Khurasan was in great measure, if not entirely, quit of the doubtful blessings of Afghan occupation.

Owing to the embryonic condition of the Imperial exchequer, these varied successes did not bring Nadir any substantial reward. The sole guerdon he received for the recovery of Mashhad was the privilege accorded to him by the grateful Shah of calling himself Tahmasp Kuli Khan in place of his original appellation; in other words, by a strange irony, "the slave of the wonderful God," became the slave of a weak and vicious nonentity. Moreover, it was not long before Tahmasp made a puny effort to do away with the necessity for gratitude even of a nominal description. One day when Nadir was on one of his incursions into the surrounding country, Tahmasp from Mashhad sent him an order to return at once to head-quarters. This mandate being both unreasonable and inconvenient, Nadir quietly disregarded it. Thereupon Tahmasp in dudgeon retired from Mashhad with his immediate following, and from a neighbouring fort fulminated a circular letter declaring Nadir guilty of high treason and a rebel. The display of a little firmness on Nadir's part, however, soon convinced Tahmasp of his mistake, and in a very short time the General was escorting the recalcitrant monarch and his court with solemn deference back to Mashhad.

Towards the end of 1728, or in the beginning of the following year, Nadir turned his attention to Herat, the subjection of which to the Abdali Afghans has been noticed in a previous paragraph. The accounts of the expedition, as given by the various authorities, are hopelessly contradictory. It may, however, be concluded that Herat, which had fallen a prey to Chinghiz Khan and Timur, now opened its gates without much ado to the triumphant Nadir. The conqueror does not seem to have taken much advantage of his success. In fact, he appears to have allowed the Abdali Chiefship to continue, and only to have extorted tribute and acknowledgment of the supremacy of Shah Tahmasp. This done, he returned about the middle of 1729 to Mashhad, whence he was presently to set forth on the greatest enterprise he had as yet attempted, the extirpation of the Afghans from Isfahan itself.

At that city the progress of affairs during the past seven years had been anything but monotonous. After the fall of Isfahan in 1722, Mahmud, the Afghan conqueror, had for a short time, behaved as a humane ruler and a good statesman. But the annihilation of several parties of his Afghans who had been detached to reduce Kasvin, Khonsar, and other desirable towns, placed him in a very critical situation, and drove him to retaliatory measures of the most wholesale and barbarous description. Two fearful massacres, one of Persian nobles and their male children, another of 3,000 of Shah Hussain's former guards whom Mahmud had taken into pay

and treated with much kindness, were followed by a general order to put to death every Persian who had served the former Government. The bloodshed and rapine that ensued must have been indescribable. After fifteen days the Kurds had to be called in to re-people the city, since hardly a live Persian remained in Isfahan. Somewhat relieved by these sanguinary measures, Mahmud was enabled to subdue Gulpaigan, Khonsar, Kashan, and several other cities in Irak, and subsequently to make himself master of Shiraz. But disappointment at the smallness of the reinforcements he was receiving from Kandahar, the failure of an attack on Yazd, and the mutinous attitude of his own troops, counterbalanced the effect of these successes. After a savage massacre of the males of the royal house of Persia from which only the ex-Shah Hussain and his two youngest sons escaped, Mahmud went mad, died, and was succeeded by his cousin Ashraf. The latter soon proved himself a statesman and a soldier of no mean repute. At Isfahan he established a strong internal government, and built a fort which, to this day, bears his name. He captured both Karman and Yazd from which Mahmud had been repulsed; and after a lively conflict with the Turks he actually prevailed upon the Porte to recognise him as the lawful head of the Persian Empire. But in this promising career he was suddenly checked by the tidings of Nadir's doings in Khurasan. For Shah Tahmasp, Ashraf entertained a profound and justifiable contempt, but he was quick to perceive that Nadir was not to be trifled with, and accordingly, in the autumn of 1729, he set out with 30,000 men, of whom more than a half were Afghans, *en route* for Mashhad.

Nadir pleased to find that the struggle was to take place, so to speak, on his own ground, advanced from Mashhad and met his enemy on the 2nd October 1729 at Damghan, which lies 50 miles nearly due south of Astarabad. The Afghans commenced the engagement with a furious charge, but were repulsed. Ashraf then tried to outflank his opponent, but was again foiled, and Nadir, seizing the moment for a general advance, sent the Afghans flying in headlong confusion towards Teheran. A second engagement took place on the 15th November at Murchakar, a village 30 miles north of Isfahan, where Ashraf awaited the Persians in a strong position. This time the offensive was taken by Nadir who carried the Afghan entrenchments with a loss to the enemy of 4,000 men. The defeated Ashraf fell back upon Isfahan, whence, after putting to death the unhappy ex-Shah Hussain who had so long been his prisoner, he retired or rather retreated to Shiraz. Three days after the fight at Murchakar, Nadir entered Isfahan, whither he was presently followed by Tahmasp whom he had

left under pretext of solicitude for the imperial person at Teheran. Urged by Tahmasp to complete the obliteration of the Afghans, Nadir now flatly refused to stir, unless the Shah conceded to him the right of levying money for the payment of the troop in his own name. Though sensible of the deep significance of this concession, Tahmasp had no option but to grant it, whereupon Nadir hastened to carry out the imperial behests. Disregarding the severity of the weather and the want of supplies—for Ashraf in his retreat had devastated the province of Fars with Afghan thoroughness—he dashed southward and dealt the death-blow of the Afghan invasion by the recovery of Shiraz. The last stand which the Afghans attempted was near the ruins of Persepolis, and this eventuated rather in a rout than in a battle. After the reduction of Shiraz the Afghans simply melted away, those few who escaped death ending their lives in miserable captivity. Ashraf himself after nearly being betrayed at Shiraz, by his own followers into Nadir's hands, was slain by a Balochi while attempting to regain his native country through the deserts of Seistan.

Nadir had entered Shiraz in the early part of 1730, and for about two months he remained there, no doubt enjoying the honours and rewards that now poured thick upon him. Already the Governor of Khurasan, he now acquired three other fine provinces, Karman, Seistan and Mazandaran. To these Tahmasp added the hand of his own aunt in marriage, and the title of Sultan. The latter Nadir refused, but began to give a taste of his ideas on the subject by causing money to be coined in his own name. These diversions, however, soon gave way before more serious business. It has already been noted that just before the expedition to Khurasan a truce was effected with the Turks, binding them for the present to abstain from further hostilities. Whether the *raison d'être* of this truce was now at an end, whether the Turks, as one authority declares, had violated it by giving help to Ashraf, or whether the blame of the rupture rests with Nadir, the garbled accounts of the various historians render extremely doubtful. One thing, however, is certain, and this is, that after a short rest at Shiraz, Nadir marched northward upon Hamadan where, encountering the combined forces of two Turkish Pashas, he completely defeated them and made himself master of the surrounding country, including the city of Karmanshah. Not satisfied with this he proceeded still further north into Azarbaijan, and recovered Tabriz and Ardabil. The Turks now sued for a truce which Nadir was glad to grant, inasmuch as he had just received from his brother, whom he had left in charge of the government of Khurasan, tidings to the effect that the Abdali Afghans were again giving trouble, and that Herat once more had shaken off the Persian yoke.

The necessity of suppressing this rebellion was at once recognized by Nadir as paramount. Striking eastwards he reached Kasvin on the 17th August, and shortly after, in a pitched battle, defeated the Abdalis, probably in the vicinity of Mashhad, which a Persian historian tells us they had again occupied. Reaching Mashhad in October, Nadir spent the remainder of the year 1730 in arranging the details of his provincial government, and in drilling his troops. In the beginning of 1731 the marriage of Nadir's son, Riza Kuli, with Fatima, the sister of Tahmasp, was solemnized with much pomp and rejoicing, and on the 14th March, Nadir left Mashhad and marched on Herat which he reached on the 2nd April. This city he proceeded to invest, while his brother marched down and captured Farah. The blockade of Herat lasted till the close of 1731, when, to avoid an inevitable assault, the garrison surrendered. This opportunity was seized by Nadir to initiate that policy of tribal transplantation with which his later government is closely associated. There were many portions of Khurasan which required population, and to these the Afghans of Herat were accordingly deported. The captured city was occupied by a Persian garrison, and Nadir returned to Mashhad to prepare for a renewal of hostilities with the Turks.

But in the meantime events had been transpiring which were calculated in one sense to upset Nadir's plans, and in another, to forward them with unlooked-for celerity. No sooner had Nadir's face turned Khurasan-wards after the capture of Ardabil and Tabriz, than Tahmasp, encouraged by counsellors, of a mental calibre similar to his own, conceived the wild idea of taking the extirpation of the Turks into his own hands. Accordingly, in October 1730, he left Isfahan, and marched first to Tabriz, and thence over the mountains into Georgia. By the end of February 1731 he arrived at Erivan, whence he was promptly repulsed by Ali Pasha, and chased back to Tabriz. Abandoning the latter city, he made a last effort to assert himself at Hamadan, to which Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad, a good soldier and a clever politician, was preparing to lay siege. Here again completely defeated, Tahmasp finally retired to Kasvin, having lost in a few weeks all the ground that Nadir had spent months to win. Meanwhile, in Constantinople, the Turkish reverses of the previous year had brought about a lively insurrection, resulting in the dethronement of Ahmad III. and his supersession by Muhammad V. The mortality and general inconvenience consequent upon this insurrection made the Porte anxious for a settlement of their affairs in Persia. Accordingly, the Pasha of Baghdad was instructed to make peace, and on the 16th January 1732, shortly after Nadir had entered Herat, a treaty was agreed upon, and

subsequently ratified at Isfahan, whither the crest-fallen Shah had proceeded from Kasvin, and where he now commenced disbanding the relics of his army. By this treaty the river Aras became the northern boundary of Persia and Georgia, and even five districts of Karmaushah fell into the hands of Turkey.

When the news of these doings reached Nadir he was, to outward seeming, at any rate, furious. Not only did he expostulate loudly with Tahmasp and urge him to cancel the dishonorable treaty he had made, but he even published, in all the principal cities of the Empire, a proclamation in which he clearly stated his intention of repudiating the concessions by force of arms. Finding that Tahmasp shewed no signs of taking action, Nadir, who in the meantime had arranged with Russia to withdraw from Ghilan, and had, moreover, by Tartar and other levies, brought his army up to a strength of sixty or seventy thousand, now left his son Riza Kuli in charge of Khurasan, and set out for the capital. Before starting he sent to Constantinople a laconic message, "Restore the provinces of Persia or prepare for war." And another to Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad to the effect, that the "Deliverer of Persia" was approaching. He arrived at Isfahan on the 16th August 1732.

The events of the next few days were highly dramatic. A pretended reconciliation between Nadir and the Shah; copious intrigues between Nadir and the leading nobles; the invitation of the King to a review of Nadir's troops at which the latter appear to have expressed their sentiments pretty freely, are the opening scenes of the comedy. The review is followed by a banquet, at which Tahmasp gets drunk, and from which he is removed in not very imperial fashion. The next morning his deposition is proclaimed; he is sent under a strong guard of anti-Persian proclivities to Sabzawar; his infant son aged eight months is made king under the title of Abbas III; and Nadir Kuli Khan becomes *de facto et de jure* regent of the Persian Empire.

After a few days spent in superintending the coronation rites, Nadir sallied forth to carry out his threats against the Turks. Commencing the campaign with the recovery of Karmanashah, he proceeded thence to Baghdad, where Ahmad Pasha, in anticipation of his approach had prepared for a stubborn defence. Drawing his lines round the city, Nadir, whose army must now have numbered 70,000 or 80,000 men, attempted to starve his enemy into surrender. But meanwhile the Turks at Constantinople had not been idle. The horse's tail had been duly hung out at the Seraglio, and at the signal, an army fully as great as Nadir's had been collected, and placed under the command of a man of most conspicuous merit, Osman Pasha, forenamed Topal or "the Lame." Eager to relieve his gallant

brother Pasha, Osman lost no time in advancing first to Diabekr, and thence along the banks of the Tigris towards Baghdad. At his approach Nadir left 12,000 men in his trenches, and marched out north-westward some 50 miles, until with the bulk of his army he reached a village on the bank of the Tigris called Samara. Here, in a sandy plain, on the 19th July 1733, ensued a notable battle which lasted eight hours, and finally resulted in a hard-won victory for the Turkish Pasha. The Persians fled in confusion, and Nadir himself, who during the action had twice had his horse shot under him, could not rally them until they arrived at Hamadan which, from Baghdad, is some 250 miles. Ahmad Pasha now added a crowning touch to the rout by sallying forth from Baghdad upon the 12,000 men whom Nadir had left in the trenches before that city, and sending them in disastrous retreat to join the runaways from the field of Samara.

To the general run of oriental leaders, probably, such a crushing reverse as this would have been utter ruin. But Nadir's genius and knowledge of men was equal to the emergency. Arriving at Hamadan he treated his shattered troops just as if they had gained an important victory; he publicly acknowledged the error he had made in leaving the trenches before Baghdad, and going out to meet Osman; and he despatched a courteous message to Ahmad Pasha to the effect that, far from being crushed, he would be ready, in the early part of the following year, to try conclusions once more with the Turkish army. He was much better than his word, for, in less than four months, he again took the field, and, on the 26th October, succeeded, thanks to intrigues at Constantinople which had left Osman Pasha without money and reinforcements, in completely defeating his former conqueror. The gallant old Pasha fell on the field of battle, and Ahmad, now seeing it was hopeless to continue the defence of Baghdad, suggested peace. The terms of the treaty being agreed upon, a period of three months elapsed before the ratification thereof could be obtained from Constantinople. This interval was employed by Nadir in suppressing an insurrection raised in Fars by Muhammad Khan Baluchi, and in acquainting Russia with the success he had met with in his last campaign against the Turks. It will benefit the continuity of this narrative, if I anticipate so far as to note, that this was the first of a series of negotiations with Russia, which resulted some two years later in a friendly surrender of all the Muscovite conquests on the lower coast of the Caspian, and in the evacuation even of Derbend. Returning to the Turks, we find in the early part of 1734, that Ahmad Pasha's device for gaining time had succeeded fully. The Porte had refused to ratify the treaty, and in accordance with

their policy of never making peace, unless they had an army actually in the field, had hastily collected a fresh force under the command of Abdulla Pasha of Cairo. But Turkish policy collapsed before the now well matured strategy of the Persian regent. Abandoning all hope of capturing Baghdad so long as Ahmad Pasha lived to defend it, Nadir dashed northward into Georgia and Armenia, and in a brilliant campaign captured Tiflis and Ganjah (the modern Elizabetopol), and in June 1735 decisively defeated Abdulla on the plain of Baghavand, near Erivan. This, for the nonce, was the deathblow of Turkish aggression, and the preliminaries of a peace, based on the terms formerly proposed by Ahmad Pasha, which provided for the cession of all the Turkish conquests in Persia during the reign of Shah Husain, were soon arranged at Erzeroun. Malcolm informs us that this peace was concluded at the end of 1735, the intervening three months being employed by Nadir in subduing the Lesghis, a fierce and turbulent tribe, infesting the mountains that separate Georgia from the Caspian Sea, but Hanway, who is generally reliable, clearly states that the conference at Erzeroun was a protracted one, and that it was not until the latter part of 1736 that the Porte finally yielded up the lands which it had cost such an effort and so much reckless bloodshed to retain.

The year 1736 was fated to prove the most eventful one of Nadir's life. Long before this he must have cherished the thought of actually becoming Shah: but his rude natural sense was far too good to let him be premature in so serious a matter as the usurpation of a throne. For the Sufavean dynasty had, in spite of the misfortunes of Husain and the fatuous imbecility of Tahmasp, gained a very firm hold upon a people with whom oppression meant obedience, and whom ignorance made conservative. As long as even the shadow of a Shah of the house of Ismail remained in even vicarious enjoyment of the throne, usurpation was for Nadir a dangerous, if not fatal expedient. But the close of the year 1735 saw this obstacle removed by the death of the baby king who had been crowned, and who appears in some lists of the Persian Shahs as Abbas III. Of this opportunity Nadir was prompt to take advantage. In his capacity as regent, he invited the Persian nobility to a grand conference on the famous Moghan plain in northern Azarbaijan. Here, with his army at his back, he suggested that Persia was in want of a sovereign; the choice of a new Shah he left in the hands of those present; should they be unable to find a member of the royal house worthy of the dignity, he begged them to allow only greatness and virtue to influence their selection. The *finale* of the farce is a foregone conclusion. Solemnly the nobles retired to ponder

over the selection of their new ruler; meekly they returned to beg Nadir himself, the deliverer of their country, to become its king. As a matter of course Nadir, protesting that such an idea had never entered his head, declined the proffered dignity. Day after day the offer, or rather entreaty, was repeated, until at last the Regent, overcome by popular clamour, coyly consented, upon certain conditions, to accept the title and attributes of Shah. These conditions were, according to a contemporary biographer, firstly, that after his death his own line should have hereditary right to the kingship; secondly, that to take up arms in favour of the late dynasty should be considered high treason; and, lastly, that as the Shiah heresy introduced by the Sufi Shahs had only been productive of national misfortunes, the Persian people should now return to the Sunni orthodoxy, and duly acknowledge the authority of the four Khalifs. This last condition was, of course, by far the most exacting, and one, the reason for which at first sight it is difficult to explain, seeing that Nadir himself had hitherto been a warm partisan of the Shiah sect. Malcolm is perhaps correct in surmising that Nadir was naturally anxious to stamp out every trace of association with the dynasty into whose shoes he was about to step: for myself, I see no reason why Nadir should not be credited with an honest desire to do his country lasting good, by thus abolishing an undoubted heresy and restoring the religious as well as temporal equality of Persia with the rest of the Muhammadan world. Be this as it may, Nadir was evidently in earnest in insisting upon his conditions which, without much ado, were presently accepted; and on the 26th February 1736, the son of the Khurasani cap-maker, Nadir, "the slave of Tahmasp," amid the acclamation of humbled nobles and a well-paid army, became Nadir Shah.

Shortly after his coronation Nadir, having dispatched an ambassador to the Porte with tidings of the religious innovation he had just accomplished, and allotted the several provinces of the Empire to suitable Governors, marched down to Kasvin, and thence to Isfahan. Here he at once commenced preparations for a campaign in the far east against the Afghans of Kandahar, where he was determined upon restoring the Persian supremacy. Before, however, starting upon this expedition, he found time to chastise the Bakhtiyaris, a wild mountain tribe, which in a single month he compelled to confess that their rocky fastnesses were no longer impregnable. After the capture and death of their leader, a number of these mountaineers entered Nadir's army, and subsequently proved themselves extremely serviceable. Returning to Isfahan, Nadir, on the 12th November 1736, started thence *via* Karman and Seistan for Kandahar. Crossing the Helmand, on the 12th

February 1737, he blockaded Kandahar by the simple but expensive process of building close to it another town which was named in his honour Nadirabad. In the meantime he sent repeated messengers to the reigning Moghul at Delhi, Muhammad, asking him on no account to give shelter to Afghan refugees. Kandahar fell, chiefly owing to the reckless bravery of the Bakhtiyaris at the end of March 1738, and having deported into Persia a large number of the Afghan captives, Nadir turned his attention to an enterprise assuredly the most famous, though not the noblest in his whole career. Regardless of Nadir's repeated messengers, Muhammad, the besotted survival of the wisdom of Akbar and the splendour of Aurangzeb, had not in any way troubled himself to prevent Afghans from taking refuge in his dominions; and doubtless glad of the pretext thus afforded, Nadir now conceived the magnificent project of swooping down into India, through Afghanistan, and by force of arms compelling the Moghul Emperor to appreciate his existence and respect his name.

Leaving Kandahar at the beginning of May 1738, Nadir Shah captured in quick succession Ghazni and Kabul, and remained in the plains around the latter city until the middle of June. Hence he sent an ultimatum to the Delhi Emperor; but his envoy was killed at Jalalabad, a circumstance not calculated to deter Nadir from his advance. Pushing on to Gandamak, which he reached on the 28th July, and thence to Jalalabad, where he seems to have halted some two months, Nadir came to a satisfactory understanding with the tribes of the Khaibar Pass, whose assistance has been ever at the service of a liberal paymaster. Meanwhile, a gallant officer of the Moghul, named Nasir Khan, was preparing to defend Peshawar; but thanks to his new allies, Nadir's appearance was a sudden one, and Nasir Khan's troops were demoralised. After the capture of Peshawar Nadir's work was easy. A victory at Wazirabad was followed by the capitulation of Lahore, and on the 15th February 1739, Nadir Shah decisively defeated the forces of the Moghul on the plain between the Ali Mardan canal and the river Jumna. Four days later Muhammad made submission to the Persian invader, and a compromise was made by which, in consideration of a large sum of ready money, Nadir was to have refrained from making any further advance. Being, however, advised that the proposed sum was nothing compared to the treasures of Delhi, Nadir suspended the negotiations and marched on the Moghul capital, which he entered on the 8th March. Here he prepared to collect a gigantic subsidy, having in the meantime, enjoined his troops to be on their best behaviour. On the 10th March, however, a tragic interruption was caused by a disturbance in the city, followed by a rumour

that Nadir Shah was slain. The infuriated populace fell on the Persian soldiery and massacred as many as they could lay their hands on. On the morning of the 11th, Nadir rode out with a strong guard, and was filled with rage at the sight of the corpses of his troops. As he rode on, a shot fired from a window killed an officer at his side; and in a moment of passion Nadir gave the word for a general massacre. Over the result of this order it is best to draw a veil. From eight o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, the work of sack and carnage was carried out with ghastly energy. Not until over 100,000 men, women, and children had perished, did Nadir, sitting on the top of a mosque in the Chandni Chauk, give ear to the intercession of the Moghul Emperor, and put a stop to one of the most awful massacres that has ever stained the annals of the world.

The remaining events of Nadir's stay in India are naturally tame in comparison with this extensive tragedy. For a time the conqueror seems to have devoted himself solely to the collection of a tribute of Oriental magnificence. Contributions were levied on every side, Nadir exhibiting a rapacity hitherto unnoticed in his character. He even confiscated the peacock throne of the Moghul Emperors, and the great diamond, the *Kuh-i-Nur*, the possession of which, according to Mrs. Burton, is such a questionable boon. But Nadir did not leave India without displaying a few flashes of that rude statesmanship which characterises his career. He reinstated Muhammad in his empire and possessions, and exhorted the Muhammadan nobility, on the penalty of a second invasion, to remain faithful to the imperial house of Timur; and as a set-off to this, he married his second son to Muhammad's niece, and obtained the cession to Persia of all territories west of the Indus, which had previously belonged to the Moghul. Finally, in May 1739, he relieved Delhi of his presence, and returned, by very easy stages to Kabul, which he reached towards the end of November. Hence he found it necessary to make a rapid punitive expedition into Sind by way of the Bangash and the Daraghat, for the purpose of impressing upon Khudayar Khan, the ruler of that province, the necessity of paying due homage to his new overlord. On the 15th February 1740, Nadir, after a laborious march, reached Khudayar Khan's stronghold, Amarkote, and having first imprisoned and then restored to power the "silly Indian," as a Persian historian calls the defeated governor, he proceeded *via* Kandahar to Herat. Here he spent a few days in high festival and pompous display of the untold treasures won in his Indian campaign, and about the middle of June started for Balkh. This city he had previously fixed upon as a base of operations against the Khan of Bokhara

who, unmindful of a castigation received some three years back at the hands of Nadir's eldest son, Riza Kuli, had profited by the invasion of India to violate the Persian frontier and renew the time-honoured Usbeg inroads into Khurasan.

Nadir's expedition into Bokhara was not a very eventful or glorious one. On the 23rd August, he encamped at 12 miles from the capital of the Khan, Abulfaiz, who incontinently made the most abject submission. Nadir now repeated the policy he had followed in Hindustan, restoring the Khan to power, but fixing the Oxus as the common boundary of the Persian and Usbeg dominions. While at Bokhara he bethought himself to chastise Ilbarz, prince of Khaurezm, who, in common with Abulfaiz, had been raiding the Khurasan borders, but who now declined to profit by his neighbour's example and advice to make timely obeisance to the energetic Nadir. Accordingly, the latter, on the 18th October appeared before Hazaresp, but finding that place strongly fortified, he made a feint movement upon Khiva. Ilbarz sallying out from Hazaresp followed him, whereupon Nadir, doubling back through the mountains, got between Hazaresp and Ilbarz, and shortly crushed the latter and had him put to death. He then returned to Persia, and at the end of the year 1740 we find him at Kalat. This spot, so wonderful by nature, Nadir, whose attachment to it had always been very great, proceeded to make still more wonderful by art, and to this day, as Kalat-i-Nadiri, the mountain fortress bears his name.

In the early part of 1741 Nadir went down to Mashhad, whence he projected a second expedition against the Lesghis of Daghistan, his object being to revenge the death of his brother who, during the invasion of India, had lost his life among these savage mountaineers. Great loss and only partial success attended Nadir's arms on this occasion, but the expedition was marked by an event which, practically speaking, terminated Nadir's career. Whilst riding through the forests of Mazandaran, an assassin concealed behind a tree fired upon Nadir, wounded him in the hand, and killed his horse. Suspicion was quickly aroused in Nadir's mind of the participation of his own son in this attempt. Summoning Riza Kuli he taxed him with the crime, and, in a moment of ungovernable rage, ordered him to be deprived of sight. It is charitable to suppose that some time before this Nadir's reason had been giving way, and that the attempt on his life had been the last straw. At any rate, the fury and remorse which succeeded the blinding of Riza Kuli, left no doubt as to Nadir's state of mind. By the middle of June he was indisputably mad.

The remaining six years of Nadir's reign are not edifying to contemplate. A triennial struggle with his old enemies, the Turks, resulted in a peace, in which Nadir was forced to abandon much of his former fanciful pretensions. As to internal Government, the less said about that the better; the wild administration of a lunatic is hardly to be classed in the category of serious history. Unfortunately, wildness was not the only characteristic of Nadir's insanity. Rapacity, which wrung from high and low treasure to fill the idle coffers at Kalat; murderous barbarity, which bathed the Persian Empire in constant and indiscriminate bloodshed; religious intolerance, of which the wanton oppression of priests was perhaps the mildest feature; these are memories of Nadir's later years, on which I have neither need nor desire to expatiate. Strange it is that the terror of even so great a name could have power so long to cover the commission of such vast atrocities. For no less than six years the empire groaned under the madman's will, until on the 8th June 1747, the time came for him to render his terrible account. Some of the leading officials of the court, fearing for their own lives, resolved to put an end to the capricious despot; and, on the date I have mentioned, four chiefs, on pretext of urgent business, rushed past the guards into Nadir's tent, and in a few moments the great general and absolute monarch, now nearly sixty years of age, was dead.

Of Nadir's personal characteristics a detailed account is to be found in the pages of his contemporary Fraser. From this description, which refers to a period just subsequent to the invasion of India, we gather that Nadir was upwards of six feet in height, well proportioned, with a handsome countenance, large black eyes and eye-brows, and a tremendous voice. As regards physiognomy this description tallies with the fine engraved portrait of Nadir given in Malcolm's History of Persia.

Simple in his diet and habit, Nadir possessed enormous bodily strength and endurance. An excellent man of business, he was, as regards keeping the reins of Government in his own hands, and administering his affairs with clearness and despatch, a model ruler. To his followers generous and often bountiful, he was still the strictest possible disciplinarian, and was no respecter of persons when a fault had been proved. Like many other great men he loved to unbend to two or three chosen friends, but to presume upon such an intimacy was death. "Such fools were not fit to live," he remarked as he ordered two of his evening companions, who ventured to advise him in public, to be strangled. "They could not distinguish between Nadir Kuli and Nadir Shah." His humour was of the rough-and-ready sort, but he was not necessarily savage in his wit. With reference to an Indian

official, who rejoiced in eight hundred and fifty wives: "Take from my female captives one hundred and fifty damsels," roared Nadir, "and give them to this man, so that he may become Mimbashi (Commander of a thousand!)"

Of Nadir's character, historically considered, it hardly behoves me to speak. Pens vastly abler than mine have fully sketched that character, and carefully estimated its influence upon the history of the Persian empire. I am naturally disinclined, as well as unable, to add anything to the words of Sir John Malcolm, of Jonas Hanway, and of many others, who have made this matter their especial study, and who have brought to the task a deep knowledge of Persia and of Persian ways of thought. Besides, one of the chief objects of this article has been to present a simple and connected narrative of Nadir's life, from which readers can readily deduce their own opinions, as to the historical aspect of the conqueror's career. Lest, however, this brief biographical sketch be considered incomplete without at least a few words of comment, I would very briefly ask my readers, while fully appreciating Nadir's undoubted virtues, his daring courage, his superb patriotism, his splendid administrative capacity, and his grand military genius, at the same time to be a little blind to his undoubted faults. Let them remember the very humble station from which he sprung, and above all the circumstances in which he was placed. Finally, let them not be too ready to look upon personal characteristics as inseparable from historical merit. Nadir was a murderer; so, for the matter of that, was Robert Bruce. He was a robber; how many of our cattle-lifting forefathers, whose memories we revere, were infinitely worse. Nadir was a usurper; but what a shadow of a throne it was that he usurped? He was a tyrant; but most of his tyranny was exercised when his responsibility for his actions had ceased. For myself I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction, as that of a humble student of history, that, robber, murderer, usurper, tyrant, as he was, Nadir Shah was still one of Nature's own prodigies, a combination of some of the greatest and rarest qualities that are permitted to mankind; and I even venture to think that seldom, indeed, in the unerring cycles of self-repeating history, there has arisen among the nations of the earth a man to compare with him, who for thirty years ruled with iron hand the destinies of the land of the Lion and the Sun.

OWEN E. WHEELER.

ART. IX.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.

(Continued from the "*Calcutta Review*," January 1883.)

CHAPTER IV. •

A Better Market

"Education is good, and so is political freedom, but more vital than either to the Indian peasant is sufficient food and decent clothing. To the Indian ryot will neither be forthcoming till the markets of Europe are freely open to the produce of his village lands."—*Indian Wheat versus American Protection*, 1883.

"The Indian Government is not a mere tax-collecting agency, charged with the single duty of protecting person and property. Its system of administration is based upon the view, that the British power is a paternal despotism, which owns, in a certain sense, the entire soil of the country, and whose duty it is to perform the various functions of a wealthy and enlightened proprietor The Indian accounts represent . . . not only the Indian taxation and the cost of administration; they represent the trade expenses and profits of the Government as a great railway owner, canal maker, opium manufacturer, salt monopolist, and pioneer of new industries."—*Hon'ble W. W. Hunter (Imperial Gazetteer.)*

"I shall be exaggerating very little if I say that the country is split up into so many millions of five-acre farms. . . . It is found that all administrative problems, however intricate, can be resolved into factors in which the five-acre unit, and the prosperity of the five-acre holder, is the most important one of all."—*Mr. E. C. Buck.*

IT was proposed, in the last chapter, to cheapen the cultivator's cost of production by a system of State advances at low interest. With a larger out-turn, resulting from improved agriculture and the protection of his fields from drought; a fairer share in that outturn secured to him by the fixing of a fair rent and by fair dealing with his improvements; and with a much smaller deduction than at present from his share in the grain-heap, to replace with interest the advances taken for seed and subsistence, a large aggregate increase to his comfort and happiness, will, it is obvious, be achieved.

But the greatest possible improvement of his condition will not be attained until he is enabled to command a good market and a fair price for that portion of his share in the grain-heap which is not retained by him for seed or food. It, therefore, becomes necessary, (1) to examine the chief obstacles to the ryot's access to a better market; (2) to search for the means of removing them; (3) to outline a method of applying such remedy as may seem to be indicated.

I.—The obstacles to be removed.

The ryot's command of a fair price for his produce, and his access to a better market seem to be hindered, chiefly, by the following circumstances:—

1. (1) the combination of the functions of money-lender and grain-dealer in the same person;

- (2) defective communications ;
- (3) the handicapping of trade with Europe by excessive railway freights to the coast and breaks of gauge ;
- (4) the want of such organisation as elsewhere,—in America, for instance,—secures to the agricultural producer special advantages in competing for a footing in foreign markets ;
- (5) the periodical depreciation of the price of agricultural produce at the spring and autumn barters of produce for silver.

(1) *The combination of the functions of money-lender and grain-dealer in the same person.*

That this combination exists, as a rule, and that it prevents the borrowing ryot from getting a fair price for his produce, is shown by the following passages : “The cultivator himself, who is the chief producer and also the chief customer, knows little of large cities, and expects the dealer to come to his own door. Each village has at least one resident trader, who usually combines in his own person the functions of money-lender, grain-merchant, and cloth-seller. The simple system of rural economy is entirely based upon the dealings of this man . . . The money-lender deals chiefly in grain and in specie.” (*Imperial Gazetteer*, IV., p. 568. Art India). In Bengal “the Mahajan who, in effect, furnishes the farming capital, pays the labour, and takes all the profits, is a stranger, having no proprietary interest in the land. After setting aside in his *golas* as much of the produce come to his hands as he is likely to need for his next year’s business advances in kind, he deals with the rest simply as a corn-factor, sending it to the most remunerative market.” (*Calcutta Review*, July 1884, p. 201, Rustic Bengal.) “In this country, no doubt, the relations between producer and merchant are complicated by the fact that the former is generally to a certain extent in the power of the latter, and that his needs and obligations prevent the possibility of his taking full advantage of any knowledge he may possess of the prospects of the season.” (*Ibid*, p. 155 : “Famines in India,” &c.) “The grain-dealing class composes a guild or fraternity to which not only no outsider not of the caste can get admittance, but which also monopolizes the money-lending or banking trade. Thus the members, be they banias or zemindars, can compel the producer, who lives solely by the advances they grant him, to bring his produce to their shops, and prevent him getting full open market value for his goods. The cultivator is, therefore, not only crippled by the heavy interest he has to pay, but also by the low prices he is compelled to take for his produce,” (*Muttra Settlement Report*, p. 90.)

"The profits made" (by sugar manufacturers) "are notoriously great, but it would appear that these profits are chiefly due to usurious advances, and consequent purchase of material below the fair value The cultivator who borrows money on his (sugar) crop has to bind himself to deliver his produce at a price far below its real value." Sugar-cane cultivation, Shahjehanpur, North-Western Provinces, *Revenue Reporter*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1874, pp. 156-7.) "Once in debt he" (the cultivator) "can hardly ever extricate himself, for then the price of the *r'us* (juice) in future is always fixed by the *khandsari* below the market price, and the rate of interest is raised. The cultivator must consent or be sued in the Civil Court for the balances due, sold up and ruined. I have known as low a price as Rs. 16 per hundred kacha maunds entered in the bonds, when the ruling price in the open market was Rs. 26 and Rs. 27." (Bareilly Settlement Report, p. 95). "The price rate . . . at which the Mahajan values his constituents' sugar produce is not the full price rate of the open market at the time of its delivery. In that he makes a deduction of from five or ten per cent., and, moreover, he weighs the produce at delivery considerably to his own advantage . . . There are agriculturists, of course, who are able to sell their sugar produce in open market, but these, probably, are themselves Mahajans either *in esse* or *in posse*, and the great bulk of the agricultural population loses part of the value of its sugar produce in the manner above described. In the case of any grain the cultivator must sell to the Mahajan the terms are not quite so hard. There is less chiselling, apparently, in the weighing, and value is allowed at the market rate of harvest-time." (Azamgarh Settlement Report, p. 144). "During the last six or seven years of my experience as a zemindar, I noticed the great loss to which the Asamis were put by the pernicious system of selling cane-juice and *rab* to the Mahajan." (Pundit Ajudhiya Parshad of Indalpur, quoted at p. 49 of Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Dept. of Agri. and Commerce, for 1881-82.) "When . . . the loans are not cleared off, and the cultivator gets at all deep into the money-lender's books, the matter changes. It is then customary for the creditor to take over the whole of the cultivator's grain or cane-juice and dispose of it to the best advantage for himself, giving the debtor credit for a price always somewhat, and sometimes very much, below the current rate." (Moradabad Settlement Report, p. 64). "Not one cultivator in five hundred realises the profits I have described" (obtained by an enterprising European landowner who 'was aware how much the land depends on manure, and who, not being indebted to any Mahajan, was able to obtain a fair price for the produce.') "He cannot afford to apply sufficient

labour, irrigation or manure, and he does not get the full price, as the crop is already hypothecated, and is purchased at a lower than the market rate. In the case of cane and poppy, there is a nearer approach to full profits than in wheat cultivation, as only the best cultivators grow these crops, and the price of the opium is received direct from Government." (Fatchpur Settlement Report, pp. 19, 22).

(2) *Defective Communications* — The reality of this obstacle to the ryot's access to a good market is everywhere admitted, and roads are made and improved, it is believed, to the full extent that the resources available, and the costly and cumbersome procedure of the Public Works Department allow.

That progress in railway construction has lagged far behind urgent requirements, has been demonstrated by Colonel Conway Gordon in the Yellow Pamphlet (1883), and now, in 1884, the Select Committee have reported that the evidence in favour of a more rapid extension of railway communication is conclusive, and that the amount proposed to be spent by the Government of India on railways during the next five or six years (thirty-three millions) is moderate (Report, paras 20 and 30.)

(3). *The handicapping of trade with Europe by excessive railway freights to the coast, and breaks of gauge.*—How seriously high railway freights to the coast weight India in her competition with America for a hold on the European market is shown in the Yellow Pamphlet. The leading points may be usefully quoted. "The wheat-trade of England now oscillates between the three countries of America, Russia and India, swaying from one country to the other on the slightest fluctuation in price." (p. 7). The Government of India estimates the present yield of wheat in India at about $26\frac{1}{2}$ million quarters, or $15\frac{1}{2}$ million quarters in excess of the whole requirements of England. (p. 9). "Whether the question be viewed from the point of area, quality, or of price, it appears that after making the fairest allowance for the disadvantages against her in the matter of ocean-freight, India should be the principal source of supply for the wheat demand of England. It will now probably be asked why, with these unquestionable advantages, India has not, in the ordinary course of supply and demand, attracted more of the English wheat trade—why it has not, in fact, monopolized the whole of it. The answer to this question is a very simple one. The Americans have developed *cheap* lines of communication, while in India these have been studiously neglected To bring into the open markets of the world the wealth of the agricultural produce of India, all that is required is *cheap* communications between the interior districts and the coast; and it is in this respect that India is so immeasurably behind her rival." (pp. 14, 15.) "The Indian railways,

taken as a whole, are scarcely a patch on the vast system of lines that traverse the United States in every direction, bringing the products of each district into easy communication with the coast. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the difference this makes to the social status of the agricultural population in the two countries. To the American farmer the whole of the markets of Europe are open for the sale of the grain and other farm-produce not required for home consumption, while to the Indian ryot, in the more neglected districts, no calamity can well be greater than a bumper harvest, when the price of his grain falls to an almost nominal sum, when the greater part of the crop has either to be left standing or else buried to weevil away, and when at the same time the wretched peasant has to produce, too often by borrowing from a money-lender at simply fabulous interest, his regular share of the fixed Government assessment." (p. 16.) "In India, with the cheapest labour in the world, we do not seem able to compete with the high-priced labour of America; we are not able to carry grain at the same low rates as are in force on the American lines." (p. 18). "The rates for the carriage of grain that affect the small native trader are more than three times higher than the American rates" (p. 19). "The cheapest railway rates in India are even now more than one and a half times the ordinary American rates . . . Every three hundred miles of railway carriage at the present high rates adds on the extra charge of one shilling a quarter in excess of what the charge would be if the wheat were carried on an American line. Taking the average distance from the sea-board of the principal centres of the wheat-trade in India, we find that Indian wheat is, through the indifference shown to the whole subject, unnecessarily weighted in the competition to the extent of more than three shillings per quarter. . . . This is only the loss after the wheat comes on to the railway. Taking this together with the ruinous cost of cartage for long distances, it is not surprising that India at present succeeds in carrying off only a portion of the English wheat-trade at times when prices are ruling the highest, instead of occupying the position she ought of being able to dictate her own prices to America." (pp. 20, 21).

The necessity of reform in this matter was fully established by the evidence recorded by the Select Committee (1884). The remedy proposed by the Committee is that the Government should retain in their own hands a power of fixing, or from time to time varying, the maximum of fares and rates, subject to adequate provisions to secure the interests of investors.—(Report, para. 27).

The injurious effects of *breaks of gauge* were summarised in Colonel Conway-Gordon's evidence before the Committee as

consisting of the actual cost of transhipment (put by Mr. T. C. Glover at from two to three annas a ton); the delay and uncertainty that result from goods not being run through; the wastage and dryage of goods during transhipment—"the sweepings of grain from the tranship station at Nagpur sold during 1883 for 2,700 rupees";—the loss of power to each line from the rolling-stock of each being locked up at the changing station; and the further loss from surplus stock on one line not being available to assist in gluts of traffic on the other. (Evidence, p. 272).

Mr. Lionel Ashburner says:—"The goods traffic floods the different stations where there are breaks of gauge; it is impossible to move it; it demoralises all the subordinates of the railway. The station-masters and the understrappers of all sorts take large sums in order to give preference to the goods of the different men who pay them Then there is the enormous wastage. There is a pile of cotton bales, for instance, as high as this room, or higher, and extending over an acre or two of soil. The white ants destroy the lower bales of the cotton, and it is impossible for a trader to get at his cotton; it is so surrounded by piles of other cotton and grain, and all sorts of goods, that he cannot get at it. He cannot save it from rain. There is not sufficient shed accommodation for it. It is out in the open. A storm of rain comes on, as is very often the case in the hot weather, and it is subject to enormous losses. . . . I have heard of merchants being almost ruined by the demurrage they have had to pay owing to the block of traffic on the different railways up-country." (*Ibid*, p. 416).

"The witnesses," says the Report, "with singular unanimity, General Strachey and Mr. Rendel being the only exceptions, attached great importance to the avoidance of breaks of gauge."

And the Committee are of opinion "that all the leading trunk lines, with their principal feeders, should be on the broad gauge, the metre gauge being, as a rule, confined to tracts of country where that system is already in successful operation, and to local lines where the traffic is likely to be so light, that cheapness of construction more than counterbalances the undoubted disadvantage of break of gauge." (Report, para 21).

(4) *The want of such organisation as elsewhere,—in America for instance,—secures to the agricultural producer special advantages in competing for a footing in foreign markets.*

This most serious obstacle to the development of the export of agricultural produce from India is chiefly traceable to the smallness of Indian farms, the petty scale of village business, the scarcity of large capitalists, the mistrust subsisting between the different castes and classes, and the complete want of

combination between the three landed interests of State-landlord, zemindar and ryot. "America is an enlightened and enterprising country, with an export trade of enormous proportions, and by a happy combination of growers, carriers and exporters, a system has been adopted which has been found beneficial to all parties concerned, and to the State also in natural consequence. In India all these conditions are reversed. . . . Producers, middlemen and exporters all have, or think they have, separate interests. . . . Traders in this country are always jealous and suspicious of any Government interference. . . . The American system" (of inspecting and grading grain) "is based upon a voluntary co-operation of all parties through whose hands the grain passes, and such a combination would be impossible in India." (Mr. W. Ramsay, Collector of Nasik. *Wheat Production and Trade in India*, 1879, p. 345).

In America "enormous areas are grown with food-grains of very much the same kind and quality." But in India "the land instead of being cultivated by farmers owning large areas and growing for export is occupied by petty peasant proprietors who grow mainly to supply their own wants, and the local market. The consequence is that what is available for export is generally collected by a class of middlemen from a number of cultivators, and that this middleman's stock represents a great variety of grain both as to description and quality. To grade this accurately would be almost impossible." (Mr. H. N. B. Erskine, Commissioner, Northern Division, Bombay, *Ibid*, p. 346).

These remarks, though made regarding a part only of Western and Southern India, are equally applicable to the whole of the continent. In the N.-W. P. and Oudh "grain, like other staples of Indian trade, is collected from innumerable small producers by middlemen (*arthyas*), who supply the large European exporters, but themselves also act as exporters. It is at this point that so much dishonesty prevails." (Mr. F. N. Wright, *Ibid*, p. 352).

"The practice" (in the N.-W. P. and Oudh) "is to have the grain carried off to godowns at Calcutta to be examined by or on behalf of the consignees for refraction. The cultivator can and often does clean down to two per cent. of impurities, but the consignees insist on deducting four per cent. on this account from the purest samples they receive, thereby occasionally making a not wholly deserved profit. The up-country dealer, however, soon learns this, and makes the profit himself by mixing the required proportion of dirt in the grain he gets from the cultivator. Whatever form the transaction takes, it amounts to an *ad valorem* tax of two per cent. on the trade.

It is said, moreover, that the business of assessing samples is much in the hands of native jemadars and that there is good deal of corruption.' (Mr. W. C. Bennett, Director, Department Agriculture and Commerce, *N-W. P. Gazette*, 11th October 1884, p. 176).

In the Central Provinces, "it is when the produce changes hands and is found in the store rooms of the dealer that more or less admixture becomes a regular feature in the samples." (Wheat Production, &c., p. 79). In Bombay, "unfortunately, the chances are ten to one that the cultivator is deep in debt; his crop when saved goes direct to the bannia; he saves none of it for seed; and when he requires the latter, he has to borrow it again from the bannia and take such quality as the latter chooses to give him . . . Certainly the cultivator's wheat might be cleaner, but it is after it leaves his hands that the real adulteration begins. It cannot be stated whether this is done at the river ports, but it is well known that the practice is regularly carried on in Kurrachee. The importers are natives; the exporters mostly Europeans. Little, if any, grain comes to the latter direct from the railway station. It is taken into the native town, there mixed, chiefly with barley, and then taken back to the exporter's yard, where the barley is cleaned out again as far as is possible." (*Ibid*, p. 133). In "Sind the seed grain is not carefully stored or packed; it is stored by the grain-dealer in what are called *kothis*. They are never properly cleaned out before they are filled again, and as the cultivators are mostly all indebted to the dealers, who are also the village money-lenders, they are obliged to accept any kind of grain offered to them." (*Ibid*, p. 143).

In the Punjab things are no better. "There are ten or eleven villages in the Ferozepur district in which the lower classes, such as Chamars, sweepers, &c., make it a trade to supply different colored earths to suit the color and size of the different kinds of grain. The earth is worked into small grains to look like the grain, and the traders say it is almost impossible to winnow out this description of dirt . . . Water again is put in to increase weight . . . All these practices are resorted to by the conveying traders in self-protection against the tricks of the brokers who rob them in various ways." (Punjab Wheat, p. 26). In the Lahore District the small grain-dealers "very generally mix up all the grain they get from their different cultivators, and then strike one rate for all the grain, paying the same rate to all the cultivators, irrespective of the quality, kind, or cleanliness of the wheat." (*Ibid*, p. 47). In Muzafargarh, says Mr. C. E. Gladstone, "the wheat is trodden out by oxen and becomes foul from dung and urine. The cultivators then, after winnowing it, let it lie on the ground until they

have sown their Kharif. Squirrels and birds besoul it, and the dust raised by wind falls into it too. It thus arrives at the corn-merchant's in a dirty state. . . . About purity, the great drawback is the indebtedness of the people. They have to take any grain their Sahukár gives them. This is never pure. Pure wheat hardly exists. . . . Further, the purity of the grain is destroyed by the corn-merchant. These men collect wheat from hundreds of farmers and throw it all into one *palla*. They throw all the blame on the cultivator. The corn-merchants and village Sahukár are more to blame than the cultivator. . . . The cultivators are, to a great extent, helpless. They must take impure grain from their creditor, the Sahukár. If pure grain was to be had they could not get it. They must give their custom to the Sahukár. . . . Our grain-dealers have no means of cleaning grain, and no intention of starting any. They are apathetic." (*Ibid*, p. 60).

Look on this picture, then on that presented by the organisation and enterprise of America. The rapid development of her railways and the cheapness of railway freights has already been noticed. "In America a great deal of the (railway) traffic has been stimulated and promoted by what they term dispatch companies. These are companies working as it were within the railway companies. These dispatch companies hold their own stock. They pay a certain haulage charge to the railway companies, and they hunt about for traffic, and they make their own bargain with the merchants."—(Select Committee, 1884. Evidence of Mr. Donald Graham, p. 168).

At Chicago "for receiving the grain and transferring it to the railway wagons, when it is brought in by ship, immense towers or 'elevators,' twenty in number, have been set up along the shore of lake Michigan, and they have a storage capacity of 16,000,000 bushels. Some of them are eighty feet high or more. They unload at the rate of about 7,000 bushels an hour each."—(Marshall's Through America, p. 92). Here is a description of a Chicago Elevator. "I went one day to see the elevator at work at one of Armour, Dole & Co.'s granaries,—a stupendous building, 110 feet high. . . . The interior on the ground-floor was like a railway terminus with trains running in and out. . . . When a ship comes alongside the granary, an elevator, working on the principle of our river-dredging machines but with the buckets small and touched with Chicago lightning, is sent down into her hold, and instantly, on steam being turned on, begins clutching the grain with its myriad hands, and flying up with it to the top of the granary, pouring it into a huge vat, or 'scale-hopper.' This receptacle holds 500 bushels at a time, and immediately on receiving that weight opens below, discharging the 500 bushels into the granary, and

instantly closes again to receive more. In this way the grain weighs itself on its passage from the ship to the store, machinery lifting it, machinery weighing it, and machinery storing it. When the grain is not to be stored but transferred from ships to railway cars, the cars enter the building, and the ship comes alongside. The elevator stretches down into the ship's hold and runs the grain up into the scale-hopper which, instead of emptying it into the store, discharges it into a spout which shoots it down into the cars. In this way, with incredible rapidity, train after train is loaded and "sent off." (Macrae's "The Americans at home." II. p. 194.) This granary contained ten elevators able to gather up and store 40,000 bushels of grain an hour, if all working at once. A new granary was being built "on a still more gigantic scale, being provided with fifteen elevators . . . and being capacious enough to hold a million and a quarter bushels." (*Ibid.*)

In the American cotton trade, the system of through bills of lading by the railways in connection with the ocean steamship lines from New York, enables the spinner or merchant in England to "buy in Memphis at first hand from the producer, with all the selection of grades the market affords, and have the cotton delivered to him in Liverpool by rail and steamship within three or four weeks of the purchase, not only with advantages of freight but without the cotton being handled, tared, or stolen at any intermediate point, and with no more than one series of necessary commission charges, *viz.*, at the place of purchase." (Somers' *The Southern States since the War*, p. 260).

At the chief grain collecting centres in the United States the grading and inspection of grain has been systematised to such perfection, that a consignment of wheat is as exchangeable as a bank-note. Details of this admirable system are given at pp. 302 to 359 of "The Wheat Production and Trade of India, 1879." Its leading features are these. Early in each season, Committees of the Produce Exchange at New York, the Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commission at Chicago and Illinois, and the Chamber of Commerce at Milwaukee examine samples of the new crop of wheat, maize, rye, oats, barley, &c., and fix the standards for each grade of the various kinds of grain. Grain, on arrival, is carefully tested and graded according to these standards by an Inspector-in-Chief, aided by Deputy and Assistant Inspectors. These officers are remunerated by inspection fees. It is essential that they should be "able to discriminate by eye, touch and smell, the several qualities of grain" that pass before them, and that their moral character should be "such as to withstand the efforts that are made by receivers to secure for their grain a higher grade than

that to which it should properly be assigned." The grain is then weighed and warehoused, and a certificate is issued to the consignee, informing him that the Railway Company (or warehouse man) hold so many bushels of grain of such a grade subject to the consignee's order. "This certificate is negotiable, and passes from hand to hand in lieu of the grain itself. A factor wishing to make a shipment of a particular kind of grain, presents to the Railway Company (or the warehouseman) sufficient of these certificates for his purpose, with instructions to put the grain on board or alongside of a certain vessel, or it may be, on a train of cars. The rest is mechanical."—(Wheat Production, &c, p. 303.

Mr. Lionel Ashburner, who has seen wheat graded at Chicago, and has served in every district of the Western Presidency, and has thirty-five years' Indian experience, thinks that 'the same kind of thing might certainly be done in India.' "There is," he says, "no practical difficulty in introducing the same system into India. The want of care is about general throughout India. Three or four separate qualities of corn might be fixed as standards, just as it is done at Chicago, where you get corn of a certain sample. There is no difficulty about it."—(Select Committee, 1884. Evidence, pp. 414, 415).

The opinions collected in 1879 (Wheat Production, &c.) make it probable that the difficulty is a good deal greater than Mr. Ashburner thinks, and that this particular triumph of organisation, and many others which India sorely needs, will not be achieved until the landlord-in-chief leads the way in breaking down the barriers.

(5) The periodical depreciation of the value of the cultivator's produce in the barter of produce for silver.

This a very potent, though an almost unnoticed, element in that phase of the ryot's depression which is due to a bad market. "Whenever," says McCulloch, "the supply of money is limited, its value varies in the inverse ratio of its quantity as compared with the quantity of commodities brought to market, or with the business it has to perform."—(McCulloch's Edn. of the Wealth of Nations, 1863. Note IX, Section II, Supplementary Notes and Dissertations). "That an increase of the quantity of money raises prices and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency."—(Mill's Political Economy, III, VIII. 4)

The law here stated operates with great force in the regulation of the prices at which the ryot's produce passes into the hands of the grain-dealer. An extreme illustration of its working is described in the Annals of Rural Bengal (p 315.) In 1790 the calling in of the debased coinage which formed

two-thirds of the currency of Bengal "denuded the rural population of the means of purchasing the necessaries of life. The prices of local produce sank to nominal rates, not because grain was really cheap but because money was dear, and the village usurers, demanding a settlement of accounts as usual at harvest time, received the husbandman's whole crops in return for a pound or thirty shillings advanced to him in spring."

I reproduce here some observations on this subject contributed by me to the 'Fair Field' columns of the "Pioneer" in June 1876, under the title of "Corn in Egypt." "Silver, not being a product of Upper India is, relatively to agricultural produce, a scarce and costly commodity, of which at certain times,—the rent and revenue collecting periods,—an immense consumption, roughly measurable at twice the revenue demand, is forced upon the payers of rent and revenue, the result being, that at these times the demand exceeds the ready supply; the holders of silver ask and get a fancy price for it; and consequently the price of grain and all other commodities with which it is purchased is depressed abnormally. This depression is acutely intensified by the glut in the grain market produced by the urgent necessity of parting with it at whatever cost in order to get the wherewithal to pay the rent and revenue demand."

The depreciation under notice is closely connected with the question of the proper number of, and periods for, paying the rent and revenue instalments. This was clearly pointed out by Mr. C. H. Crosthwaite, when Settlement Officer of Etawah. He says:—"The simultaneous demand for one million sterling from the agricultural classes must, and does, cause the value of money to rise very much. And a loan which at another time could be had at the rate of 36 per cent. per annum, at the time of the revenue instalments costs 72 per cent."—(Etawah Settlement Report, p. 89). In another paper Mr. Crosthwaite says:—"The evil which we want to meet is the increase in the price of silver which is caused by the demand at one time of a large instalment of the revenue, all of which, with very trifling exceptions, is paid in specie....The demand for a large amount of specie to pay the revenue, causes the same phenomena which occur when an efflux of specie takes place. Holders of capital demand a large amount of interest, and borrowers are compelled to pay it. But in this case the loss falls primarily on one class, namely, the agriculturists. They are obliged to part with their produce at a very low price in order to obtain silver to meet their urgent wants. The evil is caused by the large simultaneous demand for specie, not by any hoarding on the part of Government....When the same pressure is applied all over these provinces, (to go no further), at one time, it must cause the harvest prices to fall to an unnecessary

degree, and must subject the farmers to a very great loss." (N. W. P. Revenue Reporter, Vol. I, No. 1, 1872, p. 54). This periodical depreciation is forcibly described by the Settlement Officer of Jalaun. Mr. P. J. White says:—"It is with these" (the harvest prices) "that the agriculturist has immediate concern, and their comparative profusion shows what a necessitous creature is your ordinary ryot. He cannot wait after harvest until the grain-dealer shall pay him a price in some agreement with the average annual value of the produce. The poor helot of the soil is forced to sell at once, forced to flood an already full market, and thus with open eyes depreciate his own goods, because his, as well as his landlord's, first necessity is silver wherewith to pay the rent and revenue, and because he is quite in the grip of his village banker, who having translated the money-value of the seed grain (with accruing interest) advanced at sowing time into present value in kind, is no advocate for merciful delay until the market rises. The banker is omnipotent, for it is to him that the agriculturist has to look for raising the next harvest, and indeed for carrying on at all." (Settlement Report of Pargana Koonch, Zillah Jalaun, 1874).

• The data for calculating the average extent of this depreciation have never, I believe, been collected. Any one who may hereafter take up the subject will find some useful statistics as to the variations between the rise of bazar and harvest prices in the Settlement Reports of Mainpuri (p. 70), Muttra (p. 90), and Gonda (p. 74), and also some valuable indications as to the kind of data that will be required and the way in which they should be handled. Mr. W. C. Bennett finds, in his Gondah Settlement Report, that the corn-factor's profits as shown by the difference between bazar and harvest prices, are rather more than twenty-seven per cent. on his original outlay. "When we consider," he says, "on the one hand, the general high rate of interest, the expenses of carrying and storing, and the risks from damp and fires, and on the other, the virtual monopoly which is secured to the banya by the indebtedness of the cultivator, the above rate of profit hardly seems extravagantly high." In Muttra, Mr. R. S. Whiteway's analysis of field and bazar prices from 1813 to 1876 led him to the conclusion that, in Muttra, "the cultivator is not only getting his share in the rise of prices generally, but is also gradually forcing the banya to give him a better price for his produce; for whereas bazar rates have risen for wheat only 42 per cent, the harvest rates have risen 55 per cent. The difference between harvest rates and bazar rates for this grain was 27 per cent. for the first period" (1813—1837); "23 per cent. for the second" (1838.—1857), "and only 17 per cent. for the third"

(1858—1876). "It must take time for the benefits of the competition in the export trade to filter down to the cultivator, guarded and hedged as he is by custom and long standing obligations, but in a longer or shorter time it must reach him."

In Mainpuri, on the other hand, a contrary conclusion was reached by Mr. M. A. McConaghey and Mr. Donald Smeaton, the joint compilers of the Settlement report. They give a schedule of harvest prices "carefully abstracted from the books of the district grain-dealers for the thirty two years, 1840 to 1871, and a schedule of bazar prices extending from 1813 to 1871." Their conclusion is:—"While the bazar price of wheat during the period 1859—71 shows an increase of 58 per cent. on that of the preceding period, the corresponding increase in its harvest price is only 42 per cent. In the determination of harvest prices the cultivators and the village grain-dealer, be he zemindar or banya, are the sole parties concerned, and the harvest rate is literally the bargain which they conclude with each other. But this bargain is not altogether a free one. The tenant is by long established usage and his own improvidence dependent greatly on the banya or zemindar with whom he deals for his seed, rent advances, often for his food and other necessaries of life. The grip of the purchaser on the seller in such a bargain is a very tight one. Hence in fixing the harvest prices the grain-dealer, who is the purchaser, has generally the best of it. Therefore on a general rise in market rates harvest prices, although they will not remain stationary, will not increase in the same proportion. The cultivator has not reaped the full benefit, or anything like it, of the rise in market value of produce."

These data seem to justify the assumption that this periodical depreciation represents an average loss to the ryot of at least ten per cent. of the fair local price of that portion of his crop which he makes over to the grain-dealer.

II.—Where to look for the Remedy.

The importance of this phase of the ryots' depression is greatly increased by the fact, that an enormous quantity of the silver so dearly purchased by the losing barter of produce for rupees, is presently sold cheap by the still more losing barter of rupees for sovereigns. In 1876, when I first invited attention to the intimate connection between this losing barter on the part of the ryot and the State loss by Exchange, the estimated loss on the Secretary of State's drawings was two and a quarter millions (£2,232,000) on a remittance of thirteen and a half millions (£13,660,000). The estimated loss for 1884-85 is three and a half millions (£3,538,100) on a remittance of sixteen and a half millions (£16,500,000).

A further serious fall in the exchange value of silver, or in the revenue from opium, might at any time make the question of saving or largely reducing this loss by exchange the turning point between solvency and embarrassment.

If grounds can be shown for believing that this loss, so far as it is real, can be very largely reduced, such grounds would deserve very careful attention. Their claim to be closely examined would be greatly strengthened if they should be found to point to the possibility of devising a system which, while relieving the finances of the Empire from the burden of loss by exchange, would at the same time tend to relieve the ryot from the burden of low prices, and to have a powerful effect in overcoming the five great obstacles that at present block his access to the better market.

I believe that such a system may be elaborated on *the basis of the substitution of a direct barter of produce for gold instead of the present round-about barter of produce for silver, and of silver for gold.* This belief is based on the fact that, side by side with the round-about ruinous barter practised by the State and its ryots, the direct barter of produce for gold is being carried on, actively and profitably, by the very persons with whom they deal in their unbusiness-like, unfortunate transaction.

The sixteen or seventeen millions annually remitted from India to England are remitted, as everybody knows, not in specie but in produce. The sixteen or seventeen million sovereigns required by the Secretary of State are purchased by the sale of Indian produce commanding that price in the London market. This Indian produce has been purchased in India with the rupees paid by the Secretary of State at the presidency treasuries for the sovereigns acquired by him in London. The produce thus purchased in India for direct exchange with gold in London is the very produce which, a few weeks earlier, the ryot has been selling at a loss to his banker and corn-factor, but which the corn-factor, the middleman, and the exporter pass on from hand to hand, each making something by the transaction, till at last it reaches a European market, and is there bartered for gold.

Of the various parties concerned in the whole transaction no one loses but the State and the ryot. They lose and deserve to lose because, while actually holding jointly the ultimate medium of remittance and exchange, they choose to part with it in a bad market in order to acquire a depreciated medium of exchange which is not required in the transaction at all, and then proceed to dispose of this depreciated medium in another bad market to acquire a commodity for which the produce so rashly parted with is directly exchanging at a profit.

The state of the market admits of the direct barter of produce, say wheat, for sovereigns. Instead of making this direct barter, the wheat is sold by the ryot to the corn-factor for rupees. It is then sold by the corn-factor to the middleman or exporter, also for rupees, at a price which has, as we have seen, been computed in a typical district to be twenty-seven per cent. higher than the price at which the ryot parts with it. Lastly it is sold by the exporter for sovereigns in Mark Lane, or elsewhere.

I ask,—is it wholly beyond the organising capacity of the Government of India to put an end to this ruinous and ridiculous state of things?

Is it chimerical to suggest that there is scope here for very real and valuable reform, and that that cannot be impossible for the joint energy of the State, its zemindars, and its ryots, with due co-operation from private enterprise, which is being actively done already, in a more complex way, by persons between whom there is no such *nexus* of mutual interest and obligation as subsists between the State, the zemindar, and the cultivator?

It is not necessary to the success of my demonstration that I should show that the operation can be performed, either now or hereafter, on a scale large enough to cover the whole area of loss. The soundness of a reform lies in its efficacy in producing substantial advantages, in the wholesomeness of its action, and in its inherent vitality and capacity for gradual development, as circumstances and opportunity admit. I do not claim for my suggestion that it will, if adopted, remove the whole of the annual loss by exchange, or wholly relieve the the ryot from the depression caused by the badness of his market. All that is advanced is, that in both these matters substantial relief may be secured by its adoption, that things would be brought into a more wholesome groove than at present, and that conditions would be established from which great future benefits, financial, economic and political, might confidently be expected.

I will now try to establish the grounds of the belief expressed. I will then outline a method for applying the proposed remedy. Incidentally I will examine three propositions connected with the subject which seem to me to be seriously fallacious, and to be responsible for a good deal of the indifference with which the question is at present regarded. These three propositions are, that the loss by exchange is apparent only, not real; that the loss is real, but that the true and only remedy lies in the development of Indian exports; that the proposal involves an improper descent by Government into the mercantile arena.

The grounds of my belief are confined in the following propositions :—

(1). The Government of India has to acquire, and to place in London, sixteen or seventeen million sovereigns annually.

(2). In the process of buying these sovereigns with rupces furnished from the Indian revenues, it incurs a nominal loss by exchange of between three and four millions sterling. (The extent of the real loss by exchange will be stated presently).

(3). This loss is incurred because silver is directly exchanged for gold, and because the exchange value of gold in relation with silver has undergone extensive appreciation.

(4). The gold to be exchanged for silver is acquired by the sale of Indian produce for gold, in London.

(5). This produce is purchased in India with the silver for which the gold has been exchanged in London.

(6). The Government loss by exchange is traceable to the fact that, as the Government neither holds nor acquires the produce with which the gold is purchased, it is compelled to carry on the unprofitable barter of silver for gold with persons who carry on the profitable barter of silver for produce in India, and of gold for produce in London.

(7) The Government can get rid of the unprofitable, and adopt the profitable branches of the entire transaction : (a) by taking its land revenue in kind, and, wherever this is impossible, by purchasing the required amount of produce, and (b) by exporting the produce so acquired to Europe, and there bartering it for gold either directly by Government agency, or indirectly through agents, brokers or contractors.

With regard to these seven propositions, I suppose that the accuracy of the first, second, third, fifth and sixth will not be disputed.

To establish the fourth, it will be sufficient to quote the following passage from the speech of the Under-Secretary of State for India (Hon. J. K. Cross), in May 1883, on Mr. E. Stanhope's motion to reduce Indian expenditure.

Referring to the Home Charges Mr. Cross said, (*Times* report) :—

"Here they had a total of nearly £17,000,000, requiring 204,000,000 rupees, which had to be paid in England. They were paid, not in coin but in kind. no money came to pay them : they were paid in cotton and corn, in jute and rice, in teas and indigo, and many other products of the soil of India, and as they grew year by year, so year by year they demanded more and more of the produce of Indian soil to meet them . . . The debts of the world were paid in kind. A pound of debt was discharged by a remittance of a sovereign's worth of produce."

The seventh is the only proposition that requires special consideration.

The particular transaction to be got rid of, if possible, is the purchase of gold by the Secretary of State in London with silver at his disposal in the presidency treasuries. The transaction to be substituted is the acquisition of produce in India, and the barter of this produce for gold to be paid in London.

The practicability of the operation seems to turn on the answer to the following questions:—

(1). Can such a price be obtained for Indian produce in the markets of Europe as will make the net cost of remittance in this shape greatly less than the net cost of remitting under the present system?

(2). Is there reason to doubt the ability of the Government to conduct the operation?

(3). Is the Government in a favourable or unfavourable position for successfully organising the enterprise?

(4). If the conditions involved in these three questions are satisfied, would the transaction be an improper encroachment by the Government in the field of private enterprise?

The last of these questions will be examined in the concluding section (111) of this chapter. At this point I will only say that I have given it frequent and careful consideration during the last eight years and have satisfied myself, and believe that I can satisfy others, that private enterprise would not be improperly interfered with.

The answer to the first of the other three questions seems to be furnished by a consideration of the rapid development of Indian exports to Europe; the great extent to which they consist of raw agricultural produce; the large aggregate profit on the barter of produce for gold obtained by the numerous intermediaries, between the Indian producer and the European consignee, and the enormous loss on the barter of silver for gold.

The rapid development of the Indian export trade with Europe and the great extent to which it consists of raw agricultural produce are established by the following passages in the Imperial Gazetteer:—

"India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe . . . It has been reserved for our own day to discover, by the touchstone of free trade, the real source of her natural riches, and to substitute bales of raw produce for boxes of curiosities. The cotton, grain, oilseeds and jute of India now support a large industrial population in England . . . Our rule derived its origin from our commerce . . . At the beginning of the last century, before the English became the ruling power in India, the country did not produce £1,000,000 a year of

staples for exportation. During the first three-quarters of a century of our rule, the exports slowly rose to about £10,000,000 in 1834. During the half century since that date, the old inland duties and other remaining restrictions on Indian trade have been abolished. Exports have multiplied by six-fold. *In 1880 India sold to foreign nations £66,000,000 worth of strictly Indian produce, which the Indian husbandman had raised, and for which he was paid. In that year the total trade of India, including imports and exports, exceeded £122,000,000*” (Imperial Gazetteer, 1881. IV., pp. 542—545). “London still retains its historical pre-eminence as the first Oriental mart in the world, whither buyers come from the other countries of Europe to satisfy their wants . . . Of European countries, France and Italy alone deserve notice beside England” (in respect of trade with India). “In 1877-78 the Indian exports to France reached the large total of nearly 6 millions sterling, consisting chiefly of oilseeds (rape and gingelly), indigo, cotton, silk and coffee . . . The trade with Italy shows a steady increase within the last five years, the exports having risen from £1,100,000 to £1,670,000 or 52 per cent . . . the exports are cotton, silk, oilseeds (sesamum) and hides . . . The trade with the United States comes next to that with Italy, both aggregating a little over 1,000,000 sterling. The exports are indigo, hides, raw jute, and gunny bags, lac, saltpetre, and linseed.” (*Ibid* pp. 558—560). The same authority gives the value of the Indian exports to the United Kingdom in 1877-78 (excluding treasure) at £29,298,152, and shows that these exports consisted chiefly of raw produce, being rice, wheat, jute, cotton, oilseeds and indigo. (*Ibid*. pp. 556—561).

It is not necessary to spend much time in proving what every one will admit,—that *the intermediary agencies between the Indian producer and the European consumer are numerous, and the aggregate profit obtained by them must be very considerable.* “Broadly speaking, the greater part of the internal trade remains in the hands of the natives. Europeans control the shipping business, and have a share in the collection of some of the more valuable staples of export, such as cotton, jute, oilseeds, and wheat In those districts where the staples of export are largely grown, the cultivators commonly sell their crops to travelling brokers, who re-sell to larger dealers, and so on until the commodities reach the hands of the agents of the great shipping houses. The wholesale trade thus rests ultimately with a comparatively small number of persons, who have agencies, or rather corresponding firms, at the central marts.” (Imperial Gazetteer IV., pp. 567—569). The number of links in the chain between the producer and the final consignee varies, of course, widely in different parts of India and

in different branches of the export trade. There will, I think be found, as a rule, the petty village bannia, who receives the produce direct from the cultivator; the larger dealer of the nearest mart or *ganj*; the big merchant of great collecting centres such as Agra, Cawnpore, and Delhi; the actual shipper, and the freight broker at the port of shipment. Each of these persons, be they few or many, has to make his profit on his share in the whole transaction; to say nothing of the carriers, who at its different stages provide pack-bullocks, carts, goods-wagons and steamers to convey the produce from the village to the port of ultimate delivery. The fact of continued and increasing exportation shows that the difference between the price finally obtained and the price at which the produce first changed hands is large enough to yield a fair remuneration to each of these sets of persons. So far as these persons are not capitalists, they have to be remunerated for the labour employed and the skill applied to its superintendence. So far as they are capitalists, they have to realize this remuneration for their employes and, in addition, interest on the capital invested, equal to the current rate of interest on the best security, plus such further profit as will indemnify them against whatever extra risk of loss this business involves in comparison with an investment in Government securities, and as will remunerate the capitalists themselves for such personal skill and assiduity as they apply to the work. (Mill's Political Economy, II. XV. I). In India the rate of interest below which capital does not seek a mercantile investment may be put at about four per cent. for European, and a much higher figure for most native capital. Each of the capitalists, probably not less than three in the whole chain, may be presumed to realize at least five per cent. on his investment, besides working expenses. The freight broker takes about one per cent. on the value of the consignment, and the shipper's agent at the port of consignment from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. The aggregate profit divided among the capitalists and agents concerned, after carriage, freight, insurance and other incidental charges have been defrayed, cannot be less, on an average, than about twenty per cent.

That *the loss incurred by remitting in silver is enormous* is apparent from a consideration of the extent of the true loss by exchange, the scale of the remittances, and the period over which the loss has extended and seems likely to extend. The rate of real loss at which silver exchanges with gold is considerably less than the rate represented by the difference between the market value of the rupee in shillings and pence and its so-called par value of two shillings. As remarked by Sir E. Baring in his Financial Statement for 1881-82, "in

order, to arrive approximately at the real loss by exchange, we must assume a normal relative value between gold and silver. When that relative value was as 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$, the 165 grains of silver contained in a rupee were worth 1s. $10\frac{5}{8}d$."

On this basis Sir E. Baring estimated the real loss to the Indian treasury in 1881-82, resulting from the disturbance of the equilibrium previously existing between gold and silver, at £2,053,600. For a correct standard, then, by which to compute the true loss by exchange, we must fix on some specified relative value between silver and gold as normal and authoritative. The relative value represented by a proportion of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 has been adopted by the bi-metalists, and is probably the soundest that can be chosen. Measured by this standard, under which the full sterling value of the rupee, if not depreciated, would be 1s. $10\frac{5}{8}d$, the true percentages of loss represented by the exchange of the rupee at, respectively, 1s. $8d$. and 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}d$. are 11.6 and 13.8. These considerations justify me in putting the average true loss by exchange at not less than twelve per cent. on the amount paid in rupees at the presidency treasuries in discharge of the Secretary of State's bills, and at about two-thirds of the nominal loss by exchange shown on the expenditure side of recent Budget Statements as Exchange on Transactions with London. In 1881-82 the real loss was, as already noted, computed by Sir E. Baring at £2,053,600. In 1882-83 it has been (at two-thirds of £3,081,433) £2,054,288; by the Revised Estimate for 1883-84 it will have been (at two-thirds of £3,860,000) £2,573,332; and by the Budget Estimate of 1884-85 (at two-thirds of £3,538,100) it will be £2,358,732.

A loss to a poor country like India of from two to two-and-a-quarter millions annually, continuing for many years, and with a tendency to increase as the Home Charges grow and the exchange value of silver falls, is to my mind enormous, and, as Indian finance is constituted, dangerous.

It is convenient to dispose, at this point of the proposition, that the so-called loss by exchange is apparent only, not real. This proposition is stated rather positively in Dr. J. S. Cotton's "India." He says (p. 48) of "Loss by exchange":—"Of course it is not really a loss, but only a matter of account. If India had no payments to make in England the item would disappear." As India has to make large payments in England the relevancy of this remark is not apparent. The question involved in the proposition is not whether, under certain circumstances, the item would cease to appear in the accounts, but whether, while it does appear in them, it represents a real loss, or is only a matter of account involving no real loss. Dr. Cotton does not seem to have studied the Financial Statements of the Government of India for the last few years.

In the Statement for 1878-79 Sir John Strachey said that the increased sum required for making the home remittance, as compared with the sum required for the remittance of the same amount in 1872-73,—“the last year before the long standing equilibrium between gold and silver was violently disturbed,” “represents the yearly taxation now required in addition to what would have been necessary if the old rate of exchange had been maintained. The insurance provided against future famine has virtually ceased to exist; and the difficulties in the way of fiscal and commercial and administrative reform have been greatly aggravated. Nor can it be any way assumed that the evil will not continue and go on increasing.” In his Statement for 1881-82 (para. 80), Sir E. Baring, in a passage already quoted, showed how the *real loss* by exchange might be approximately computed. In his Statement for 1883-84 (paras. 44 and 45), Sir E. Baring again referred to the popular error of supposing that the whole of the so-called loss by exchange is real loss. He said :—“To speak of the total amount entered under *loss by exchange* as money lost is, of course, wholly erroneous, for under any reasonable hypothesis, in respect to the relative value of gold and silver only, a portion of the amount can be considered as a real loss” As already noted he put the amount of real loss in 1881-82 at £2,053,600.

A much more fashionable fallacy is, that though the loss is real, the only true remedy lies in a development of exports. That a development in the export trade tends to keep up the relative value of silver as compared with gold, is of course true. “The rate of exchange is ruled by the selling price of silver in London. That again is ruled by the demand for silver. This demand is either for purposes of currency, of trade, or of manufacture. The last is not important. The demand for currency purposes was high when every European country, except England, and also America, maintained silver currency. But as silver is now being rejected from the currency of country after country (we do not refer to mere token currency) the demand for it is of course decreasing: consequently *the main demand now, which keeps up the price to even 50 pence an ounce, is that for trade purposes with Asia.*” (“The Future of Opium” *Pioneer*, 27th July, 1883). It would be difficult to state the facts more clearly or compactly than is here done. But what does it point to? That the development of Indian exports acts as a *palliative*, retarding the decline in the exchange value of silver. Surely it is fallacious to speak of a mere palliative as if it were a cure, and to cease to search for a remedy because the efficacy of the palliative cannot be disputed. To make the proposition a sound one it would be necessary to show that such a development of the Indian export trade may be confidently expected as will

not only prevent any further decline in the exchange value of silver, but will restore the normal value. If there are any grounds for such expectation, how is it that the extraordinary development of exports, during the last few years, while doubtless retarding the decline, has done nothing to restore the normal value?

In the five years, 1874 to 1878, the average annual value of the exports, exclusive of bullion, was £57,140,000. In the next five years 1879 to 1883, it was £69,980,000. In 1883-84, it amounted to £88,076,000. (Report of Select Committee on Indian Railways, 1884, para. 17) Yet in 1883-84, in spite of this rapid development, the exchange value of silver had not improved. The so-called remedy was in active operation, with no indication of reducing the mischief but merely of preventing it from becoming more acute.

Nothing else is to be expected from an operation which does not attack the root of the mischief. The difference between those who think in this particular groove and myself is this. They say,—we have to remit in silver, *therefore* let us do what we can to keep up the exchange value of silver. I say,—by all means do what you can to keep up the value of silver; but you cannot by any conceivable development of exports restore it to its normal value, *therefore* abandon, as far as possible, a form of remittance which involves grievous loss, and substitute a form of remittance which involves no loss, and is being carried on under your eyes at this moment, actively and profitably.

The second question is:—*Is there reason to doubt the ability of the Government of India to conduct the operation safely?* In the outline of a method of applying the proposed remedy, in the third section of this chapter, the aggregate operation will be divided into its component parts, and such computation made of the bulk of the work to be done at each stage, and comparison of it with somewhat similar work already done by the Government, as will make it easy to pronounce on this question. Here, I will merely quote an authoritative description of certain functions successfully performed by the Government of India, and ask whether a Government which does all the things described, need doubt its ability to do, or get done, an operation of the kind proposed. In his Financial Statement of March 1884, Sir Auckland Colvin says, (para. 120):—"The above remarks are sufficient to show once more that the Government of India in its character of railway constructor, and in its control of various industrial or commercial operations, undertakes large, varied, and expensive enterprises, which although for the most part highly remunerative necessarily add to the sum total of its expenditure. It constructs railways and telegraphs; conserves or creates forests, makes and excavates salt; provides

saving banks; digs canals and tanks; organises and controls mechanical workshops and foundries; prospects for coal; furnishes funds for agricultural or industrial experiments; subscribes to economical exhibitions. It is also the holder of a large opium monopoly."

The remaining question for consideration in this section of chapter IV is:—*Whether the Government of India is in a favourable or unfavourable position for successfully organising the enterprise.*

The State in India is the chief landlord.* It is practically, the sole landlord in the ryotwari districts. It collects its own rents. These rents exceed the amount of the annual remittance to England. They are paid by the sale of raw agricultural produce. The produce sold to pay the Government rent and revenue is, to a very great extent, the very produce in which the annual remittance is made. The roundabout ruinous way in which it is bartered for silver, and the silver for gold has already been described. The State, and the State alone, can place, so to speak, one foot on the ryot's threshing-floor, and the other on the wharf in London, directly barter its share in the grain-heap for gold and so secure for its ryot the best market for this portion of his crop and for itself the cheapest possible means of discharging its annual liability in England. It owns and works the post-office, the telegraph lines, and to a great extent, the railways. It has an organisation that, except in Bengal, which will soon cease to be an exception, enables it to ascertain the crop grown on every field, and to connect itself with every cultivator and every zamindar. It can develop this connection to any required extent by moderate additions to its revenue establishments and by free excision of the morbid growths of dead, unfruitful drudgery that now degrade the tone, deaden the sympathies, and stifle the energy and intelligence of itself and its officers. Its service is still, as a rule, attractive in spite of increasing drawbacks, and it can compete on favourable terms in this respect with other employers. These terms would become much more favourable if a purer equity prevailed in its dealings with its servants, and if fidelity and loyalty were as freely exercised towards them as demanded from them.

It alone can raise capital at four per cent. or less. It alone, of all the agencies at work, is in the position of neither seeking nor needing to make a profit, after defraying working charges and providing against loss. It alone, in dealing with the ryot, can combine irresistible authority with pure unselfishness. To say this, is not to claim for the officers of Government any sort of moral superiority over those of their fellow-countrymen who are engaged in mercantile pursuits. It is merely to affirm the obvious truism, that the interests of the ryot, the zemindar, and

the general tax-payer are bound up in the State. It is their produce that has to be sold in the best market, their liability that has to be discharged, their remittance that has to be financed. The profit is theirs. The loss is theirs. The State has no interest in these transactions but theirs. Its officers, in this connection, are their agents and representatives, doing their business.

Favourable, however, as the position of the State may be, for organising this and those other practical enterprises which are proposed in these chapters, the position admits of immeasurable improvement. I shall try to show this in my fifth (concluding) chapter. It will be given, not as at first intended, to the subject of Less Absenteeism,—a matter that can wait,—but to the suggestion of certain administrative reforms which cannot wait.

I shall try to show in it how the defects of our administrative system make adequate progress in satisfying the most urgent economic wants of rural India impossible. I shall try to show that the history of recent British Administration in India is a chronicle of continuous recession from direct contact with the people; that we are drifting away from a conviction of the paramount claims of rural India, and of the special obligations of the State in its capacity as chief landlord; and that this disastrous recession is being now forced on, faster than ever, by neglect of the simplest and most rudimentary canons of administrative success. I shall trace this result to the squandering of force, the frittering away of energy on trifles, the vagueness of aim, and distraction and dissipation of thinking and working power which is caused by the unfortunate combination, in the complex system of Indian administration, of intense objectivity, extreme centralization, division of will, incomplete division of labour, loss of touch between the Government and the district officers, and consequent loss of sympathy between the Government and the people. As a conspicuous illustration of this loss of touch and sympathy, I shall refer to Lord Ripon's handling of the Local Self-Government question in relation to rural India, its neglect of the most obvious conditions of success, its adoption of conditions that, until they are revised, necessarily ensure failure.

And I shall try to show how these dangerous evils may perhaps be cured; how force now wasted may be saved and concentrated; how it may be made to glow with ten-fold warmth and energy, by turning it into neglected channels of effort by the side of which the strength and skill and love of rural India,—the true India,—are waiting to work with us and welcome us.

ARTHUR HARRINGTON.

(To be continued).

THE QUARTER.

THE event of the quarter just closed, was the advance of the Russians towards the Afghan frontier and its results, the sudden display of energy on the part of our Government and the strained relations still existing between the two countries. As we go to press (the 21st of March) the negotiations between the countries are still pending. The unheeded warnings of forty-five years, from the mission of Abbot in 1839, to the mission of Lumsden in 1885, were very near receiving a sudden and terrible fulfilment during the last week, and may—we believe, must—yet be fulfilled at no very distant date, and that even if the negotiations, which are being carried on now, should result in a temporary settlement of the differences between the two countries. As it is, our Government has come out of the matter very badly indeed. We have asked Russia to withdraw from certain positions which she has occupied south of Sarrah, and our contention is that these portions are practically Afghan territory.

Russia declines to withdraw from these positions, and her contention is that the points which she has occupied are Turkoman territory. If Russia is allowed to remain where she is, our diplomacy will have received another humiliating check, and another item will have been added to the dreary catalogue of insults, rebuffs, disasters and humiliations which a Gladstonian foreign policy has brought upon the nation.

In our issue for January, we pointed out that the Boundary Commission could, by no possibility, lead to any permanent settlement of the frontier dispute. This is now shown to be the case, and for the very reasons which we indicated at the time. The boundary which we desire to maintain is a geographical boundary; the boundary which the Russians have appropriated, and which they insist of maintaining, is an ethnological boundary, and it is hopeless to expect any permanent agreement between the two countries when the very principle of adjustment is a matter of dispute between them.

The next most important event of the very eventful quarter just closed, was the fall of Khartoum, with all its consequences, the death of the heroic Gordon, and the failure, so far of the English expedition to the Soudan. The main object of the expedition was the rescue of Gordon. That object can never be accomplished now. We may avenge his death; we may vindicate the prestige of our arms and "smash the Mahdi," but

nevertheless our expedition will be a failure. We have, or can have, no quarrel with the people of the Soudan, apart from the duty which was imposed on us of rescuing our Ambassador, and the beleaguered garrisons of our allies, the Egyptians. The Soudanese are fighting for an object, not only legitimate in itself—the independence of their country—but natural and legitimate in a very peculiar degree, with reference to all the circumstance and events of Egyptian history since the Arabi Revolt. The people of the Soudan were described by Mr. Gladstone as “brave men fighting for their independence,” and the truth of the description is not to be denied. A country like Egypt, which can neither govern itself nor defend itself, forfeits, by its own impotence, all right to a position of supremacy over any other nationality whatsoever. We have recognised this, and yet the policy of our Government influenced throughout by a sort of Micawber-like hope that “something would turn up” as an escape from the difficulties of their position, has been characterised by weakness, vacillation, incompetency, and a profoundly deficient perception of their responsibilities in connexion with the situation. If we had no intention of remaining in the Soudan, the mission of Gordon to Khartoum was a most egregious blunder. What could Gordon offer to the Soudanese, as a reward for opposition to the Madhi, nothing but the vengeance of the Madhi when he was gone? In the first instance, Gordon was welcomed with enthusiasm at Khartoum, and if he had gone there as an earnest from the British Government of British protection, it is possible that he would have “smashed” the Madhi himself. But his hands were tied. The expedition for his relief was so long delayed, that the Soudanese believed he was abandoned by the Government which had sent him to Khartoum, and the tribes fell from him in every direction. We know the rest. Egyptian treachery completed what English imbecility had begun. Khartoum fell; Gordon was killed, the English army of vengeance is retreating and entrenching itself; our military prestige has suffered “a heavy blow and great discouragement,” and the issue of this Egyptian *imbroglio* no man can foresee. It may—possibly must—result in complications which will have a very direct bearing on the future of the country, and, as such, comes within the review of considerations and events affecting us very closely indeed. Already France is very jealous as regards what we have done in Egypt. She is only too likely to be still more jealous of what we will be compelled to do as a consequence of the fate of Khartoum and the death of Gordon. Prince Bismarck has lately employed, or amused himself, in scolding us vigorously all around, and has plainly conveyed to us that we can no longer reckon on the support or sympathy of Germany in the event

of our being brought into collision with any of the other great Powers.' Our ever watchful neighbour—Russia—is creeping on slowly but surely towards the Afghan frontier, and the shadow of a Russian invasion is looming in what appears to be a very near future indeed. In the meantime we are getting more "assurances" from eminent Russian diplomatists. With these we appear to be content, and the Indian Government makes no sign. We say, appear to be content, for if we are not greatly deceived, both as regards the man and his mission, the eye which Lord Dufferin has fixed on our northern frontier is very wide open indeed.

In other directions besides Egypt, it is evident that Mr. Gladstone has steadily played into the hands of our enemies, and that we are now reaping the fruit of his miserable policy in the alienation of Germany and the activity of Russia and France.

Germany is the natural ally of England. Their interests do not clash, or ought not be allowed to clash, in any quarter of the globe. We have an interest, a deep interest, in colonization as an outlet for the ever-expanding Anglo-Saxon race, but any pretensions to monopoly in that direction would be in the last degree absurd and unjustifiable. Germany has quite as much right to every yard of unappropriated territory as we have. If we wanted it for ourselves, or if we wanted to keep others from appropriating it for themselves, why did we not take it? We did not take it, but no sooner does Germany make a step towards the territory which we were either too lazy, too timid, or too stupid to annex, than our Foreign Office is thrown into a ferment—our consuls and representatives receive "urgent" instructions stirring them up into a state of morbid activity; the German Foreign Office is inundated with "notes," categories, from Lord Granville on the subject of German colonization, and at last the extremity of audacity is reached when we ask an independent power like Germany to accept from England certain "conditions" which are to accompany the German occupation of hitherto unappropriated territory. No wonder that Prince Bismarck expressed himself "bitterly" to Sir Louis Malet respecting the incredible folly of Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy. No wonder that Prince Bismarck should decide on washing his hands of an English alliance and drawing closer to Russia, and supporting Russian policy in Central Asia. We have done what lay in us to drive our natural ally into the arms of our "dearest foe."

The great battle of Bengal Tenant-Right has been fought—and won—not to the extent we hoped for, not altogether in the direction we anticipated—but still won, for the battle of reform like the battle of freedom, though baffled, oft is ever won.

The plea of the opposition was a plea for delay and republication. That plea has not been allowed. What is to be done will be done at once, and this recognition by the Council of the necessity for prompt legislation, is in itself a great victory for the Government of Bengal. It is true that some provisions of the measure to which the Government of Bengal attached peculiar importance,—on which it laid particular stress—have been eliminated from the Bill in the course of its progress through the Select Committee. This is to be regretted, but still what has been gained—in the direction of giving the ryot some protection against arbitrary enhancement—some definite rights of occupancy—is a very great step in advance indeed. The net result has thus been admirably summed up by a writer in the *Pioneer* :—

Whatever be the shortcomings of the Bill, it greatly strengthens the legal rights of the ryot. It gives him occupancy-rights in all lands he holds on proof, that for the past twelve years, he has had some land in the village. It further presumes in his favor in any dispute between him and his landlord, that he has occupancy-rights and requires the landlord to prove the contrary.

It prevents him contracting himself out of his right of occupancy. It prevents his rent being enhanced more frequently than once every fifteen years. It secures his right to make improvements and to be compensated for them on ejection. It requires the landlord to sell up the holding in execution of a decree instead of proceeding to evict, and it stops the abuses of distraint by making it an impracticable process. As regards the tenant-at-will it confers on him a number of important rights, the united effect of which will, in very many cases, facilitate his acquisition of occupancy-rights.

In his supplementary speech on the Tenancy Act the Viceroy repudiated, with just indignation, the baseless and malevolent insinuation that the Bill had been hurried through the Council, because Lord Dufferin and the Members of the Council wanted to get away to Simla as soon as possible. The statement was not only untrue, but curiously the reverse of the truth. The Viceroy, as it happened, had decided not to leave Calcutta, for fully three weeks, after the passing of the Bill. The Bill, as it was brought before the Council, was the result of the labours of the Select Committee, and every clause and section of the measure had been examined, discussed, fought over, and sifted through, grain by grain, before the Bill was submitted for a final decision to the Supreme Council, and now there is only one final consideration which remains to be taken into account in connexion with the practical application of the provisions of the Rent Bill. We are warned by the opponents of the Bill that it will lead to a great immediate increase of litigation ; so it was after Act X, and so it will be now that the

greatest measure of modern reform in connexion with land-tenure in this country has been passed into law. This is of course an evil, but then it is an evil which cannot be avoided, it must be frankly accepted and made, the best of, and it will find its own cure "in the long result of time."

The Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the sanitary condition of Calcutta was issued during the quarter, Mr. Cotton dissenting, as a matter of course. The Committee, with great judgment, refrained, as much as possible, from re-opening the weary and miserable controversy respecting the backslidings of the Municipal Commissioners. Summed up in a few words the case, as against the Commissioners, seems to stand thus. They were somewhat too careful of our pockets, and somewhat too careless of our lives. The recommendations of the Committee embrace a great variety of minute and valuable practical suggestions in connexion with bustee-cleansing, tank-filling, sewer-flushing, and all other sanitary measures and precautions for improving and maintaining the public health of the city. There has been established in Calcutta a Society called the Health Society, consisting of a number of gentlemen interested in the great cause of public sanitation. During the quarter two admirable lectures were delivered in connexion with this Society, the one by Dr. Harvy, the other by Mr. Justice Cunningham. If these lectures have the effect, even in some degree, of awakening a general public interest in questions of sanitary science, they will do incalculable good, and as the promoter of this admirable Society, Mr. Cunningham has deserved well of the Calcutta community in the highest as well as in the most literal and emphatic sense of the word. In the prospectus of the Society, the *sources* of sickness and mortality in Calcutta are summed up as follows:—

"Those sources have been repeatedly described by the officials whose task it has been to inspect the native town, and the unvarying account given by one and all is, that the condition in which many thousands of the inhabitants of Calcutta are constrained to live, beggars all description, and would be incredible but for the ocular demonstration which proves it. Masses of human ordure lying at the very thresholds of the people's houses large pools, where every form of corruption pollutes the surrounding atmosphere, and a water-supply from tanks and wells which has been described by the Government Analyst as about as pure as ordinary London sewage, are the main characteristics of these miserable localities. It is here, as a rule, that the first cases of cholera occur, and here that its ravages are most extensive. The inhabitants of these localities have not hitherto been allowed to participate in the advantages of the improvements which have been so great a blessing to the richer portions of the city. In the Suburbs the state of thing is, at least, equally deplorable. Most serious visitations of cholera and small-pox have within the last few years drawn the attention of the public to a state of things which, all are agreed, is discreditable and dangerous, and the longer continuance of which cannot

be allowed. Much has, no doubt, already been done, but the work of sanitation in Calcutta cannot be regarded as, in any satisfactory sense, complete, until all parts of the Town and its Suburbs, rich and poor, European and Native, enjoy, to a like extent, the advantages as to conservancy, drainage and pure water-supply which are now, to a large extent, monopolized by the richer classes."

A somewhat acrimonious dispute respecting the Kidderpore Dock Scheme was suddenly added to the controversies of the quarter. When the question came before the Bengal Council, Mr. A. P. McDonnell summed, in a few lucid sentences, the *pros* and *cons* of the questions as far as we are able to understand them now. The objections to the scheme may be classed under two distinct heads, namely—financial and physical. The financial objections, according to Mr. McDonnell, will not bear any close examination. Even if the trade of Calcutta does not develop beyond its present limits, the scheme, so we are assured by Mr. McDonnell, cannot result in anything like a financial failure. On a reasonable calculation of all future source of profit, the docks, besides being an immense advantage to the shipping, must pay their way. The objections under the physical head deserve greater consideration. The Hooghly is what an Irishman would call a "contrairy" river, and it may, one of these days, commit vagaries which will seriously interfere with the utility of the docks. Under these circumstances the only question is how far can the scheme be considered a sound one, having regard to all the future possibilities and probabilities connected with it, and in answer to this question Mr. McDonnell finally decides in favor of the dock. On the other hand, Mr. Tremearne (whose admirable commercial letters in the *Pioneer* are attracting much attention) doubts very much whether the docks will be any real advantage to the shipping; is certain they will be no advantage to the merchants, and enters into great detail in order to prove that the trade of Calcutta is on the decline now, and may be expected to decline further in the future.

By the way, it may be noted that all these criticisms and objections to the Dock Scheme (however reasonable in themselves,) have been taken up and placed before us somewhat late in the day. The merchants of Calcutta were silent when they ought to have spoken, and have suddenly become garrulous and clamorous when garrulity and clamour can do very little good. The land for the docks has actually been taken up, and a very large expenditure of public money has already been incurred. The tramway is in process of construction, the loan is in the market, and the final sanction of the Secretary of State to the recommendations of the Local Government has been obtained. Things had reached this stage of progress, in connexion with the scheme, when the

merchants of Calcutta and their representatives in the Press suddenly 'woke up as (if from a bad dream) and declared that the docks were not wanted and would, if persevered with, injure, rather than serve the Port of Calcutta. At the next St. Andrews' dinner, the Chairman ought to propose the toast :—
 "Success to the Dock Scheme" with the appropriate air
 "Hey Johnnie Cope, are you waking yet?"

The Calcutta Volunteers were reviewed by the viceroy during the quarter, and the speech which His Excellency addressed to the corps (on the occasion of the prize-distribution) was certainly "not in the common roll" of conventional orations delivered to meet the requirements of a conventional occasion. Lord Dufferin reminded his hearers, that he had always, both in England and in Canada, taken a deep interest in the volunteer movement, and had exerted himself to promote the success and efficiency of volunteer-organizations. One of the first things he noticed, on the day of his arrival at Government House, was the splendid appearance of the Calcutta Volunteers. "If the regular army was called to the front, he knew that he could rely on the Volunteers to come forward and take the place of the regulars in doing garrison duty throughout the country.

The annual financial statement of the Government of India was published during the quarter. It is not very exhilarating reading. It is a case of mistaken again; in the estimates for 1884-85, we calculated on a surplus of £819,300, whereas we have to face a deficit of £716,200. The cause of this unsatisfactory state of things is not far to seek. It is due to the depressed condition of trade. There has been some improvement in tea, hides, skins, jute goods, (bags), and seeds, but in all our most important exports in raw cotton, rice, wheat, sugar, raw jute, the decrease has been steady and serious. This is the retrospect. The prospect is not much more cheering. Sir Auckland Colvin presents it to us with some very significant, not to say alarming, "ifs." He says—

"If, during the ensuing year, we are not called upon to submit to any material increase of expenditure, the estimates, based as they are on a very low rate of exchange and a very moderate calculation as to the revival of our trade, may, I think, be trusted to bear the test of trial. Should trade revive or exchange become more favourable, we shall have resources ample to meet our estimated expenditure. On the other hand, it is impossible to say whether additional expenditure may not, in the course of the year, have to be provided for, exceeding the limits of any addition which our revenues may reasonably hope to derive from the strengthening of our railway receipts, or from the improvement in our exchange. To put it in other words, heavily as we are weighted from the two causes above indicated, there is no reason why our resources should not fully suffice to meet all normal expenditure during 1885-86.

But if abnormal expenditure, whether of a temporary or permanent kind, is forced upon us, our estimates, even should they be strengthened by a more favourable combination of exchange and trade, may very probably prove unequal to meet it. It is to be hoped that the financial prosperity, the good harvests, and the undisturbed peace, which have of late years been accorded to us, will continue. But it is necessary to state clearly the position in which, owing to the concurrence of a variety of unfavourable conditions, we find ourselves placed, in order that considerations which inevitably presented themselves when the estimates were being framed, may be fully explained to the public, and that we may not be charged, should difficulties increase upon us, with having taken too sanguine a view of our position.

We insert elsewhere in this issue a very remarkable paper by Mr. A. P. Sinnett, on the Theosophical Movement. It goes without saying that the Editor of this publication does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his contributors, and that the pages of the *Review* are open to the discussion of all questions of public interest, by competent authorities, with no necessary requirement that the views of the writers should be in accordance with those of the Editor himself. Mr. Sinnett eschews all direct reference to Madam Blavatzky and the Coulombs and the recent scandals in Madras, and confines himself to a defence and explanation of Theosophy as a religious movement, an enquiry after the truth—the sublime truth—which can alone throw any light on the mysteries of human existence and human destiny. The philosophy of Theosophy, although expressed, shall we say disguised, in somewhat novel terminology, is certainly not new. It is as old as the Egyptians, and as modern as Tennyson. The power of the soul (Mr. Sinnett gives us a very unsatisfactory definition of the soul) in certain stages of development, “to strike through an electric medium of its own,” from human being to human being, is, as we understand it, the fundamental doctrine of Theosophy. But in this connexion Mr. Sinnett’s reticence about Madam Blavatzky, is a little unfortunate. Madam Blavatzky’s miracles may have been very trivial and contemptible pieces of trickery in themselves, but relatively speaking, they were of great importance to Theosophists, as evidences to a question of fact, namely, whether the Mahatmas did, or did not, condescend to communicate with their disciples in the manner represented by Madam Blavatzky’s broken saucers, pink letters, and halves of cigarette papers. Mr. Sinnett will not deny that he attached a very definite importance to these manifestations himself. Why, then, evade all discussion of the question as to whether they were genuine manifestations or not? Whatever Mr. Sinnett may think, or pretend to think, to the contrary, the credit of Theosophy in India must stand or fall with Madam Blavatzky.

21st March 1885.

GEORGE A. STACK.

POSTSCRIPT.

WAR between England and Russia may now be regarded as all but inevitable. Russia has at last been brought to a full stop. She must fight or retreat. If she elects to fight it is, perhaps, as well for us that it should be so. She has everything to gain and we everything to lose by further delay, assuming that delay will only be employed in preparation on both sides. There can be very little doubt of the fact that Russia has, for the time being, been taken by surprise. She calculated too surely and too often on Mr. Gladstone's forbearance and the influence of Radical unpatriotic imbecility on the policy of our Government. She has now to confront something very different from a weak and vacillating ministry, namely, a united and determined people.

G. A. STACK.

29th March 1885.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1883-84.

Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces, 1883-84.

THE year opened with an arrear land-revenue demand of Rupees 20,40,300. The current demand amounted to Rupees 3,79,39,887 under the different classes. The total demand current, and arrear realizable, in 1883-84, was Rupees 3,99,38,487, or nearly four crores of Rupees collections. Of the total demand arrear and current amounting to Rupees 3,99,80,187, the collections amounted to Rupees 3,75,94,546 or 90.03 per cent. on the demand. Of this sum Rupees 16,17,847 were on account of arrears, and Rupees 3,59,76,697 on account of the current demand.

The percentage of collections was, on the current demand, 94.5, the percentage of arrear collections being 79.2. Both percentages are below the corresponding percentage of the previous year.

Report on the Revenue Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, for 1883-84.

FINANCIALLY the year was an unfortunate one for land-revenue in this part of India. The total collections for fixed, fluctuating, and miscellaneous land-revenue, including tribute, amounted to Rupees 2,08,72,506, or Rupees 1,19,577 less than in the previous year, which, in its turn, was worse than its predecessor. These unwelcome results are due to the large amount of fixed revenue suspended or otherwise in balance, and to the failure of some of the inundation lands in the south-west, owing to the short rainfall. The takari advances made for land improvement during the year, amounted to Rupees 3,75,777, or more than a lakh of Rupees in excess of the expenditure of the year before. Great care has been taken for some years past to improve the standard of efficiency among *Patwaries* and *Kanungoes*.

Report on the Administration of the License Tax in Bengal, for 1883-84.

OUT of a total number of 248,128 villages in the province, 27,067, including 617 streets in Calcutta, were visited by the assessing officers, against 27,081 visited in the preceding year. Of the villages visited 26,562 were found to contain assesses against 26,814 in the previous year. After exclusion of double entries, and allowing for revision of the lists by collectors, the gross number of persons assessed is shown to be 77,613.

Of these 5,999 were exempted on objection, and 321 on appeal leaving 74,293 persons on the list on the 30th June 1884, as compared with 69,841 in 1882-83. If the population of Bengal is taken at $66\frac{1}{2}$ millions, one person in every 932 paid the tax, the average incidence being rupee 1 to every 45 persons, as compared with rupee 1 to every 46 persons in the previous year. If Calcutta be excluded, the average incidence was rupee 1 to every 63 persons, as compared with rupee 1 to 64 persons in 1882-83. As compared with 1882-83, there was an increase in the gross demand amounting to Rupees 6,890; there was a decrease of Rupees 23,045 in the gross amount, resulting before realization, and of Rupees 9,765 in the amount refunded. As regards the attitude of the people towards the license-tax, the Lieutenant-Governor has little to add to the remarks recorded in previous resolutions. Since 1880 the tax has affected only a small fraction of the people. Those who have to pay have arrived at some degree of certainty as to their lawful liability, and look upon it as an inseparable item of expenditure connected with their trade or business.

Sea-Borne Foreign Trade of British India, 1883-84.

THIS trade shows a steady increase; the trade of the past year has been greater than that of 1882-83 by 4.57 per cent. The value of the imports of last year was in excess of that of the previous year by 3.35 per cent.; that of the exports by 5.49 per cent. Out of the whole $257\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs which represent the value of the imports, not so much as $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were shipped to India from places not within the United Kingdom. Of the whole trade between the United Kingdom and India, no less than 87.85 per cent. was conveyed last year through the Canal, leaving less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to be brought round the Cape. The percentage of steam tonnage to the total tonnage, was in 1881-82, 62 per cent., in 1882-83, 58 per cent., and 63 per cent. in the last year. In 1882-83 the drawings of the Secretary of State amounted to Rs. 15,120,521 at an average rate of Exchange of 1s. 7.52d. In 1883-84 the drawings amounted to Rs. 1,75,99,805 at an average rate of 1s. 7.53d. More than four-fifths of the imports were received from England, China and Australia.

Report on the Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1883-84.

THE total expenditure from the general fund is shown to be Rupees 19,65,265. To this should be added the fourth instalment of payment to the reserve or sinking fund amounting to Rupees 32,498, which was not paid until April,

but was due for the year 1883-84. This would raise the expenditure to Rupees 1,99,763. The total expenditure of the year from the general fund exceeded the receipts by Rupees 50,003, instead of by Rupees 3,06,863 as provided for in the budget, and fell short of the amount Rupees (22,66,863) provided in the budget by Rupees 2,69,100. Of this decrease upwards of one lakh of Rupees was on account of the expenditure on bustee improvement, which fell largely short of the estimate—pleasant reading this. The Lieutenant-Governor is careful not to re-open the bustee controversy in this report. If the work of cleansing the Calcutta bustees was not done as thoroughly, or as extensively as it might have been done, yet some very good results were obtained in this direction:—

“The report showed that there are 124 bustees, with a total area of 1,582 bighas, in the north of Calcutta. The special establishment sanctioned during 1882-83 for the cleansing of bustees, consisted of 200 scavengers, called dhangurs, with 32 carts and 12 peons, under two Inspectors, assisted by one sircar each. They commenced their work in the north of the Town, and cleansed 72 bustees, covering an area of 1,270 bighas, which were then placed under a permanent staff of 156 dhangurs. The work thus done consisted of the removal of accumulations of refuse which was buried in holes and ditches and covered over with earth, the levelling of the surface, and the filling up of small ponds and hollows. In this way the whole of the bustees in Wards 4 and 8, and the greater part of those in Wards 2, 3, 6 and 9, were thoroughly cleansed, and a regular staff assigned to them to provide for their conservancy in the future. Exclusive of the bustees so treated, it seems that an area of 952 bighas remained outside the operations of the special establishment. It is explained that nearly the whole of this area was cleansed for the time by an extra establishment while the Exhibition was open, but the work done was not sufficiently thorough to admit of its being placed under permanent conservancy arrangements.”

Public Instruction ; Bengal, 1883-84.

THE general educational record for the last year is a somewhat disappointing one. The increase in schools has fallen from 10,809 to 1,369, and in pupils from 2,04,447 to 81,517. The expenditure from all sources was 75,51,000 in 1882-83, as against 74,83,000 in 1883-84. The number of Government Colleges rose from 12 to 13, the number of aided and unaided Colleges remaining the same. The number of College Students declined from 2,900 to 2,826; the loss in Government Colleges being 87, and in aided Colleges 238. This marked decrease in the number, under the head of aided Colleges, is due to the loss of 237 pupils sustained by the General Assembly's Institution. In all 1,280 candidates went up for the First Arts Examination. Of these 595 passed, a very good proportion indeed. 441 candidates went up for the B. A. Examination, and 205 passed. 71 candidates went up for the M. A. Degree, 46 for honors, and 25 for the ordinary degree. 35 of the former

and 19 of the latter were successful. In all 2,361 candidates went up for the Entrance, and of these 1,265 passed. On the whole, the results of the examinations were very satisfactory. Female education has made some progress. The number of schools rose from 1,398 to 1,785, and pupils from 27,485 to 32,167. In connexion with primary education, Mr. Croft offers some very practical and very valuable suggestions :—

“Taking the whole group of questions arising out of the changed conditions of primary education in Bengal, the Director’s proposals may be summed up thus—

- (i)—To revise the course of instruction in both grades of primary schools, so as to make it more practically useful to the classes for whom it is designed.
- (ii)—Fix the pay of the masters of upper primary schools at from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 a month, and in course of time, raising it from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8.
- (iii)—To lay down definite standards for rewards below the standard of the lower primary scholarship.
- (iv)—To make the use of printed books obligatory in aided schools.
- (v)—To require, from every school seeking a reward, that it shall produce at least ten boys, shall have been in existence for ten months, and shall bring to the place of examination, attendance and inspection registers properly kept.

“All of these suggestions are in accordance with the principle laid down in the Resolution on last year’s report, that the “consolidation and improvement of existing institutions should now be the main object of the local officers,” and they will tend to introduce a uniform system which will enable future progress to be gauged by definite tests. But while the Lieutenant-Governor here expresses his general concurrence in them, he wishes to see, in a separate form, the financial effect of the second recommendation before finally approving it.”

Rail-Borne Traffic of Bengal.

THERE appears to have been a somewhat serious falling off in the rail-borne traffic of Bengal. The returns for the quarter ending last September constitute very depressing reading, but the traffic has since shown symptoms of recovery. The gross weight of traffic earned during the quarter ending September 30th, was 39·64 per cent. below that of the corresponding quarter of the previous year. In the import traffic the falling off was so much as 18,35,683 maunds or 43·33 per cent., and in the export trade 11,20,832 or 34·77 per cent. More than five-sixths of the decrease in the import trade was due to the decline in the wheat trade, which fell off from 24,73,199 maunds to 9,08,131 maunds. The other articles, which showed a marked decrease, were linseed, mustard-seed and other oil-seeds. In the export trade the decrease was chiefly in iron and rice. The report is a sort of official version of an “orrible tale we have to tell.”

Report of the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, for 1883-84.

THE total value of the traffic registered amounted to Rupees 1,48,71,315 against Rupees 1,45,16,873 in 1882-83, and Rupees 1,45,62,943 in 1881-82. The gross value of the trade during 1883-84 was 2·44 per cent. in excess of the figures of the preceding year, and 2·12 per cent. over those of 1881-82. The import trade, however, shows a material falling off, the figures for the past year being 8·46 and 7·84 per cent. below those of the two previous years respectively.

It is difficult to understand how our trade with Nepal could be expected to flourish or increase. Let us see what our district officers have to say on the Customs administration of the Nepalese Government :—

“The Nepalese Government maintains no regular Custom House, and the imposts are levied on the farming system. Along the frontier of the Chumprun district, it is said that in some places the taxes are farmed, while in some places they are held khas. The Collector of Mozufferpore writes :—“The imposts in question are levied by thikadars, who are said to take annual farms of them from the Chowdhries, and these Chowdhries are said to be subordinate to an officer known as Captain.” The Collector of Dumbhanga was informed that the farms along the frontier of his district were all disposed of from head quarters (Khatmandoo), and that the local ‘Sooba’ had not even to keep an eye on the farmers for the prevention of any malpractices that they might be inclined to commit. The District Officer of Bhagulpore states, that the farmer of the sayer mehal, who is a British subject, “has to bid every year for the mehal, and he again sub-lets to highest bidders. The sayer mehal includes, besides the collection of import and export duties, the market-dues of all *lutās* in the four pergunnahs, and *phulkar*, and a tax on hides. He has sub-lessees under him, but his name alone appears in the Nepal Government books, and he is solely responsible to the Nepalese Government. His lease gives him authority to levy market-dues, &c., only from the revenue-paying villages. The lakhirajdars of the revenue-free villages make their own arrangements as regards sayer dues.” The agency employed by the Nepalese Government in the Morung District of Nepal (marching with the district of Purneah), and along the border of the Darjeeling District, is not particularized in the local reports.”

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department of Bengal, for 1883-84.

THE gross and net Customs revenue collected in Bengal on all articles in 1883-84 was 2,04,87,365 as against 2,06,50,647 in 1882-83. The decline is chiefly due to the of falling off Rupees 64,479 in the salt duty, and of Rupees 1,40,473 in the export duty on rice. The reduced export of the latter article was the natural consequence of a short crop, and the same cause has probably tended to defer the gradual increase in the consumption of salt. Import duties, exclusive

of salt, show a small increase of Rupees 26,572 or 1·8 per cent. due to larger collections under the heads of liquor, arms and ammunition. Looking to the returns for the several ports, it will be seen that Calcutta has fallen by 2 per cent., while that of the imports has risen in varying proportions.

The total value of the imports into Bengal, exclusive of Government transactions, rose from Rupees 28,37,25,812 to Rupees 30,06,49,292. The rise was most marked in foreign merchandise, where it exceeded one crore and thirty-seven lakhs.

The value of the export trade of the year was Rupees 43,56,07,096, against Rupees 42,46,65,199 in 1882-83, in the foreign trade exports rose in value from Rupees 34,43,30,483 to Rupees 36,21,33,528. The total coasting trade exports show a decline from Rupees 8,03,34,716 to Rupees 7,34,73,568 owing to the reduced exports of Indian produce and to small shipments of silver to ports in British Burmah. On the other hand, this was a considerable increase in the export of foreign merchandise, such as cotton twist and yarn to Madras, and piece-goods to British Burmah.

Report on the Cawnpore Experimental Farm, 1883-84.

EXPERIMENTS were carried on (within the limits of the farm) under almost every head of possible agricultural improvement: improved implements, irrigation, deep-ploughing, silos, green soiling, and the general result was most satisfactory. But the conservative spirit of the Indian agriculturist is a terrible obstacle to agricultural improvement. Mr. Smeaton says:—

“I would remark, in conclusion, that in the past five years during which the farm has been carried on, certain practical improvements in the manner of treating the soil, in the kind of implements used, and in rotation of crops, appear to have been completely established. But these interesting and important improvements have, for very obvious reasons, not gone very far beyond the four corners of the farm itself. They have not reached the mass of cultivators for whom they are intended, and for whom they may be of very great value indeed. Such simple and inexpensive improvements as green soiling with hemp, manuring with brick-kiln refuse, deep-ploughing, cultivation of wheat in ridges after lucerne, the simple and efficient Duplex ploughs, are of very real agricultural importance. Efforts should now be made to disseminate far and wide a correct knowledge of these improvements and to obtain, by every possible means, their adoption by the mass of cultivators. The money spent in the experiments of the past five years will have been absolutely wasted unless effectual means be now taken, and money spent in inducing the cultivator to appropriate the results and put them in practice on his land. Neither pains nor money should be grudged.”

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Narrative of a Journey from Herat to Khiva, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. By Captain James Abbott: W. H. Allen & Co., Waterloo Place, London.

THIS book has already gone through a third edition, and we believe that a fourth is on the eve of publication. It is a most important contribution to Central Asian literature, a literature growing in extent, importance and general popular interest with every step of the Russian advance towards our Indian frontier. It is a little unfortunate that Captain Abbott should commence his narrative at the period of his departure from Herat in 1839. Khiva and the kingdom of Khaurism, the scene of his journey and adventures, have gone from us beyond all hope of recovery, but Herat has not yet fallen into the hands of the Russians. For the moment public interest centres round Herat and its defences, and it is also curious and unfortunate that Mr. Marvin's otherwise admirable compilation, contains a very meagre account of Herat. But apart from any political importance which it possesses at the present time, Captain Abbott's narrative is very well worth reading indeed.

He is a most graphic writer, and a born explorer: patient, adventurous, keen-witted; a man who fulfilled the dangerous and delicate mission entrusted to him in the most faithful and thorough manner possible. He is no hater of the Russians. On the contrary, what he saw of the Russian people, seems to have created a very favorable impression on his mind. In the preface to the 3rd edition (written this year 1884), Captain Abbott brings his impressions of the Russian advance on India, as it were, up to date. He says:—

“She is now mistress of Askabad, of Merve, of Sumikund; Bokhara is a Russian dependency. We have presented to her the all-important port of Batoum, in the Euxine, the acquisition of which alone she deemed cheap at the expense of the last Russo-Turkish War: for without it her march on India was crippled. We have* allowed, nay, encouraged her, despite all prudential considerations, and in defiance of a thousand warnings, to overpass the natural, almost insuperable, barrier that guarded

* A dozen alert Englishmen, with the hearty co-operation of the Toorcumuns, might have frustrated all four expeditions, if allowed by our Government to do so.

India, and to establish herself within our outer and most important line of works. To build at Cabul, by Afghaun hands, with Russian gold, fortified barracks for sixteen thousand men, which her troops can, at any time and unknown to us, enter whenever it suits her to advance; and the Afghauns, our natural allies, we have made our bitterest enemies. What steps do we purpose, to remedy (if possible) our past stumbling policy, or fanatic contempt of all rational precaution? The case is urgent, for any misunderstanding in Europe may precipitate matters on our Indian frontier, where Russia, piloted by the Afghaun nation, who will keep open for her the passes, is waiting, and will lose not an hour in her advance, beyond the moment, not of a declaration, but of the probability of hostilities.*

Is the British Lion prepared (as the Russians boastingly assert) to crouch and lick the feet of the Great White Emperor, and implore his permission to live? or is there still some red blood left in his pampered arteries? If there be, it behoves him by watchfulness and promptitude to atone for his past trance under the influence of Russian mesmerism, to be up and alert in rendering the line of battle he may select inflexible to the assault of a powerful and disciplined army. It will never do to remain wavering in the choice of that line, whether Herat, or Candahar, or the Afghaun passes. For already has Russia prepared in detail her plan of operations for each alternative, and any un readiness on our part means irreparable damage to ourselves, and to the two hundred millions whom we are sworn to protect."

These are weighty words from an impartial, well-informed, and trustworthy authority.

The Ordinances of Manu. Translated from the Sanskrit with an Introduction. By the late Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph. D., C. I. E. Completed and Edited by Edward W. Hopkins, Ph. D., of Columbian College, N. Y. London: Trunber & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1884.

THOUGH the so-called "Laws of Manu" have, in the light of modern criticism, ceased to possess for the historian or the philosopher the supreme value that was once attached to them, the hold they have obtained on the popular imagination, and the paramount influence they have exercised on legislation and on the decisions of the Indian Courts, have invested them with a practical importance which nothing but a complete codification of Hindu law case altogether supersede. A new translation of the *Mánaḍa-Dharma-Sāstra*, based on the ampler knowledge of the present day, must therefore necessarily be a work of high practical utility, and we could hardly have a worthier memorial of the late Dr. Burnell than the volume before us.

Of the translation, which is based mainly on the text of Kuttuka, somewhat more than half had been completed when he died. For the rest, commencing from Lecture VIII, 16,

* As we saw her act during the last Russo-Turkish War.

the public are indebted to Dr. Hopkins, who is also responsible for a number of corrections which Dr. Burnell might have been expected to make had he lived, and for a large portion of the notes to the earlier part of the text.

To the translation is prefixed an introduction by Dr. Burnell, obviously incomplete, containing a dissertation on the real nature and history of the original, and a criticism of its value as an authority.

It has been long since ascertained that not only is the *Mánabha-Dharma-Sástra* not by Manu, if any such person ever existed, but it is merely a metrical recension of an older prose treatise, in all probability the *Dharma-Sástra* of the *Mánava*s, one of the branches of the *Maitráyana* School of the Black *Yajur Veda*. So far Dr. Burnell is in agreement with Weber, Max Muller and other Sanskritists. Whether the further attempt made by him to fix the date of the work, which he considers to have been almost certainly composed about 500 A. D., under the *Cálukya* sovereign, *Gulakeci*, at *Kalyanapurí* in the *Dekkan*, is conclusive, may be doubted. To us the evidence appears largely hypothetical. That, as he supposes, it was a popular work, intended for the use of *Rajas* and similar persons, and not for *Brahmans*, appears probable from the comparative simplicity of the language.

As to the authority of the *Mánaba-Sástra*, it was merely one of a large number of similar works, used as guides by those who administered the laws, but in no sense entitled to be regarded as codes promulgated by sovereign authority.

One of the results of the misunderstanding which has assigned to it a paramount value, has been to subject the non-Brahminical and even non-Aryan tribes to gross injustice by systematically ignoring their local and peculiar laws.

Instead, moreover, of making any attempt to use the text critically, the Courts and lawyers have relied blindly on the very imperfect translation of Sir William Jones.

The Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila, with Illustrative Extracts from the Commentaries. Translated by James R. Ballantyne, LL.D., late Principal of the Benares College. Third Edition. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1885.

AS Dr. Hall informs the reader in his preface, this work is an amended reprint of three volumes, published thirty years ago, by Dr. Ballantyne, and followed, some ten years later, by an abridgement which has since become very scarce.

Some of the amendments now introduced have been adopted by the Editor from the abridgement, and, of the remainder, the

greater portion had been independently submitted to and approved by Dr. Ballantyne. Other renderings, which have subsequently suggested themselves to Dr. Hall, have been embodied in foot-notes, and numerous variants of the aphorisms, derived from accessible commentaries, are also given.

The work displays a vast expenditure of labour and scholarship for which students of Hindoo philosophy have every reason to be grateful to Dr. Hall and the publishers ; but it is, perhaps, open to question, whether the original is worth the sacrifice it must have entailed on both.

Powells' Indian Trust Act. Higginbotham & Co., Madras.

A CAPITAL, popular treatise on a most important branch of law. There are certain departments of law in connection with which every man ought, to a certain extent at least, be his own lawyer. Foremost among these are all the legal provisions relating to wills and trusts. Mr. Powell has done admirable service to the public in placing before it in a brief, yet clear and masterly manner, all the duties and liabilities connected with all forms of public and private trust.

Bulandshahr, or Sketches of an Indian District : Social, Historical, and Architectural. By F. S. Growse.

ALMOST the whole of this work has appeared before, partly in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, and partly in our columns. Mr. Growse has done well in bringing together his separate papers. The result is an interesting and handsome volume. An account of the district and its history is given, but the main purpose of the book is a protest against the Public Works Department. Mr. Growse becomes quite eloquent over its iniquities. Its work is expensive, out of harmony with Indian circumstances, and its taste in architecture is atrocious. The work could be done cheaper and better by Native local agencies. Such is Mr. Growse's charge, and who that compares one of the beautiful photographs in the book of recent native architecture with a P.-W. D. Cutcherry can quite gainsay his arguments? But apart from its controversial side, the book is most interesting as a record that there is still hope of native architecture.

A Fly on the Wheel, or how I helped to govern India. By Colonel Thomas Lewin. W. H. Allen & Co., Waterloo Place: London.

PRESSURE on our space compels us to postpone, until next issue, a detailed notice of this most interesting and instructive book. Colonel Lewin owns the pen of a ready and graphic writer. His experiences in India were full of adventure, incident and variety, and his descriptions of the wild tribes on our Lushai frontier are as good in their way as anything that the author of the Great Lone Land has ever given us.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Misarajdri Bāngālī. By Syāmalāl Mitra. Printed by Manimohan Rakshit at the Sadharan Brahma Samaj Press, 81, Bārānāsī Ghosh's Street, and Published by Adityakumār Chatterji, B. A., Head Master, Bethune School, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

THE author of this work, a Bengali gentleman, went to Egypt in 1882, as a clerk in the Transport Department, connected with the Indian Contingent, which was despatched from this country in that year to fight Arabi Pacha. He writes chiefly about the war, and in an incidental manner about what he did and saw during his brief stay with the Indian army in Egypt. His description of the war is vigorous and graphic. He praises very highly the valour and skill which were displayed by the English Generals in the campaign, and admires again and again the courage and energy with which both English and Indian soldiers fought in it. He is, however, strongly opposed to the policy of the war which he describes as a war against the freedom of the Egyptian people. He expresses warm sympathy with Arabi Pacha, whom he regards as the leader of the truly national party in the war, and he is almost vehement in his denunciation of the part played by England in the war. It was a shame, says he, that war which England fought against the Egyptian people and their freedom. They were a glorious band of heroes and patriots, that Arabi and his companions, whom freedom-loving England so shamelessly drove out of Egypt. The following translated extract contains a description of the country around Cairo on the day following the capture of Tel-el-Kebir:—

• “In some places, soldiers plundered as they strolled along the roads exhausted by the operations of the war; in some places soldiers, inflamed with pride, maltreated helpless Egyptian women; in some places, impelled by ungovernable greed of gold,

soldiers with drawn swords in their hands plundered panic-struck households ; in some places hungry and thirsty wayfarers, assuming frowning appearances, filled their stomachs with morsels of food snatched from the hands of the weak. Whichever way you turned your eye, Egypt was full of such fearful sights as these. The villages were full of the heart-rending wailings and screams of the young, the old, and the women. I travelled on in the direction of Cairo, witnessing everywhere such fearful sights as these. There was no knowing how the men dispersed themselves in different directions after the fight. My companions had gone away, leaving me behind ; and armed with weapons, I was riding alone. For three days I had got no food ; one day only I had eaten a few dates from some roadside trees, and what remained of our provisions after the fight. On the second day I got no food, and simply slaked my thirst with the muddy water of the *Khal*. This was the third day, and I had yet obtained no food. The sun had passed the meridian, and yet no village or human abode was to be seen. My horse was exhausted with fasting and continuous travelling over sandy roads, so much so, that it seemed, it pained it to advance one step more. I was also enormously hungry ; I felt restless, and my life seemed to be on the point of extinction. My eyes, at intervals, began to close of themselves, and my last moment seemed not far distant. I remained for some moments in an absolutely senseless condition.

On re-opening my eyes, I found that my horse had arrived near a green plot of ground, with its bridle, which was no longer in my hand, hanging loosely from its neck. I soon entered a small village, whose miserable condition pained my heart. The trees in the village, with their fruits and flowers, torn or plucked, looked beaten and stripped, and the houses were without men and cattle. Beautiful articles lay scattered all round half broken or broken into small pieces ; and every object gave evidence of the oppressors' fearful oppression. Slowly I rode from one end of the village to another, but it seemed not that there was there a single living soul. The hope which the sight of the village had awakened in my mind gave way to disappointment, and I began to reflect seriously on my condition. The little strength which I had felt in my limbs at the prospect of at last getting something to eat again deserted me. At this time I heard an indistinct and not very distant sound, which told me of the presence of man, and full of delight, I cast anxious and expectant glances around. What I saw my pen is not strong enough to record, and my tongue becomes paralysed to relate. I saw a helpless and pale-faced Egyptian girl screaming for the fear of losing her chastity at the hands of a cruel and cowardly white soldier. How piteously she implored and entreated the fiend in her

own vernacular ! But blinded completely by his beastly passion, the heartless wretch listened not at all to the heart-rending cries of the unfortunate girl. On the contrary, breaking forth into demoniac laughter, he threw his arm forcibly round the lady's waist and strove to put her down. I saw this fearful sight from a distance, and felt at once the strength of a hero in my almost lifeless body, in the body which hunger had brought to the point of prostration. In a trice I drove my horse in the direction of that girl. On seeing me coming so suddenly to the rescue of the poor girl, the wretched man feeling disappointed and alarmed, quickly fled away. Instantly, I alighted from my horse in one bound, and in the twinkling of an eye stood at the lady's side. I cannot describe how the lady, taking hold of my right hand, and in a voice which was almost choked with joy, expressed her thanks to me in her own vernacular. Joy seemed bursting out of her large eyes and out of those cheeks down which tear-drops were rolling. I understood not a single word of hers. A few moments had hardly passed when the rescued girl, intimating to me to follow her, went along a narrow path, and soon arrived at the door of a house in front of which was a small garden, and entreated me with grateful eyes to enter into it. I followed her within without fear or hesitation. Leaving me in the open compound of the house, she entered into it with lightning rapidity. I waited for some moments reflecting on the sad occurrences I had beheld, and then an Egyptian youth came out, and taking me by the hand, conducted me within the house. On going there, I found the household furniture and utensils confusedly cast about, an elderly Egyptian couple filling a wooden box with the best clothes and jewels of the family, and a young girl standing near them. They were preparing to leave their house, and fly to some safe place. They all eagerly welcomed me as I entered, in words which meant something like this—"May *Allah* make you happy, may He bless you with prosperity in all matters, do you take your seat in this humble abode !" On my taking my seat on the wooden stool on which they were sitting, they expressed to me their delight and gratitude in a manner which baffles description, and addressed me in some such style as this—"What is your name ? We are your servants ; do you accept our worship," &c. They soon perceived that I was sorely in need of creature comforts, and at once placed before me their coarse bread, some cooked vegetables, and dates, and a jug full of cool drinking water. I eagerly joined them in the repast, which, although it consisted of very coarse bread and vegetables cooked to suit tastes very different from my own, infused new strength into my almost lifeless body. That repast gave me a delight and a satisfaction which I have

not felt at any other occasion in my life. Perhaps it is not given to even wealthy rulers of men to enjoy such delight and satisfaction. I took a short repose after the repast during which the family were engaged in completing their preparations for flight. . . . I fell into a short slumber, and on waking from it, found my horse fully stuffed with fodder and trampling upon the remains of its feast. The family, with all their arrangements for flight completed, were awaiting, in a spirit of devout hospitality, my awaking from sleep. A camel stood there with the family baggage on its back and four handsome horses, fully equipped, were waiting to carry them away. The people of Egypt consider hospitality a very noble virtue. If their bitterest enemies seek protection in their homes, they cast aside all ideas of revenge and serve them with all their might. When the time for leave-taking arrived, the husband of the girl came up to me, and sitting on his knees, and taking both my hands in one of his, he took out a beautiful ring from one of the fobs of his jacket, and entreated me in a variety of ways to accept it. When I absolutely refused to accept it, they all looked rather sorrowful. I tried to console them by making known to them how I felt on the subject, but failed. They did not look cheerful again. And thus, for some time, we rode along the bank of the canal. I knew not that the women of Egypt were so beautiful and so brave. Having travelled a long distance on horseback, they arrived at their destination immediately after dusk, and bade me farewell with hearts full of gratitude. Following the directions which they gave me, I came to the nearest Railway Station.

The author says that he had to do very hard work in Egypt, which left him little time to see enough of the country and its people, and that is the reason why his narrative is not fuller or more varied. He thus speaks of his work in the camp at Abassia :—

“There is not a man whose heart will not be pained, there are not eyes that will not overflow with tears if I relate the fearful sufferings which I silently endured for nearly one month. Early in the morning I had to commence work ; at 9 o'clock I had to go to the Abassia palace to bring orders for the day ; and, on my return, I had to look to the promulgation of those orders. At 2 o'clock, when my superior officer took his tiffin, I got half-an-hour's leisure. But even that leisure I did not get every day. Allaying as best I could my hunger and thirst in the very office itself, I commenced my work anew, and got no time for rest, till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. After that I used to roll restlessly on my bed for not more than one hour, and finishing my ablutions one hour before sunrise, again went

to office to at once take up the stated role of work. During that period I could find time only one day to bathe, and not sufficient time one day to eat my meal."

But the author does not complain so much of the hard work he had to do in Egypt as of the harsh treatment to which, as he says, he was subjected by one of the European officers above him. Speaking of the time which he spent in the camp near the Abdin palace, the author says:—

"On coming here I had to endure many new and unendurable sufferings. I had to bear every day sufferings, of which I had no conception even in a dream. The pressure of my work increased so much, that I had not the smallest time to eat or sleep for nearly a week preceding our departure from Egypt. Besides this, so many misfortunes occurred, that I know not how to describe them. My heart was seized with new afflictions every day. A higher grade English transport officer began to practise so much oppression every day upon his subordinates, that they became absolutely impatient under their sufferings. I had previously no idea that the heart of man could be so hard, so cruel, or so beastly. His bestial cruelty increased day after day. The oppression he practised every day upon the poor and truly loyal Indian, it is not in my power to describe. There was not, perhaps, a man in the Transport Department who did not lose all patience under his cruel treatment. . . . The tear is coming out of my eyes, and my heart is aching again to relate what I myself beheld, and to describe those insufferable agonies which my helpless companions endured every day. I shall not feel afraid if, in disclosing what really occurred, I incur the displeasure of others, provoke the anger of Government officers, or if they shower abuse upon me or take steps again to injure me in any other way. I am no longer a suppliant for their favor. It is positively painful to me to describe the sort of treatment I have received from Englishmen to whose service I twice dedicated my soul and my life, for whose sake I have plunged in grief my nearest and dearest relations, taken lasting leave of love and pity and affection, and all the other divine attributes of humanity, and thrown myself, again and again and with alacrity into the sea of misery. My heart breaks, as it were, when I recollect what I have received in return for all these sufferings and privations. Who is there that will, when afflicted with hunger, kick away from him the cup of nectar instead of drinking it off? Who is there that voluntarily seeks the miseries and troubles of the battle-field, leaving the happy country of his birth, and the company of those that are dear to him? If there is one that does, it is not the Bengali, especially when the war, like this war, is one with which no righteous principle is connected. In the excess of my heart's

grief I have forgotten what I was going to relate. A poem, which might be appropriately entitled "English Pride," would be the result if the whole story of suffering were related openly and without reserve. I have neither time nor ability to do that. In a few words I shall describe English oppression in Egypt. I do not cherish in my heart any desire of revenge for what I have suffered. The utmost injury that man can do to man has been done to me; but for that I will not say one word to any one. The God of my heart, who has seen everything, will do what is proper in respect of that. I will only speak of one or two days' sufferings of my poor, helpless and ill-fated companions; and that even not to-day, but at some future time. I know not why the white man so much hates the dark man, and regards him as a beast. I have heard that in far old times, the Sudras were despised and trampled upon as cats and dogs by the Brahmans. But even the Brahmans were never guilty of such cruel treatment. Leaving his country and kinsmen for the most trifling remuneration, the Indian, exhausted by fast and want of rest, and perspiring in all the pores of his body under the fiercely-burning sun, is doing the Englishman's work. Though about to die of thirst, fear prevents him from allaying it with water, either because there is no water to drink or because he is afraid of being beaten by his master if he leaves his work for a moment. If any one leaves his work for a moment to drink water, he is done for. The English officer will fine him one month's pay, inflict upon his person a dozen strokes of the ratan, or degrade him from a higher to a lower grade of service. It would, however, have been well if the matter had ended there. At night, after a whole day's work, the unfortunate Indians, having prepared a plain meal of bread and *dāl*, are about to eat it, when they hear that the Sahib is coming, and is not far off. They were about to sit down to eat after a whole day, and they at once stood away, foregoing the food that was almost raised to their mouths; they had to go without their meal that day. The Sahib came and at once stood where their food was. How could he bear to see them sit down together and eat a meal which they would have made cheerful to themselves by opening their hearts to each other as they ate? Immediately after his arrival, he imputed various faults to those unfortunate men and showered abuse upon them in vile language. Almost beside himself, like a mad elephant, he displayed his heroism by assailing the backs and breasts of the unfortunate Indians with the stick or horse-whip which was in his hand. And, last of all, with both his legs he began to destroy the food they had prepared! But even this did not satisfy his cruel cravings! Violently he pulled down their tent and went away! And then the poor unfortunate

Indians, after a whole day's hard work, passed the night in a state of fast and agony, full of sorrow and suffering, thinking of the happiness of their native land, lying on a bed of sand under the canopy of the infinite sky, and shivering in the cold of the uncovered field. And they thought all the while that they would have to rise before the night was over and assume their respective tasks."

This is impassioned language, and making some deduction for the ordinary nervousness and ornateness of the author's style, there seems still to remain an element of seriousness in this writing which cannot be lightly passed by, and which ought to arrest the attention of all true and earnest men.

We should have preferred to see this book written in a plainer style. Facts require plain handling and become obscure or doubtful in appearance when they are related in an impassioned or fanciful style. An impassioned or fanciful style means a passionate or fancifully-disposed observer who may have seen things through the medium of feeling or humour. And things which are so seen and described are not plain facts, but something very different therefrom. Bengali authors should bear in mind that different things require different styles of treatment, and that they either forget or ignore, and most certainly frustrate the very object of writing books when in describing facts, which should be an author's principal business in a book of travels like the one under notice, they adopt the style which is properest for a poem or a harangue. There is unfortunately a lamentable ignorance or want of appreciation among ordinary Bengali authors of these fundamental rules of literary composition, and that is why we have availed ourselves of this opportunity to draw their attention to this important point. The book under notice, interesting as it is, would have been doubly so if it had been written in a plain matter-of-fact style.

Senar Kāti, Rupār Kāti. A Paper read by Babu Dwijendranath Tagore at a meeting of the Bowbazar Sābitri Library, on the 27th Magh, 1291 B. S. Printed by B. N. Nandi, at the Valmiki Press, 40, Gunuprasād Chaudhuri's Lane. and Published by Debendranath Bhanja, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

WE seldom come across such sharp, clever and smart writing as we find in the pamphlet before us. Babu Dwijendranath Tagore, one of the best Bengali authors of the day, has dealt with the dress question recently discussed in the Native Press in consequence of some remarks privately made by Lord Dufferin in connection with it. His treatment of the subject is fearfully earnest and patrotic. His arguments are unanswerable, and the feeling of patrotic pride and indignation with which

he lets off missile after missile against those little-minded and denationalized Babus, who think that the essence of humanity consists in hating everything that belongs to their own country, and in concealing their birth, paternity, pedigree and all under the hat, coat, and pantaloons of the ugly-looking Saheb is simply irresistible. The whole performance is a satire of the most cutting kind, and it is certain that whoever has flesh and blood but is erring and human enough yet to be able to perceive that he is erring, will feel himself cut deep and through and through. And then the knife of the Master-Surgeon will not have been driven in vain. And it is in that hope that the Master-Surgeon has himself taken the knife in his hand. For he is no mere marauder, no savage butcher, but a humane doctor, who will not give you pain except for the purpose of curing you of a malady. And the good Doctor feels, in this instance, that the malady which he has attacked with his incomparable skill and learning, is an infectious one, is therefore already spreading, may go on spreading more and more rapidly, and, like most infectious maladies, may, sooner or later so far affect the very mental structure and constitution of a whole lot of people as to render organised life and healthy growth an absolute impossibility among them.

It is these possible, nay, probable effects and consequences of the malady, and not the malady itself, which the noble Doctor fears most, and it is therefore that he is anxious to treat with such exceptional rigor those in whom the malady has made its appearance. We do not know whether we should be right in so saying, but it seems to us that the distinguished writer would either root out the disease or place a ring round those whom it has attacked in order to prevent its spread. For viewing this question of the adoption of foreign habits and manners from the highest standpoint which its most ardent advocates could select in reference to it, viz., *universal catholicity*, it seems to be clear that the position is an absolutely indefensible one. The idea of nationality contains among its many factors an idea of exclusiveness of spirit which, however mischievous or unnecessary it may be in the so-called millenium of the human race, is particularly useful and wholesome until the realisation of that theocratic dream of the world. So long as a thing is not fully formed, you must keep it aside and by itself, in order that it may grow up to something, and not dissolve into nothing. It may be for the good of the full-grown man to expose himself to extremes of heat and cold, to go everywhere, and to know everything. But the wisdom of letting an infant, a child, or even a young man do so, may be seriously questioned. So it is with nations. So long as they are not fully formed or organised the wholesome and necessary exclusiveness of the nursery must

be strictly and jealously maintained, and the pompous theory of universal catholicity unhesitatingly rejected as a mischievous absurdity in national physiology or nation-making. Peoples with advanced national organisations like the English, the French and the Germans, may afford to be a little catholic, though we all know that they are in many respects the most exclusive peoples in the world. But for the neo-Bengalis (as all English-knowing Bengalis may be styled,) to endeavour to be catholic, that is to say, to be anything and everything, would certainly be to court disorganisation and death. If you would organise yourself, you must go on moulding yourself to the size and proportions of a definite diagram, and not disperse yourself over an indeterminate and indeterminable plane. In this lies the true meaning and absolute necessity of national exclusiveness. It is this spirit of national exclusiveness which ought to be jealously fostered and encouraged among the unformed peoples of India. And Indian thinkers and patriots ought to keep themselves all the more awake and sensitive on this point, because the catholic side of European literature, which is more intelligible, interesting and attractive to Asiatics than its national or exclusive side, is inevitably weakening the exclusive and formative force of the Indian mind, and strengthening its catholic and disruptive tendencies. This is the greatest national danger that English education has created in this country, and more might than what the people of India now possess will be probably required to put it down. As a specimen of that might, Babu Dwijendranath's admirable essay is remarkably hopeful and encouraging.

Into the arguments of Babu Dwijendranath, we will not enter here. Any summary we could give of them would simply act like a screen to veil their perfect beauty and symmetry from the reader's view. But we cannot help noticing one point. And that is that, though full of the spirit of national exclusiveness, Babu Dwijendranath is catholic in the truest sense of the word. He is a thinker, and he knows that national life and progress require lending and borrowing among nations. He does not object to that. But he will not allow you to respect the man who does not respect you. He will not allow you to become in appearance and in spirit like that English master who, when his native clerk went out of his room after drinking out of his own glass of water, dashed the glass on the floor and smashed it in pieces, as if the man that had touched it was an abomination.* But his attitude is very different towards the Indian Mussulman. Of him he speaks as follows :—

হিন্দু-ছাত্রী মুসলমান ছাড়া আর যে কোন-দেশীয় মুসলমানকে

দেখনা কেন, — ইরানী মুসলমান, তুরানী মুসলমান, কারুলি মুসলমান, বাহকিই দেখনা কেন — দেখিবে যে, হিন্দুস্থানী মুসলমানদের পরিচ্ছদের সঙ্গে তাহাদের পরিচ্ছদের কোন সাদৃশ্য নাই; ইহাতে স্পষ্টই বুঝিতে পারা যায় যে, এদেশীয় মুসলমানেরা যেমন বীণ ভাঙিয়া সেতার করিয়াছে, মল্লার রাগিনী আড়িয়া মিঞা মল্লার করিয়াছে, আমাদের দেশীয় ভাষা ভাঙিয়া উর্দু সৃষ্টি করিয়াছে, সেইরূপ আমাদের দেশীয় পরিচ্ছদ ভাঙিয়া চাপ্‌কান পাশুজামা প্রভৃতি পরিচ্ছদ প্রস্তুত করিয়াছে। যে-জাতি একশত বিষয়ে আমাদের জাতির নিকটে ঋণী, সে জাতি যে, এক-শত এক বিষয়ে আমাদের জাতির নিকটে ঋণী হইবে — ইহাতে কিছুই বিচিত্র নাই। প্রথম প্রথম হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে পরস্পর কেবল মারামারি কাঁটাকাটি চলিয়াছিল; অবশেষে রাজনীতিজ্ঞ আকবর শাহ হিন্দুদিগকে ঠাণ্ডা করিবার মানসে হিন্দুসভ্যতার নানাবিধ উপকরণ স্বজাতির মধ্যে প্রচলিত করিয়াছিলেন — ইহা একটি ঐতিহাসিক সত্য। আবার আকবরের সময় হইতে মুসলমান রাজারা ঘেরূপ জামাছোড়া ও খিড়কিদার পাগুড়ি ব্যবহার করিতেন সে রূপ পরিচ্ছদ ভারতবর্ষ ছাড়া পৃথিবীস্থ আর কোন দেশেই প্রচলিত নাই — ইহাতে স্পষ্টই প্রদান হইতেছে যে সে পরিচ্ছদগুলি নিতান্ত-পক্ষেই ভারতবর্ষীয়; সে গুলি যদি মুসলমানী হইত তবে তাহা ইরানে, তুরানে, আরবে বা অন্য কোন মুসলমানী দেশে অবশ্যই প্রচলিত থাকিত। আমাদের দেশের সুবিখ্যাত পুণ্ডিতবিশিষ্ট শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু রাজেন্দ্রলাল মিত্র জলের ত্রায় স্পষ্ট করিয়া দেখাইয়াছেন যে, জামাছোড়া ও খিড়কিদার পাগুড়ি আমরা মুসলমানদিগের নিকটে হইতে পাই নাই — মুসলমানেরাই আমাদের নিকটে হইতে পাইয়াছে। মুসলমানেরা যখন হিন্দুদের শত শত বিষয়ের অনুকরণ করিয়াছে, তখন, আমরা যদি এখন তাহাদের কোন কিছুর অনুকরণ করি, তবে তাহাতে হিন্দুমুসলমানের মধ্যে সৌজন্যের বিনিময় হয় মাত্র, কাহাণী তাহাতে জাতির অগৌরব হয় না। পূর্বে মুসলমানেরা আমাদের ধর্মের প্রতিই খড়াহস্ত ছিলেন, কিন্তু আমাদের জাতিকে তাহারা মাথার তুলিয়াছিলেন, মুসলমান সম্রাটের প্রধান সেনাপতি ছিলেন মানসিংহ, প্রধান কার্যাব্যক্ষ ছিলেন তোদর-

মল, প্রধান মন্ত্রী ছিলেন বীরবল, প্রধান গায়ক ছিলেন তান-সেন, ইংরাজ সকলেই ভাতিত হিন্দু। যে-জাতি আমাদের ভাতির ভাষা ভাঙিয়া আপনাদের উচ্চভাষা প্রস্তুত করিতে এক দিন্দুও কুণ্ঠিত হইতনা, এমন কি, যে-জাতি আপনাদের জন্মভূমি পর্য্যন্ত বিস্মৃত হইয়া ভারতবর্ষকে স্বদেশরূপে বরণ করিল সে-জাতিকৈ কি আমরা আর পর বলিয়া উৎসর্গ করিতে পারি? তাহা যদি করি তবে তাহাতে আমাদের নিতাস্তই অসৌজন্য প্রকাশ পায় — তাহা অত্যন্ত অভ্যাজিত কার্য। বাকালি মুসলমানেরা ধূতি পর্য্যন্ত পরে — মুসলমানীরা সাড়ি পর্য্যন্ত পরে — তাহাতে তাহাদের জাতি যায়না। হিন্দু মুসলমানেরা ধর্ম্মেই কেবল মুসলমান — কিন্তু জাতিতে ভারতবর্ষীয়। ** এখন যদি আমরা তাহাদের কোন কিছুর অনুকরণ করি, তবে আমরা আপনাদের লোকেরই অনুকরণ করি — পরানুকরণ করিনা। পরানুকরণ বলে কাহাকে? না যে জাতি আমাদের কাছে তাহার চরণের এক রেণু বলিয়াও গণ্য করেনা — সেই জাতির অনুকরণই পরানুকরণ।

Which may be rendered thus (though very inadequately):—

“Look at any Mussulman except the Hindustani-Mussulman—look at the Irani Mussulman, at the Turani Mussulman, at the Arab Mussulman, at the Mussulman of Kabul—you will see that there is no resemblance between their dresses and the dress of the Hindustani-Mussulman. This makes it perfectly clear that, as the Indian Mussulmans modelled their *Setar* upon our *Bin*, derived their *Mian-mallár* (a musical tune) from our *Mallar-rágini*, constructed their Urdu dialect out of our indigenous vernaculars, so they made *chapkan*, *payajama*, and other articles of their dress upon the model of our own dress. It is not at all strange that the people who are indebted to us in a hundred items should have been indebted to us in a hundred and one items. At first, and in the beginning, Hindus and Mussulmans only fought and killed each other. But in the end the politic Akbar, with the view of appeasing the Hindus, introduced among his own people many of the elements of Hindu civilisation. That is historically true. Again the sort of *khirkidar-pugri* (head-dress) and *jama-jorá* (garments for the body), which Mussulman Emperors wore from the time of Akbar, are not in use in any other country of the world, except India. This clearly proves that those articles of dress, at any rate are Indian. If they had been Mussulman in origin, they would

certainly have been in use in Iran, in Turan, in Arabia, or in some other Mussulman country. Our celebrated antiquarian Dr. Rajendralál Mitra has made it as clear to us as daylight that it was not ~~we~~ who got the *jama-jord* and the *khirkidar-pugri* from the Musulmans, but the *Mussulmans* who got them from us. And, as the Mussulmans have imitated the Hindus in a hundred points, for us to imitate them now in some one point, would be a simple exchange of social amenity, not involving loss of national honour. Formerly, Mussulmans were hostile only to our religion, but they highly respected us as a nation. The Commander-in-Chief of the Moghul Emperor was Man Sinha, his principal state-manager was Todar Mal, his principal Minister was Birbal, his chief musician was Tana-Sena, all Hindu in nationality. Can we, or should we, disregard and disesteem as strangers and foreigners the nation who felt not the smallest hesitation in constructing their own Urdu language out of the language of our own nation, aye, the nation who forgot even the country of their birth and adopted India as their own country? If we do that, we shall be guilty of grave discourtesy; to do so would be the extreme of ungentlemanliness. Bengali Mussulmans wear even the *dhoti*—Bengali Mussulmanis wear even the *sári*; they do not lose their nationality thereby. The Mussulmans of Hindustan are Mussulman only in religion; in nationality they are Indian. . . . If we now take or imitate anything that belongs to them, we take from, or imitate our own people, not strangers or foreigners. What do you mean by imitating strangers or foreigners? It means imitating the people who do not reckon us even as they reckon the particle of dust that clings to their feet."

And the writing is equally sharp, vigorous and pointed throughout. It is a splendid pamphlet in Bengali we have received after many a long day, and we earnestly and sincerely pray that the spirit in which it is written will be rightly appreciated, and the noble object of its writer realised in no long time. The whole nation should listen with respect and attention to the advice of one of its soundest thinkers and warmest well-wishers.

Jibani-Sangraha. By Amritálál Basu. Printed and Published by Haridás Mánná at the Kumudbandhu Press, 2, Abhaya Charan Ghosh's Lane, Syamapukar, Calcutta, 1884.

IN the English portion of the title-page this work is called "A collection of Memoirs of the Six Distinguished Patriots—Ramdoolal De, Dr. Durgá Charan Banerji, Rajah Rammohan Raya, Justice Dwarakanath Mitra, Keshab Chandra Sen, and Roy Kristodas Pal, Bahadoor." Now, one or two of these men may have been patriots, but, certainly, not all of them.

Ramdoolal De, for instance, was a millionaire, but in no sense of the word a patriot. This may seem to many very frivolous criticism; but they will find on reflection that it is not so. The idea that the men named here were all patriots has greatly influenced the author's style. Like most Bengali authors, Babu Amritalal Basu uses pompous or magniloquent language in season and out of season, and his natural tendency in this respect has received undue encouragement from his notion, that the men about whom he writes, occupied the exalted position of patriots in their country. A single sentence, quoted at random from the memoir of Ramdoolal De, will prove this :—

এই লক্ষ্মী ও ধর্মের বরপুত্র এই রূপে ব্রহ্মাণ্ডের একাধি
রঙ্গভূমে সগৌরবে অভিনয় করিয়া, ১৮২৫ খৃঃাব্দের ১লা এপ্রিল
৭৩ বৎসর বয়ঃক্রম কালে স্বীয় জীবন নাটকের শেষাঙ্ক সমাপ্ত
করিলেন ।

Which means :—Having thus gloriously acted on the vast stage of the universe, this favorite son of Lakshmi (prosperity) and Dharma (virtue) closed the last act of the drama of his life, on the 1st April 1825, in his 73rd year.

Such writing is nothing more or less than literary acting. And we are sorry to add, that most Bengali writing of the present day is precisely that, and nothing else. Acting is the order of the day among Bengalis. Their social reformation is mere acting; their religious reformation is mere acting. We cannot praise a book which is only a specimen of literary acting.

Babu Amritalal Basu seems to be morally unfit to write memoirs of men. He accuses Keshab Chandra Sen of injustice and unrighteousness because of his taking over a school from its founder (p. 60). The taking over may have been, as the author says it was, an unjust and forcible seizure; but the history of the affair is not given, and we do not accordingly understand how the act was of the stated complexion. Facts which carry with them grave charges or imputations against men, especially when they are not living, demand detailed and careful explanation, and the biographer who omits to do so, passes a verdict against himself, and compels us to turn away from him as a man who ought not to be recognised as occupying a place in the ranks of literature. We are sorry we should have to adopt such a course in regard to Babu Amritalal Basu. The idea of his work is exceedingly good, and we shall hail him with delight if he favors us with a thoroughly revised and amended edition of it.

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